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The Hakluyt Society

CATHAY AND THE WAY THITHER

VOL. I

SECOND SERIES

No. XXXVIII

ISSUED FOR 1915

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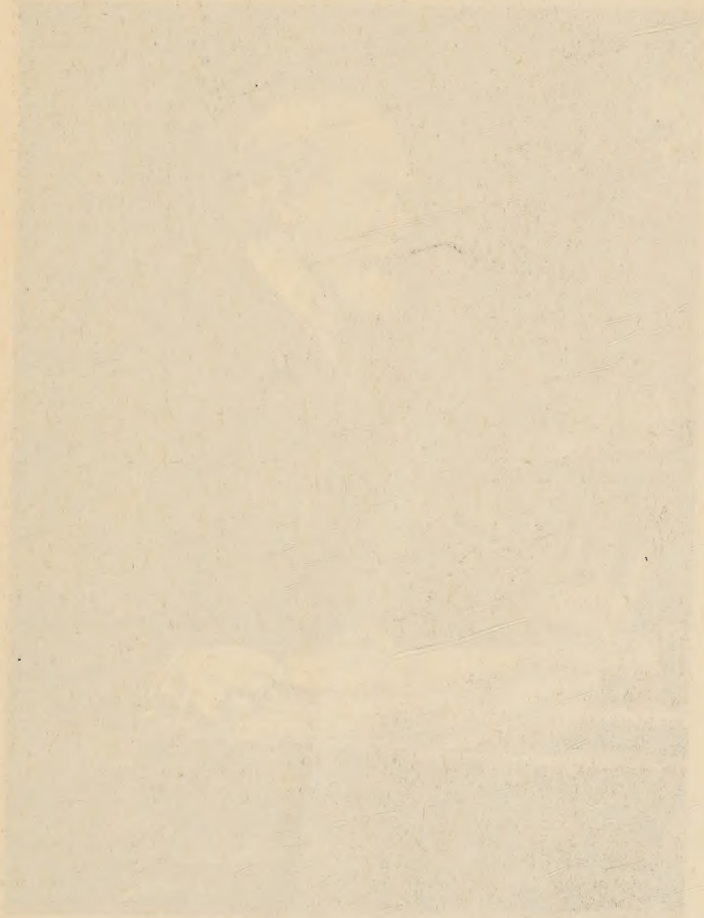

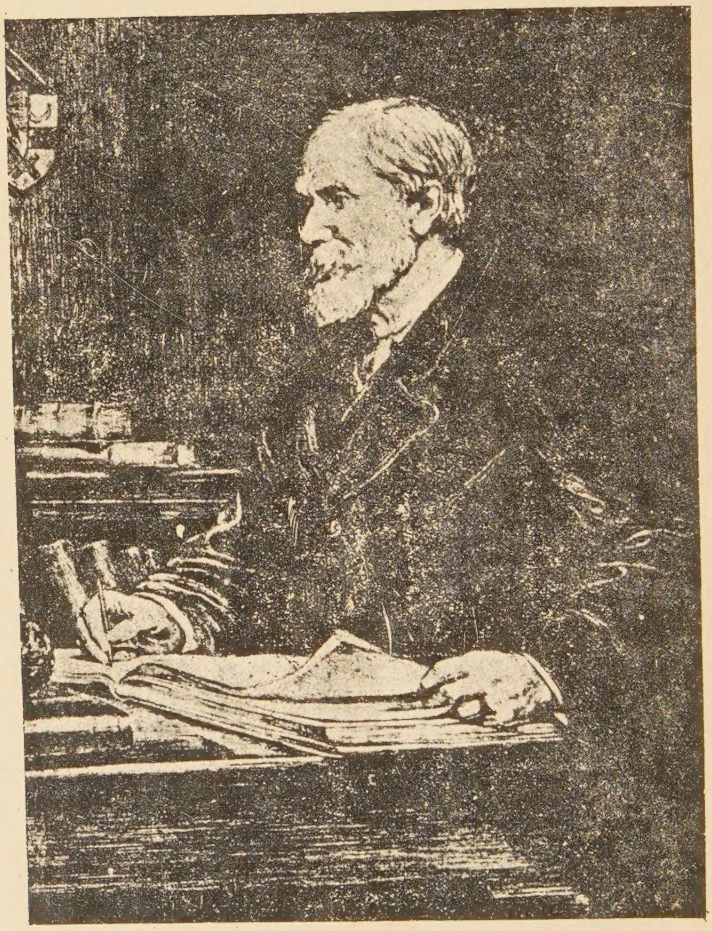

SIR HENRY YULE.

From the third edition of his "Marco Polo" by permission of Miss A. F. Yule.

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CATHAY
AND THE WAY THITHER

BEING A COLLECTION OF
MEDIEVAL NOTICES OF CHINA

TRANSLATED AND EDITED
BY
COLONEL SIR HENRY YULE, R.E., C.B., K.C.S.I.
CORR. INST. FRANCE

NEW EDITION, REVISED THROUGHOUT IN THE LIGHT
OF RECENT DISCOVERIES

BY
HENRI CORDIER, D.Litt., Hon. M.R.A.S.,
Hon. Cor. M.R.G.S., Hon. F.R.S.L.
MEMBER OF THE INSTITUT DE FRANCE
PROFESSOR AT THE ÉCOLE DES LANGUES ORIENTALES VIVANTES, PARIS

VOL. I

PRELIMINARY ESSAY
ON THE INTERCOURSE BETWEEN CHINA AND THE WESTERN
NATIONS PREVIOUS TO THE DISCOVERY OF THE CAPE ROUTE

REPRINTED BY
CH'ENG WEN PUBLISHING COMPANY
TAIPEI 1972

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TAIPEI

"Sed si aliqua scribimus propter noticiam legentium quæ in partibus vestris nesciuntur, non debetis propter hoc nos appellare mendaces. qui vobis referimus illa quæ ipsi vidimus vel ab aliis pro certo audivimus quos esse credimus fide dignos. Imò est valdè crudele ut homo propter bonum quod facit ab aliis infametur."—*Joannis de Plano Carpini Prologus.*

——"Such also is the case with Geography. For the experience of ages confesses that many of the outlying tracts of the earth remain excluded from the bounds of accurate knowledge, owing to the difficulty of penetrating regions of such vast extent; whilst some countries are very different from the descriptions that have been given of them on the faith of travellers' tales too uncritically accepted, and others, through the partial operation of revolutions and catastrophes, are no longer what they used to be. Hence it is needful, as a general rule, to abide by the most recent accounts that we possess, keeping an eye, however, all the while, upon the statements of olden authors, and on what can be critically educed from their narratives, so as to form some judgment as to what is worthy of credit and what is not."—*The Geography of Claudius Ptolemy*, i, 5.

"Wherefore the task we have undertaken is a double one: first, to preserve the opinions of our author in their integrity, so far as they call for no correction; secondly, where he has failed in making things clear, to set forth the correct view to the best of our ability from the narratives that are accessible to us, and from the data afforded by more accurate maps."—*Id.*, i, 19.

"VELLERAQUE VT FOLIIS DEPECTANT TENVIA SERES
Ye Vergyl: Doe from Folioes of olde Crabelis
Ye Serpye his slender China Yarnes unravelis
And rudelie weveth them with Notes and Queries.

ANON.

DEDICATION AND PREFACE.

TO

SIR RODERICK IMPEY MURCHISON, BART., K.C.B.

ETC. ETC. ETC.

PRESIDENT OF THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY.

DEAR SIR RODERICK,

I am happy to be allowed to inscribe to you, from whom I have experienced no little kindness, this book, which endeavours to throw some light on the medieval geography of Asia. The subject, at least, needs no apology to one who is the honoured President of the Geographical as well as of the Hakluyt Society; for he has the best right of any man to say, "*nihil geographicum a me alienum puto.*"

The work was originally designed to embrace only the story of Friar ODORIC, and perhaps of one more traveller; but seeing how much light the various fragments of minor medieval writers concerning China threw upon one another and upon MARCO POLO, and how little known several of them were to English readers, it seemed desirable to gather all into one collection, edited as thoroughly as my capacities admitted. I never ventured to think of introducing Marco himself into the group. There is room enough, probably, for a new English edition of that prince of medieval travellers; but he claims an orbit for himself, and has no place among these asteroids. What

is aimed at in these volumes is a work that shall bear some such relation to Polo as the collections of the lesser Greek geographers bear to Ptolemy.

When this task was entered on, I was more within reach of necessary aids than circumstances known to you have of late permitted, or it would scarcely have been attempted. All the reading accessible to me has, indeed, been directed to the illustration of my authors; but Palermo is not London or Paris; and the absence of some capital authority has often stopped me short in the investigation of a difficulty, just as a traveller, in projecting a complex journey, is stopped short by a black bar in the columns of his railway-guide.

I am painfully sensible also, that, in regard to many subjects dealt with in the following pages, nothing can make up for the want of genuine oriental learning. A fair familiarity with Hindustani for many years, and some reminiscences of elementary Persian, have been useful in their degree; but it is probable that they may sometimes also have led me astray, as such slender lights are apt to do.

Of the authors dealt with, ODORIC, IBN BATUTA, and GOËS are already more or less accessible to English readers; the first from old HAKLUYT'S version, the second from LEE'S translation of an Arabic abridgment, and the third from the narrative in ASTLEY'S collection.

Since the last work was published, however, a hundred and twenty years have past, and our knowledge of the regions traversed by the gallant Jesuit, though still exhibiting considerable gaps, has been greatly extended; whilst the other two travellers have never, so far as I know, been systematically edited; *i.e.*, with some endeavour to accompany their narratives with a commentary which should aim at identifying the places visited by

them, and at the elucidation or condemnation of their statements.

In regard to Ibn Batuta, "mine Arabike," as John BUNYAN says of his Latin, "I borrowe"; not, however, from Lee, but from the unabridged travels as rendered into French by MM. DEFRÉMERY and SANGUINETTI. Though the version is thus borrowed, the commentary is not; and it is certainly my belief that by it some new light is thrown on this curious traveller.

Of the other authors here laid under contribution the vain and garrulous but truthful JOHN DE' MARIGNOLLI is the most conspicuous. He has been incidentally cited by Sir Emerson TENNENT, whom little escapes; but otherwise he is, I believe, almost unknown in England.

Each of the authors, however, will present his credentials in the proper place, before telling his story; and it is not needful to say more here regarding them individually.

For repetitions occurring in the text, I need not apologise; they are inevitable in what is a collection, not a selection. But it is to be feared that repetitions occur also sometimes in the notes, and for these I beg indulgence. In addition to my great distance from the printer, circumstances rendered it necessary to send the first sheets to the press many months before the later sections were ready; and thus it has been impossible to give the whole work a consistent revision.

Several kind friends have taken trouble in making references for me, or in answering questions bearing on the work. I beg all to accept my warm thanks; but I will only name here Mr. MAJOR and Mr. MARKHAM, who have also in turn been good enough to see the revised proofs through the press

I trust that my own labour, which has been con-

siderable, may not have been in vain. I have tried to present pretty fully one special aspect of a great subject which in all ages has had a peculiar fascination. We can see that the ancients felt something of this charm attaching to the dim legends which reached them across the length of Asia about the SERES dwelling in secluded peace and plenty on the shores of the Eastern Ocean. The vast multiplication of manuscripts and translations of Polo and Odoric, and of Odoric's plunderer MANDEVILLE, shows how medieval Christendom experienced the same attraction in the tales which those travellers related of the vast population, riches, arts, and orderly civilisation of CATHAY. The charm rekindled when the Portuguese discoveries revealed CHINA; and many marvelled with an eccentric Jesuit why God had bestowed such bounties on a hive of pagans[1]; a charm which nearly three centuries of partial knowledge scarcely quenched. Familiarity of late years has had something of its proverbial result: and closer examination of a civilisation in decay has discerned how much rottenness now exists at the core of the vast and fantastic structure.

When we see communities that have long passed the zenith of their civilisation and genius going down simultaneously in population and in moral power, there seems little of mystery in their future. But in regarding a country like China, in which moral and intellectual decay and disorganization have been accompanied by an increase of population so vast as to amount to nearly a third of the world's inhabitants, the field of speculation as to its destiny is dark indeed. Though under forms sometimes doubtless most imperfect, the influences of Christianity, the Divine Regenerator of the nations, have

[1] "Cur Deus tot bonis infidelem sibi Chinam beaverit?" Kircher, *China Illustrata*, p. 165.

entered China on at least three several occasions. Twice they appear to have been choked and extinguished; on another occasion we have seen them perverted to the purposes of a vast imposture. The future is with God. Of the clouds that are gathering round the world's horizon China has its share. The empire which has a history coeval with the oldest of Chaldæa seems to be breaking up. It has often broken up before and been reconsolidated; it has often been conquered, and has either thrown off the yoke or absorbed its conquerors. But *they* derived what civilisation they possessed from the land which they invaded. The internal combustions that are now heaving the soil come in contact with new and alien elements of Western origin. Who can guess what shall come of that chemistry?

I am,

Dear Sir Roderick,

Yours with much regard,

H. YULE.

PALERMO,
July 23rd, 1866.

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

Cathay and the Way Thither issued in 1866 in two volumes was the second work edited by Sir Henry YULE for the HAKLUYT SOCIETY. A few years before (1863) Yule had given an annotated translation of the MIRABILIA DESCRIPTA by Friar JORDANUS. Both works have been for a long time out of print and *Cathay* commands exorbitant prices when copies rarely appear in a bookseller's catalogue. I have not to praise a work which has been for a long time the vade-mecum of all those engaged in the study of the Far East in Ancient and Middle Ages. All agree in considering it as *the* indispensable guide of all those interested in the historical geography not only of China, not only of Central Asia, but also of Asia at large. At the time of its appearance, it included well nigh all that was then known regarding the history of the East, notwithstanding the title showing the modesty of the learned editor: *A Collection of Medieval Notices of China*. Since 1866, Science, especially geography, owing to discovery of new lands and travel in hitherto insufficiently studied countries, has rapidly progressed; Yule himself in his great work on *Marco Polo* first printed in 1871 had brought a great deal of fresh material in this new work, leaving *Cathay* far behind. It was therefore necessary to give a new edition of *Cathay* embodying all the more recent information. As the editor of the third edition of the *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, I was

supposed to possess special qualifications for performing this new task. My old and learned friend, Sir Clements R. MARKHAM, President of the Hakluyt Society, asked me to undertake this edition of *Cathay*. I gladly accepted the offer as an opportunity of marking my deep esteem for the man, and of my admiration for the geographer whom I had known in the person of Yule.

I might repeat here what I said in the Preface of the third edition of the *Book of Ser Marco Polo*: "I have suppressed hardly any of Sir Henry Yule's notes and altered but few, doing so only when the light of recent information has proved him to be in error, but I have supplemented them by what I hope will be found useful, new information." As far as possible, I have adhered to these principles in this edition of *Cathay*, but, besides numerous additional notes, it has been found necessary to add in the Preliminary Essay a new chapter on Central Asia founded on recent researches and also a few Supplementary Notes; the beginning of the chapter on the Chinese Knowledge of the Roman Empire has been entirely recast. Indeed the new information has increased the bulk of the work to such an extent that it has been found necessary to print four volumes instead of two[1].

To the works mentioned in the Preface of the *Book of Ser Marco Polo* should be added the narrative of the Travels and Discoveries of Sir Aurel STEIN in Central Asia, the learned book on the Western Turks by my colleague and friend, Prof. Ed. CHAVANNES, the numerous and valuable notes given to me by that young and brilliant scholar, Prof. Paul PELLIOT. I might name a good many other works but they will be found indicated in the foot-notes or in the list appended to the fourth volume.

[1] My own additions are placed between brackets [ ].

My thanks are due not only to the COUNCIL and the HON. SECRETARY of the HAKLUYT SOCIETY, who have done me the great honour of selecting me to supervise this new edition of *Cathay*, but also to Miss Amy Frances YULE for the authorization to reproduce her father's portrait from the third edition of the *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, and to the CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS for the care taken in the printing of the work.

HENRI CORDIER.

PARIS, 8 RUE DE SIAM,
December, 1914.

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PRELIMINARY ESSAY.

NOTES ON THE INTERCOURSE OF CHINA AND THE WESTERN NATIONS PREVIOUS TO THE DISCOVERY OF THE SEA-ROUTE BY THE CAPE.

"On se formeroit des notions peu exactes sur la Chine, et l'on n'auroit qu'une idée imparfaite des avantages qu'on peut obtenir en étudiant l'histoire de ce pays, si l'on se représentoit un empire isolé, pour ainsi dire, à l'extrémité de l'Asie, séparé du reste du monde, dont l'entrée auroit toujours été interdite aux étrangers, et dont les relations au dehors se seroient bornées à quelques communications passagères avec les peuples les plus voisins de ses frontières."—*Abel Rémusat.*

I. EARLIEST TRACES OF INTERCOURSE. GREEK AND ROMAN KNOWLEDGE OF CHINA.

1. THAT spacious seat of ancient civilisation which we call CHINA has loomed always so large to western eyes, and has, in spite of its distance, subtended so great an angle of vision, that, at eras far apart, we find it to have been distinguished by different appellations according as it was regarded as the terminus of a southern sea-route coasting the great peninsulas and islands of Asia, or as that of a northern land route traversing the longitude of that continent.

In the former aspect the name applied has nearly always been some form of the name SIN, CHIN, SINAE, CHINA. In the latter point of view the region in question was known to the ancients as the land of the SERES; to the middle ages as the empire of CATHAY.

2. The name of Chin has been supposed, like many another word and name connected with the trade and geography of the far east, to have come to us through the Malays, and to have been applied by them to the great eastern monarchy from the style of the dynasty of Ts'IN, which a little more than two centuries before our era enjoyed a brief but very vigorous existence, uniting all the Chinese provinces under its authority, and extending its conquests far beyond those limits to the south and the west.

There are reasons however for believing that the name of CHINA must have been bestowed at a much earlier date, for it occurs in the laws of Manu, which assert the *Chinas* to have been degenerate Kshatriyas, and in the Mahabharat, compositions many centuries older than the imperial dynasty of Ts'in[1]. The indications of the geographical position of the nation so called are indeed far from precise, but in the absence of positive evidence to the contrary it seems reasonable to believe that the name *China* meant to the Hindus then what it means still; whilst there is also in a part of the astronomical systems of the two nations the strongest implication of very ancient communication between them, so ancient as to have been forgotten even in the far-reaching annals of China[2].

Whether the Chinese were known at all to the Hindus

[1] Lassen, i, 857–8; Pauthier, *M. Polo*, p. 550. The latter author says: "I shall take another occasion to establish that the statement in the Laws of Manu is partially true, and that people from India passed into Shen si, the westernmost province of China, more than one thousand years before our era, and at that time formed a state named *Thsin*, the same word as China." It is remarkable that, as the same scholar notices, the name of *China* is used in the Japanese maps (*Ib.* 449).

[2] See Lassen, i, 742 *seqq.* ["Ibn al-Kalbī says after Aš-Širkī, that China is called *Čin* because Čin and Baghar are the two sons of Baghbar ibn Kamād ibn Yāfath (Japhet)." Yāḳūt, in Ferrand, *Textes*, p. 207.]

in remote antiquity, and whether they were known by the name of Chinese, are of course two different questions. But if it be established that they must have known one another, the probability becomes strong that the name China in the writings of the one people indicated the other. And this name may have yet possibly been connected with the Ts'in, or some monarchy of like dynastic title, for that dynasty had reigned locally in Shen si from the ninth century before our era; and when, at a still earlier date, the empire was partitioned into many small kingdoms, we find among them the dynasties of the *Tsin* and the *Ching*[1].

[Sir Henry Yule has raised again the question of the name of *China* in *Hobson-Jobson*, pp. 196–7:

"The European knowledge of this name in the forms *Thinae* and *Sinae* goes back nearly to the Christian era. The famous mention of the *Sinim* by the prophet Isaiah would carry us much further back, but we fear the possibility of that referring to the Chinese must be abandoned, as must be likewise, perhaps, the similar application of the name *Chinas* in ancient Sanskrit works. The most probable origin of the name—which is essentially a name applied by *foreigners* to the country—as yet suggested, is that put forward by Baron F. von Richthofen, that it comes from *Jih-nan*, an old name of Tongking, seeing that in Jih-nan lay the only port which was open for foreign trade with China at the beginning of our era, and that that province was then included administratively within the limits of China Proper (see Richthofen, *China*, i, 504–510; the same author's papers in the *Trans. of the Berlin Geog. Soc.* for 1876; and a paper by one of

[1] The Tsin reigning at Fung chau in Shan si, endured from B.C. 1106 to 676 and longer under other titles; the Ching, in Ho nan, from B.C. 1122 to B.C. 477 (see Deguignes, i, 88, 102 105; also Lassen, i, 857; St. Martin, *Mém. sur l'Arménie*, ii, 51).

the present writers in *Proc. R. Geog. Soc.*, November 1882).

"Another theory nas been suggested by our friend M. Terrien de Lacouperie in an elaborate note, of which we can but state the general gist. Whilst he quite accepts the suggestion that Kiao-chi or Tongking, anciently called *Kiao-ti*, was the *Kattigara* of Ptolemy's authority, he denies that *Jih-nan* can have been the origin of Sinae. This he does on two chief grounds: (1) That Jih-nan was not Kiao-chi, but a province a good deal further south, corresponding to the modern province of *An* (*Nghé Ane*, in the map of M. Dutreuil de Rhins, the capital of which is about 2° 17′ in lat. S. of Hanoi). This is distinctly stated in the Official Geography of Annam. *An* was one of the twelve provinces of Cochin China proper till 1820–41, when, with two others, it was transferred to Tongking. Also, in the Chinese Historical Atlas, Jih-nan lies in Chen-Ching, *i.e.* Cochin-China. (2) That the ancient pronunciation of Jih-nan, as indicated by the Chinese authorities of the Han period, was *Nit-nam*. It is still pronounced in Sinico-Annamite (the most archaic of the Chinese dialects) *Nhut-nam*, and in Cantonese *Yat-nam*. M. Terrien further points out that the export of Chinese goods, and the traffic with the south and west, were for several centuries B.C. monopolised by the State of *Tsen* (now pronounced in Sinico-Annamite *Chen*, and in Mandarin *Tien*), which corresponded to the centre and west of modern Yun-nan. The *She-ki* of Sze-ma Ts'ien (B.C. 91) and the Annals of the Han Dynasty afford interesting information on this subject. When the Emperor Wu-ti, in consequence of Chang-Kien's information brought back from Bactria, sent envoys to find the route followed by the traders of Shuh (*i.e.* Sze-chu'an) to India, these envoys were detained by Tang

Kiang, King of Tsen, who objected to their exploring trade-routes through his territory, saying haughtily: 'Has the Han a greater dominion than ours?'

"M. Terrien conceives that as the only communication of this Tsen State with the Sea would be by the Song-Koi R., the emporium of sea-trade with that State would be at its mouth, viz. at Kiao-ti or Kattigara. Thus, he considers, the name of *Tsen*, this powerful and arrogant State, the monopoliser of trade-routes, is in all probability that which spread far and wide the name of *Chīn*, *Sin*, *Sinae*, *Thinae*, and preserved its predominance in the mouths of foreigners, even when, as in the 2nd century of our era, the great Empire of the Han has extended over the Delta of the Song-Koi.

"This theory needs more consideration than we can now give it. But it will doubtless have discussion elsewhere, and it does not disturb Richthofen's identification of Kattigara."]

Mr William Crooke, the new editor of *Hobson-Jobson*, has added the following note:

[Prof. Giles regards the suggestions of Richthofen and T. de Lacouperie as mere guesses. From a recent reconsideration of the subject he has come to the conclusion that the name may possibly be derived from the name of a dynasty, *Ch'in* or *Ts'in*, which flourished B.C. 255–207, and became widely known in India, Persia, and other Asiatic countries, the final *a* being added by the Portuguese.]

We should now add:

[Professor Paul Pelliot (*Bul. Ecole Franç. Ext. Orient.*, iv, 1904, pp. 144 *seq.*) does not accept Richthofen's theory; he shows that Jih nan was the most southern of the three provinces into which Tung King was divided under the Han dynasty: Kiao chi, Kiu chen and Jih nan;

in Kiao chi, *i.e.* the estuary of the Red River, was established the chief government and there probably landed the envoys of Mark Aurel; the pronunciation of Jih nan was then *ñit-nam*, in which it is impossible to find the *Sinae* of Ptolemy; the Indian *Cīna* or *Chinas* when they were exactly known were no doubt regarded as Chinese. With regard to Terrien's theory, Pelliot says that there is nothing to show that the kingdom of Tien was in communication *by sea* with the Red River; he thinks that Padre Martini's theory of the name of China being derived from the first Ts'in dynasty (249–207 B.C.) is still the more probable and it seems to agree with China's own tradition.]

[Some time ago, Prof. Hermann Jacobi in his paper *Kultur-, Sprache- und Literarhistorisches aus dem Kauṭiliya* (*Sitz. K. Preuss. Akad.*, xliv, 1911, p. 961) came to the conclusion that: "The name *Cīna* is secured as a designation for China in B.C. 300, so that the derivation of the word China from the dynasty of the Ts'in (B.C. 247) is definitely exploded. On the other hand, this notice is of interest also as proving the export of Chinese silk into India in the 4th century B.C." This conclusion is based upon the fact that in the *Kauṭiliya*, Prof. Jacobi finds a mention of China, more specifically the record of the fact that silken ribbons are produced in the country of China. As the author of this work was the famous minister of King Čandragupta who seized the reins of government between B.C. 320 and 315, the composition of the work must be dated around B.C. 300 and several years earlier rather than later according to Prof. Jacobi, who says that it affords a sure chronological basis. Mr. Berthold Laufer, of Chicago, adopting Prof. Jacobi's views, has come to the conclusion that "it may not be impossible that *Cīna* has been the ancient (perhaps Malayan) name adhering to the coast of Kuang-tung Province and the coast-line

farther to the south, in times anterior to the settlement of the Chinese in those regions" (*T'oung pao*, Dec. 1912). Prof. Pelliot shows (*Ibid.*) that even under the Han Dynasty the Hiung Nu called the Chinese "Men of Ts'in"; Ts'in was the name given to China by the people west of the empire in ancient time; China was known after as Ταυγάστ (Theophylactus Simocatta, 7th cent., Tabγač of the Turkish Inscriptions of the same period), and at the time of the K'i tan or Leao (916–1125) as K'i tai. I believe we may, till further evidence is produced, adhere to the traditional etymology of the name of China being derived from the Ts'in dynasty.]

3. Other indications of ancient communication are found in the annals and traditions both of the Chinese and of western nations. Thus in the reign of T'ai Wu or T'ai Mou (B.C. 1634) ambassadors accompanied by interpreters, and belonging to 76 distinct kingdoms, are reported to have arrived from remote regions at the court of China[1].

At a far earlier period, under the reign of Hwang Ti, the [third of the Five Rulers of the Legendary Period] (B.C. 2697), the Chinese historians allege that the inventors of sundry arts and sciences arrived from the western kingdoms in the neighbourhood of the Kwen lun mountains[2]. In the time of Yao (B.C. 2356) there came the envoys of a race called Yué-shang shi, arriving from the south, and presented to the emperor "a divine tortoise, one thousand years old," having on its back inscriptions in strange characters resembling *tadpole* in which was

[1] *Chine Ancienne*, p. 76. [Terrien has, *Chinese Civilization*, p. 383: "*c.* 1538 B.C. In Tai Mou's twenty-sixth year arrivals from a western state near Karashar. Wang-Mêng was sent there with presents, and also to the West Wang-mus to get some of their famous balsam."]

[2] *Ch. Anc.*, p. 29.

related the history of the world from its beginning. Yao caused these to be transcribed, and they were known thereafter as the *Annals of the Tortoise*. The same nation sent a new embassy to China in B.C. 1110 [under the reign of Ch'eng Wang][1]. As *Yue-shang-shi* signifies "a people with long training robes" (like those of the Assyrian monuments), and as the tadpole form ascribed to the characters is suggestive of the cuneiform writing; as the commentators likewise say that the country of these people was reached in a year, after passing by Fu nan[2] and Lin Yi[3] (or the modern Siam), Pauthier has conjectured that the envoys came from Chaldaea[4].

4. Absolute tradition in countries west of India however is found of an exceedingly early communication with China, and this is singularly confirmed by the annals

[1] [Neither the *Shu King* nor Sze-ma Ts'ien mentions this embassy in B.C. 1110 from Kiao chi (Cochin-China); it is mentioned in the *Ts'ien Han Shu* and the *Han Han Shu*; the invention of the compass [south pointing chariot] by Chau Kung is connected with this legendary embassy. Cf. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, III, ii, pp. 536–7; Pelliot, *Fou-nan*, pp. 58–9.]

[2] [Fu nan was in the Khmer country and was conquered by Tchen la (Cambodia). See Pelliot, *Le Founan* (*Bul. Ecole Ext. Orient.*, April-June, 1903).]

[3] [Lin Yi, kingdom of Champa.]

[4] *H. des Relations Politiques de la Chine*, etc., pp. 5–7. [Terrien de Lacouperie has spent a great deal of labour and ingenuity to prove that the Chinese civilisation had its origin in western Asia and more particularly from Babylonia and Elam. Sinologists have not accepted his theories, at times rather wild, though Terrien has thrown light on some particular points. He has collected a number of his papers under the title of the *Western Origin of the Early Chinese Civilization from* 2300 B.C. *to* 200 A.D., Lond., 1894. Terrien placed the arrival from the west of Hwang-ti, the first leader of the civilised Bak Sings, upon the banks of the Loh where he sacrificed, *c.* 2282 B.C., in the fiftieth year of his reign. *L.c.*, p. 381. With reference to the so-called Pak see C. De Harlez, *T'oung pao*, 1895, p. 369.] If I remember rightly, some of the Chaldean inscriptions mentioned in Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies* are considered to go back to B.C. 2000 or earlier, but I have not the book to refer to. [New researches permit us to go back *at least* 3000 years B.C.: witness the inscription of Naram Sin.]

of the latter country. Thus the legendary history of the Persians relates that their ancient king, the famous Jamshid, had two daughters by a daughter of Máhang or Mahenk, king of Máchin (or Great China)[1]. It has been suggested [without any foundation] that his name indicates *Mu Wang*, of the Chau dynasty, who reigned from B.C. 1001 to 946, dying in the latter year in the 104th year of his age, and who is related in the Chinese annals to have made in the year 985 a journey into the remote countries of the west, and to have brought back with him skilled artizans and various natural curiosities[2].

Indeed China is often mentioned in the ancient legends of Persia, but as these seem to be chiefly known through the poetry of Ferdusi, probably little stress can be laid upon such allusions. Thus however Jamshid is pursued through India and China by the agents of Zohak; Feridun bestows upon his second son, Tur, Tartary and part of China; Siawush, the son of Kaikobad, marrying [Feringees] the daughter of Afrâçiâb, receives in dowry China [Chinese Tartary?] and Khotan; Kai Khusru (Cyrus) is sent in his youth by Afrâçiâb beyond the sea of China, and Jiv seeks him all through that country amid wonderful adventures; in the wars of Kai Khusru

[1] [Jamshid "eut de Peritchehreh, fille du roi du Zaboulistan, un fils nommé Tour; et de Mahenk, fille du roi de Madjin; deux autres appelés Betoual et Humayoun." (Jules Mohl, *Modjmel al-Tewarikh, Journ. Asiat.*, fév. 1841, p. 155.) I need not insist on the legendary character of this story.]

[2] *Ib.* pp. 14–15, and *Chine Ancienne*, pp. 94 *segg.* [The legendary voyage of Mu Wang to the West has been related in the *Mu T'ien tze chuen*, translated by Eitel in the *China Review*, xvii, pp. 223–240, 247–258. On this legend of Mu and of Si Wang Mu, see Chevannes, *Se-ma Ts'ien*, ii, pp. 6–8 note, and Terrien de Lacouperie, *Chinese Civilization*, pp. 35, 77, 384. Terrien, under the date of *c.* 986 B.C., notes the "Journey of Tchou Muh Wang, to Turfan, Karashar, the Yulduz plateau and further west, perhaps as far as Kashgar. He brought back with him several clever artificers, the arts of inlaying metal and of making paste-gems, etc., some jade from Khotan-Yarkand, amber through Wakhan, etc.. marionettes. and other things."]

and Rustum with Afrâçiâb Rustum captures the Emperor of China on his white elephant; Lohrasp, the successor of Kai Khusru, exacts homage from the sovereigns of Tartary and China; Gushtasp (Darius Hystaspes) makes war on Arjasp, King of Tartary, pursues him to his capital and slays him there[1].

5. Under the third year of Ch'eng wang (B.C. 1113) there is a curious and obscure tradition of the arrival at the court of men from the kingdom of *Nili*, who had come by sea, and in whom Pauthier again suggests that we have visitors from the banks of the Nile[2]. This notion might have derived some corroboration from the Chinese porcelain phials alleged to have been found in Egyptian tombs as old as the eighteenth dynasty; but I understand that Dr. Birch has demolished their claims to antiquity[3].

6. Some at least of the circumstances which have been collected in the preceding paragraphs may render it the less improbable that the SINIM of the Prophet Isaiah, a name used, as the context shows, to indicate some nation of the extreme east or south, should be truly interpreted as indicating the Chinese[4].

[1] Malcolm's *H. of Persia*, i, 1815, pp. 21, 46 *seq.*

[2] *Chine Ancienne*, p. 85. [Terrien de Lacouperie remarks that "Stan. Julien proposed afterwards an identification [of Nilê] with the Indian town of *Nala*, but this town was founded by Asoka, thus eight centuries after the event reported in the text, and its name is differently transcribed in Chinese." Terrien has proposed to identify *Nili*, *Nêlê* or *Nêrê* with the old country of Norai, on the west side of the Irawadi, between Manipuri, and Momien of S.W. Yun nan, afterwards the Shan state of Mogaung. (*Early Chinese Civilization*, pp. 39–41.)]

[3] [It has been proved by Stanislas Julien and G. Pauthier in France, W. H. Medhurst Jr. and Harry S. Parkes in China (*Trans. China Br. R. As. Soc.*, Pt. III and IV) that the inscriptions on the porcelain bottles found in Egyptian tombs in 1834 belong to poems of the T'ang and Sung dynasties, *i.e.* to a period of several centuries after Christ.]

[4] "Behold, these shall come from far; and, lo, these from the north and from the west, and these from the land of SINIM" xlix, ver. 12). See article *Sinim*, in *Smith's Dict. of the Bible*

7. The name of China in this form was late in reaching the Greeks and Romans, and to them it probably came through people of Arabian speech, as the Arabs, being without the sound of *ch*[1], made the *China* of the Hindus and Malays into *Sin*, and perhaps sometimes into *Thin*. Hence the *Thin* of the author of the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, who appears to be the first extant author to employ the name in this form[2]; hence also the *Sinae* and *Thinae* of Ptolemy, who doubtless derived them from his predecessor Marinus of Tyre, the loss of whose work, with the details into which it seems to have entered to a much greater extent than Ptolemy's, is so much to be regretted[3].

[The question of *Sinim* is still opened. See H. Cordier, *Bibliotheca Sinica*, col. 1919.—Terrien de Lacouperie writes: "There is no probability of doubt that these *Shinas* of ancient and modern times on the slopes of the Hindu-Kush, were the remote populations referred to in the expression *land of Sinim* of the Book of Isaiah. Such will be the conclusion of my enquiry." (*Babylonian Record*, Jan. 7, 1887.) I should say that there *is* probability of doubt in Lacouperie's theory.]

[1] [This is not exact for the ancient Arabic pronunciation. See G. Ferrand, *Textes relatifs à l'Extrême Orient*, i, p. 9.]

[2] That is if Müller's view be right in ascribing the work to the first century.

[3] Though the latest scholars have abandoned that reading of Strabo which ascribed the use of the name *Thinae* to Eratosthenes (the passages which speak of the parallel passing through *Thinae* —διὰ Θινῶν—being shown to read correctly δι' Ἀθηνῶν; see Müller's Edition, p. 945 and the various passages referred to there); it is rather singular that the name should not have been known before the end of the first century, supposing such to be the fact. For Shi Hwang-ti the great Emperor of the Ts'in is said to have sent an army of three hundred thousand men into Tartary, whilst Ptolemy Euergetes about the same time carried his conquests to Bactria. The expedition of the latter may probably, however, have preceded that of the Chinese prince. Ptolemy reigned B.C. 247–222, Shi Hwang-ti from 246 as king of Ts'in, but only from 221 as sovereign of the whole empire. M. Reinaud, in his *Relations Politiques et Commerciales de l'Empire Romain avec l'Asie Orientale*, a book which contains some ingenious suggestions and useful references to which I am indebted, but which is in the main an example of building pyramids on the apex, says that Ptolemy used the term Sinae "*pour se donner un air d'érudition*"; but why he should say so it is hard to perceive, even if it be an error to date the Periplus before Ptolemy.

8. Since the reaction from the sentiment of those days succeeding the revival of literature which ascribed all knowledge to the Greeks, it has often been doubted and denied that the Sinae of Ptolemy indeed represented the Chinese. But compare the statement of Marcianus of Heraclea (who is in this as in most other parts of his work, merely condensing and popularising the results of Ptolemy's definitions), when he tells us that the "nations of the *Sinae* lie at the extremity of the habitable world, and adjoin the eastern Terra Incognita," with that of Cosmas a century or two later in speaking of *Tzinista*, a name which no one [save Baron Walckenaer, who maintained it to be Tenasserim (see *N. Ann. des Voyages*, vol. 53, 1832, p. 5), and Mr Beazley[1]] has questioned to indicate China, that "beyond this there is neither habitation nor navigation." Who can doubt that the same region is meant by these two authors? The fundamental error of Ptolemy's Indian geography, I mean his notion that the Indian Sea was entirely encompassed by the land, rendered it *impossible* that he should do other than misplace the Chinese coast, and thus no doubt it is easy to perplex the question to any extent over his latitudes and longitudes. But considering that the name in the same shape has come down among the Arabs as applied to the Chinese from time immemorial; considering that in the works of Ptolemy and his successors whatever else may be said about the name it certainly represented the furthest east of which they had any cognisance; and considering how inaccurate are Ptolemy's configurations and longitudes in a region so much further within his horizon as the peninsula of Hither India, to say nothing of the Mediterranean, it seems almost as reasonable to deny that

[1] [Tzinista "is probably only a dim notion of Malaya or Cochin-China." (C. R. Beazley, *Dawn of Modern Geog.*, 1897, p. 197 *n.*)]

Ptolemy's India contained Hindus as to deny that his *Sinae* were Chinese.

9. As far as I can collect, the names *Sinae* or *Thinae* are mentioned by only two ancient authors besides Ptolemy, viz., by the author of the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, who, as we have already mentioned, uses the term Θῖν, keeping still closer to the original form, and by Marcianus, whom we have just quoted. Whilst Ptolemy assigns to the nation in question a position so far to the south[1], the author of the Periplus places them beyond Transgangetic India indeed, but far to the *north*, under the very *Ursa Minor*, and touching on the frontiers of the further regions of Pontus and the Caspian[2].

10. Marcianus is lauded by Lassen for his superior knowledge of South Eastern Asia, but it is by no means clear that the praise is well deserved[3]. His statements with regard to that quarter of the earth appear to be merely an abstract and popularisation of those of Ptolemy, of whom he speaks as the most godlike and wisest of men. He brings out in his compacter statements still more distinctly the erroneous notion that the Indian Sea was an enclosed basin terminating beyond the Gulf of the *Sinae*. Here the *Terra Incognita* that lay east of the *Sinae*, and the *Terra Incognita* that ran south of the Indian Sea in prolongation of Ethiopia, met and formed an angle. But the *Sinae* themselves were the remotest denizens of the habitable world. Above them to the north and

[1] The Metropolis *Thinae* is placed by him in long. 180° lat. 3° *south*.

[2] The passage of the Periplus regarding *Thin* and *Thinae*, and those of Ptolemy regarding *Sinae* and *Serice*, will be found in Supplementary Notes I and II at the end of this essay.

[3] See Lassen, iii, 287 *seqq.*, and especially 290. Müller treats the pretensions of Marcianus in a very different fashion, and with more justice. (See his *Prolegomena to Geog. Græci Minores*, pp. cxxix *seqq.*)

north-west lay the Seres and their metropolis; all east of these two nations was unknown land full of reedy and impenetrable swamps[1].

11. If we now turn to the SERES we find this name mentioned by classic authors much more frequently and at an earlier date by at least a century[2]. The name indeed is familiar enough to the Latin poets of the Augustan age[3], but always in a vague way, and usually with a general reference to Central Asia and the farther east[4].

[1] All this is merely abstracted from Ptolemy. See the passages of the latter in Note II.

[2] There are two mentions of the Seres which *may* be much earlier. One is in a passage ascribed to Ctesias, which speaks of the Seres as people of portentous stature and longevity. The passage, however, is found in only one MS. (of the *Bibliotheca* of Photius), and is attended by other circumstances which cause doubt whether it is really from Ctesias (see Müller's *Ctesias*, pp. 86 *seq.*, and his *Geog. Gr. Minores*, ii, 152). ["It is said that the Seres and the Northern Indians are so tall, that one meets men 13 cubits high; they live more than two hundred years. In a certain part of the river Gaïtros (Γαΐτρου), there are men like beasts, having a skin similar to that of the hippopotami and consequently impenetrable to arrows. In India, in the remote part of an island situated in the sea, it is said that the inhabitants have long tails, such as those ascribed to satyrs." (See Müller's *Ctesias*, pp. 86–7.)] The other mention is found in a passage, or rather two passages, of Strabo. These also allude only to the longevity of the Seres, said to exceed two hundred years, and Strabo at the time seems to be quoting from Onesicritus (Müller's *Strabo*, xv, i, 34 and 37). The date of Ctesias is about B.C. 400; Onesicritus was an officer of Alexander's (d. B.C. 328.) *Smith's Dictionary of Gr. and Rom. Geography*, article *Serica*, would lead one by its expressions to suppose that Aristotle had spoken of that country, which of course he does not. The reference is to that passage where he speaks of βομβύκια being wound off from a certain insect in the Island of Cos. See the passage quoted in Note IV at the end.

[3] [See Supplementary Note II.]

[4] Seneca is still more indefinite, and will not commit himself to *any* view of their locality:

"Et *quocunque loco* jacent
Seres vellere nobiles" (*Thyestes*, 378);

whilst Lucan *does* commit himself to the view that they were somewhere at the back of Ethiopia. For, apostrophising the Nile, he says:

"Teque vident primi, quærunt tamen hi quoque, Seres" (x, 292).

We find, however, that the first endeavours to assign more accurately the position of this people, which are those of Mela and Pliny, gravitate distinctly towards China in its northern aspect as the true idea involved. Thus Mela says that the remotest east of Asia is occupied by the three races, the Indians, the Seres, and the Scythians, of whom the Indians and the Scythians occupy the southern and northern extremities, the Seres the middle. Just as in a general way we might say still that the extreme east of Asia is occupied by the Indies, China, and Tartary, the three modern expressions which answer with tolerable accuracy to the India, land of Seres, and Scythia of the Ancients[1].

12. Ptolemy first uses the names of SERA and SERICE, the former for the chief city, the latter for the country of the Seres, and attempts to define their position with a precision beyond what his knowledge justified, but which was the necessary result of the system of his work. Yet even his definition of Serice is quite consistent with the view that it indicated the Chinese Empire in its northern aspect, for he carries it eastward to the 180° of longitude, which is also according to his calculations, in a lower latitude, the eastern boundary of the *Sinae*. In one especial point he is inferior in the justness of his views to his predecessors, for whilst Mela and Pliny both recognise the position of the Seres upon the Eastern Ocean which terminates Asia, no such ocean is recognised by Ptolemy (so far as I can discover) in any part of his work. The Ravenna Geographer denounces as an impious error the idea that there is in the extreme east an ocean passing from south to north.

13. Ammianus Marcellinus devotes some paragraphs to a description of the Seres and their country. It is no

[1] See Extracts from Mela and Pliny in Notes III and IV.

more than a conversion of the dry statements of Ptolemy into fine writing, with the addition of some more or less fabulous particulars about their mode of growing silk and carrying on commerce, which are similar to those given by Pliny One passage indeed of the geographical description of Ammianus is startling at first sight in its seeming allusion to the Great Wall; and in this sense it has been understood by Lassen, and apparently also by Reinaud[1]. But a comparison of the passage with Ptolemy's chapter on Serice from which it is derived will show, I think, convincingly that he is speaking merely of an encircling rampart of lofty mountains within which the spacious and happy valley of the Seres is conceived to lie.

14. If, however, we try to fuse into one general description the ancient notices of the Seres and their country, omitting anomalous and manifestly fabulous statements, the result will be something like the following[2]: "The region of the Seres is a vast and populous country, touching on the east the Ocean and the limits of the habitable world, and extending west nearly to Imaus and the confines of Bactria. The people are civilised men, of mild just and frugal temper, eschewing collisions with their neighbours, and even shy of close intercourse, but not averse to dispose

[1] See Lassen, ii, 536, and Reinaud's translation of the passage in *Rel. Pol. et Commerc. de l'Empire Romain*, etc., p. 192. The original words run: "Ultra hæc utriusque Scythiæ loca, contra orientalem plagam in orbis speciem consertæ celsorum aggerum summitates ambiunt Seras, ubertate regionum et amplitudine circumspectos" [Lib. xxiii]. The whole of the passage from Ammianus will be found translated in Note VI. In a previous page he speaks of Serica as a province of Persia!

[2] It must be acknowledged, however, that apart from the exceptional statement of Pausanias (see § 17) the serious notices of the Seres reduce themselves to two, viz., that given by Pliny and that given by Ptolemy. For it will easily be seen by comparing the extracts in the notes, (1) that the notices of Mela and Pliny are either the one copied from the other, or both copied from a common source, and (2), that, as has been already observed, the statements of Ammianus are copied from Ptolemy and Pliny.

of their own products, of which raw silk is the staple, but which include also silk stuffs, furs, and iron of remarkable quality."

Now the Chinese Empire had during the century before our era, and again about a century after that date, just the extension which such a description would imply[1], whilst the other characteristics all have a distinct basis in the character of the nation. Their reputation for integrity and justice, in spite of much that might be said against it, must have had some solid foundation, for it has prevailed to our own day among their neighbours in parts of Asia most remote from each other[2]. The silk, silk-stuffs, and furs of China preserve their fame to our own day also; and their iron to which Pliny assigns the palm was probably that fine cast-iron, otherwise unknown to the ancients, which is still one of the distinguishing manufactures of China[3].

[1] Strabo, in the only passage in which he seems to speak *proprio motu* of the Seres, says of the kings of Bactria that "they extended their rule to the frontier of the Seres and the Phryni." [καὶ δὴ καὶ μέχρι Σηρῶν καὶ Φρυνῶν ἐξέτεινον τὴν ἀρχήν.] (Müller's *Strabo*, book xi, p. 443.)

[2] Thus Wood quotes the testimony regarding the Chinese of a travelled Mullah in Badakshan: "Like every other native of those countries with whom I conversed on the subject, he praised their probity and good faith" (p. 279). Burnes heard that "their commercial regulations are just and equitable. The word of a Chinese is not doubted, nor does the tea ever differ from the sample" (iii, 195). And on the remote frontier of Burma and Siam, "all the travellers whose journals I have consulted speak in unconscious unison of the bitter feeling with which the Burmese are regarded by all the alien tribes which are in any way subject to their authority. And they speak with a like unanimity of the high character which was ascribed to the Chinese for justice, moderation, and good faith" (*On Geog. of Burma*, etc., in *J.R.G.S.*, xxvii).

[3] "Ex omnibus autem generibus palma Serico ferro est. Seres hoc cum vestibus suis pellibusque mittunt" (xxxiv, 41) "We found cast-iron pots and pans of remarkable quality to form a chief item among the miscellaneous 'notions.' (apart from the silk which is the staple) imported by the Chinese into Ava by the Yun nan Road. The art of iron casting is, like most Chinese arts, a very old one; and we find that in the first century B.C. the

15. Of actual diplomatic communication with the Seres I believe there is only one obscure trace in Roman history; this is in the representation of the historian Florus that among the numerous missions from remote nations that sought the footstool of Augustus there came envoys also from the Seres[1]. [The Seres who are mentioned by Florus may have visited Rome as private individuals, merchants, etc., but certainly not on a diplomatic mission. "The Chinese Annals clearly insinuate that Kan Ying (A.D. 98) was the first Chinese who ever penetrated as far west as T'iao chih" (Hirth, *l.c.* p. 305[2]).]

people of Ta wan or Farghânah acquired the new art of casting iron tools and utensils from Chinese deserters (Julien, quoted by Lassen, ii, 615). There is mention of Chinese iron in a passage of the Arabian geographer Ibn Khurdadhbah, quoted below (§ 83).

[1] "Even the rest of the nations of the world which were not subject to the imperial sway were sensible of its grandeur, and looked with reverence to the Roman people, the great conqueror of nations. Thus even Scythians and Sarmatians sent envoys to seek the friendship of Rome. Nay the Seres came likewise, and the Indians who dwelt beneath the vertical sun, bringing presents of precious stones and pearls and elephants, but thinking all of less moment than the vastness of the journey which they had undertaken, and which they said had occupied four years. In truth it needed but to look at their complexion to see that they were people of another world than ours. The Parthians also, as if repenting for their presumption in defeating the Romans, spontaneously brought back the standards which they had captured in the catastrophe of Crassus. Thus all round the inhabited earth there was an unbroken circle of peace or at least of armistice." ["Omnibus ad Occasum et Meridiem pacatis gentibus, ad Septemtrionem quoque, duntaxat intra Rhenum atque Danubium, item ad Orientem intra Cyrum et Euphratem, illi quoque reliqui, qui immunes imperii erant, sentiebant tamen magnitudinem, et victorem gentium populum Romanum reverebantur. Nam et Scythæ misere legatos, et Sarmatæ, amicitiam petentes. Seres etiam, habitantesque sub ipso sole Indi, cum gemmis et margaritis, elephantes quoque inter munera trahentes, nihil magis, quam longinquitatem viæ imputabant, quam quadriennio impleverant; et tamen ipse hominum color ab alio venire cælo fatebatur. Parthi quoque, quasi victoriæ pœniteret, rapta clade Crassiana ultro signa retulere." Florus, Lib. iv, 12.]

[2] ["The only official mission [226] which might have gone forward from China to Ta-Ts'in direct is that of Ts'in-lun, a Syrian merchant, who had come to some port in Cochin China and was sent [from Kiao chi] on to the emperor of Wu [Nan king],

16. That Greek and Roman knowledge of the true position of so remote a nation should at best have been somewhat hazy is not to be wondered at. As the circle of their knowledge widened its circumference from the central shores of the *Mare Nostrum*, it also became of course, in something like quadruple ratio, fainter and less definite; a fact that seems to have been forgotten by those who, in dealing with the identity of *Sera* and *Thinae*, have attached as much precision to the expressions of partial knowledge hovering on the verge of ignorance, as if these had been the expressions of precise but fragmentary knowledge such as our geographers possessed of the Antarctic Coasts, or of the Nyanza Lakes. Yet how very vague this knowledge was we may see in comparing the positions of *Thinae* as assigned respectively by Ptolemy and the author of the Periplus, or in observing the wholesale corrections which Ptolemy applied to the data of Marinus in determining the distance in longitude of Sera from the Stone Tower and of the Stone Tower from the Euphrates. Moreover it is natural in such a state of imperfect knowledge both that the name of the remoter but dominant nation should sometimes be applied to its nearest subject races, and that the characteristics of these nearest races should sometimes be transferred to the governing nation. Something in a degree analogous has taken place in our own specific application of the term DUTCH only to our own neighbours of the Netherlands. Still more in point is the fact that in the days of the T'ang dynasty, when the Chinese power extended to Transoxiana, Arab and Armenian writers sometimes spoke of Farghânah by the name of China; and the

one of the three states contending for the supremacy during the third century A.D.; Sun-ch'üan, *alias* Ta-ti (A.D. 222–252)" (Hirth, *l.c.* p. 306).]

Armenians sometimes gave the name of Chinese even to the Khazars and other races north of the Caspian[1].

17. We shall also find presently that the view entertained by the Chinese themselves of the Roman Empire and its inhabitants had some striking points of analogy to those views of the Chinese which are indicated in the classical descriptions of the Seres. There can be no mistaking the fact that in this case also the great object was within the horizon of vision, yet the details ascribed to it are often far from being true characteristics, being only the accidents of its outer borders towards the east.

18. The name of Seres is probably from its earliest use in the west identified with the name of the silkworm and its produce, and this association continued until the name ceased entirely to be used as a geographical expression[2]. Yet it was long before the Westerns had any correct conception of the nature of the article which they imported at so much cost. Virgil tells how the Seres

[1] St. Martin, *Arménie*, ii, 19. 20. An author quoted by Ibn Haukal places the frontiers of *Sín* close to Mâ-warâ-n-Nahr, and an Arab poet speaks of Kutaybah, the conqueror of Transoxiana for the Moslem, as being interred in the land of *Sín*, whilst it is known from other testimony that this was in Farghânah. (Rémusat, in *Mém. de l'Ac. des Insc.*, viii, 107.)

[2] The Chinese *See* and *Szu*, Silk, is found in the Corean language or dialect in the form *Sir*, in Mongol *Sirkek*, in Manchu *Sirghé*. Klaproth supposes this word to have given rise to the Greek σήρ, the silk-worm, and Σῆρες, the people furnishing silk, and hence *Sericum*, silk. (*Mém. rel. à l'Asie*, iii, 265.) Looking to the Tartar forms of the word the idea suggests itself that *Sericum* may have been the first importation, and that Sēr and Seres may have been formed by inverse analogy from that word taken as an adjective. Deguignes makes or borrows a suggestion that the work *Sherikoth*, which occurs in the Hebrew of Isaiah, xix, 9 ("They that work in fine flax and they that weave net-works shall be confounded"—Deguignes by mistake quotes *Ezekiel*) means silk, and he refers to the Arabic *Saraqat*. This, according to Freytag, means a long piece of white silk, sometimes silk in general. (*Mém. de l'Acad. des Insc.*, xlvi, 575.) Pardessus, in the modern *Mém. de l'Acad. des Insc.*, xv, p. 3, says *Sir* is Persian for silk, but I cannot discover the authority. *Sarah*, connected with the Arabic word just quoted, is "a stripe of white silk." (F. Johnston's *Dict.*)

combed out from the leaves of the forest the fleecy staple of their trade; and poet after poet echoes the story down to Claudian[1]. Pliny knows no better, nor does Ammianus, three centuries later than Pliny[2]; yet in the interval a juster idea of the facts had been published by Pausanias, who knew that silk was spun by insects which the Seres tended for the purpose. Either there was sounder knowledge on the subject afloat in the mercantile world which the poets ignored, sticking to the old literary tradition of the fleecy leaves as they did to the Descend O Muse; or Pausanias must have had some special source of information. The former solution of the difficulty would be the most probable, if the error were confined to the poets, but when we find a sober historian like Ammianus adopt the tale, we seem forced upon the latter. M. Reinaud thinks that Pausanias must have come in contact with a Roman visitor of China in the days of Marcus Aurelius, respecting whom we shall have to speak further on. I may observe, however, that among the Ancients, and indeed down to the time when the invention of the press had had time to take effect, the *fluctuation* of knowledge in regard to geographical truth in general, and to the

[1] A specimen from Silius Italicus is worth quoting, as it shows a correct idea of the position of the Seres on the shores of the remotest eastern sea:

"Jam, Tartessiaco quos solverat æquore, Titan
In noctem diffusus equos, jungebat Eoïs
Littoribus, primique novo Phæthonte retecti
Seres lanigeris repetebant vellera lucis" (opening of book vi).

In another passage an audacious hyperbole carries the ashes of Vesuvius to that distant land:

"Videre Eoï (monstrum admirabile!) Seres
Lanigeros cinere Ausonio canescere lucos" (xvii, 600).

[2] Even in the middle ages Jacques de Vitry, writing about 1213, and believing in his Virgil, says: "Quædam etiam arbores sunt apud Seres, folia tanquam lanam ex se procreantes, ex quibus vestes subtiles contexuntur" (Deguignes in *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inso.*, xlvi. 541). Probably, however, this writer did not think of silk (which he must have known well enough) as the Seric vestment in question.

Far East in particular, is very noticeable; chiefly due no doubt to the absence of efficient publication and the difficulties of reference. Familiar instances of this are seen in the false notion of the Caspian entertained by Strabo, and the opposite error in regard to the Indian Sea held by Ptolemy, as compared with the correct ideas on both subjects possessed by Herodotus[1]. We find a like degeneration in the Arabian knowledge of India in comparing Al Biruni with Edrisi; and other examples will occur in the allusions to China which we shall have to cite.

[1] [We may add the following information from various authors:
"Qua ab Scythico oceano et mari Caspio in oceanum equm cursus inflectitur, ab exoidio huiusce plagæ profundæ niues: mox longa deserta: post Anthropophagi gens est asperrima: dein feris spatia obsita ferme dimidiam itineris partem impenetrabilem reddiderunt. quarum difficultatum terminum facit iugum mari imminens, quod Tabim barbari dicunt: post quae adhuc longinquae solitudines. sic in tractu eius orae, quae spectat aestivum orientem, post inhumanos situs primos hominum Seras cognoscimus, qui aquarum aspergine inundatis frondibus vellera arborum adminiculo depectunt liquoris et lanuginis teneram subtilitatem humore domant obsequium. hoc illud est sericum in usum publicum damno severitatis admissum et quo ostendere potius corpora quam vestire primo feminis, nunc etiam viris luxuriæ persuasit libido. Seres ipsi quidem mites et inter se quietissimi, alias vero reliquorum mortalium coetus refugiunt, adeo ut ceterarum gentium commercia abnuant. primum eorum fluvium mercatores ipsi transeunt, in cuius ripis nullo inter partes linguae commercio, sed depositarum rerum pretia oculis æstimantibus sua tradunt, nostra non emunt." (C. J. Solinus, *Polyhistor*, Mommsen's ed., Berlin, 1864, p. 201.) Cf. Pliny—"Seres à proprio oppido nomen sortiti sunt, gens ad Orientem sita, apud quos de arboribus lana contexitur: de quibus est illud, Ignoti facie, sed noti vellere Seres." (*S. Isidori Hisp. Episcopi Opera omnia*, Parisiis, 1601, *Origin.* Lib. ix, cap. ii, *de gentium vocabulis*, p. 117.)
And again:
"Seres oppidum orientis, à quo & genus sericum & regio nuncupata est. Hæc à Scytico Oceano & mari Caspio ad Oceanum orientalem inflectitur, nobilibus fertilis frondibus, à quibus vellera decerpuntur, quę cæteris gentibus Seres ad vsum vestium vendunt." (*Ibid.*, Lib. xiv, cap. iii, *De Asia*, p. 187.)]
[" Sericum dictum, quia id Seres primi miserunt. Vermiculi enim ibi nasci perhibentur, à quibus haec circum arbores fila ducuntur. Vermes autem ipsi Graecè βόμβυκες nominantur." (*S. Isidori Hisp. Episc. Opera omnia*, Parisiis, 1601, *Orig.* Lib. xix, cap. xxvii, *De lanis*, p. 266).]

19. The Chinese annals tell us that the people whom they call the *Asi* (supposed by Julien and others to be the Parthians)[1] were the intermediate traders who carried silk from the east to the west, and they inform us that these Asi threw every obstacle in the way of direct communication between the Chinese and the Romans. The latter, we are assured, were exceedingly desirous of such communication, but the Asi, who were very inferior to the people of the Roman empire in the arts of weaving and the quality of dyes, feared to lose the profits of agency and manufacture entirely unless they retained a monopoly of the trade. The statement is no doubt incorrect that *all* silk was passed on to the Romans in a manufactured state, or if true, could only have been so for some brief period, but the anxiety of the Romans to rid themselves

[1] The name *Asi* is however said by Rémusat to have been applied by the Chinese almost promiscuously to the nations between the Jaxartes and Oxus, as far south as Samarkand; and in one of quotations it is applied to people of Khojand, and in another to people of Bokhara. In the extracts from Menander (Note VIII at the end) the *Sogdians* appear as intermediaries in the silk trade, *i.e.*, the people of the country whose centre is Samarkand. [*An-hsi*, *An-si* is Parthia. The *Ts'ien Han Shu* says: "The king of the country of An-hsi rules at the city of P'an-tsu; its distance from Ch'ang-an is 11,600 li. The country is not subject to a tu-hu [a Chinese governor in Central-Asiatic possessions]. It bounds north on K'ang-chü, east on Wu-i-shan-li, west on T'iao-chih.... It lies on the banks of the Kuei-shui [Oxus]." And again: "When the emperor Wu-ti [B.C. 140–86] first sent an embassy to An-hsi [Parthia], the king ordered a general to meet him on the eastern frontier with twenty thousand cavalry. The eastern frontier was several thousand li distant from the king's capital. Proceeding to the north one came across several tens of cities, the inhabitants of which were allied with that country. As they sent forth an embassy to follow the Chinese embassy, they came to see the country of China. They offered to the Chinese court large birds' eggs, and jugglers from Li-kan, at which His Majesty was highly pleased." (Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient*, pp. 141, 36.) Notices of An-si are also to be found in the *Shi ki*, in the *Hau Han Shu*, etc. Hirth adds, p. 141: "There can be no doubt that the Hekatompylos of Greek and Roman writers, being the chief capital of the Empire, is identical with the city of P'an-tou (Parthura ?) mentioned in the *Ch'ien-han-shu* and with the city of Ho-tu (old sound Wodok ?) mentioned in the *Hou-han-shu*."]

of dependance on the nations of Persia for the supply of silk is fully borne out by the story which Procopius and others relate as to the introduction of the silkworm into the Byzantine territories by two monks in the time of Justinian (circa 550)[1]. The country from which the monks brought their precious charge is called by Theophanes simply that of the Seres, but by Procopius *Serinda*. China may be intended, but of this there can be no certainty. Indeed it is possible that the term was meant to express a compound like our *Indo-China*, some region intermediate between Serica and India, and if so not improbably Khotan[2].

20. There are among the fragments of the Greek historians other curious notices of intercourse with the Turkish tribes of Central Asia in the days of Justinian's immediate successors, which, though they do not bring up mention of the Chinese under any denomination, are in a degree relevant to our subject, because they show the Byzantine empire in contact and intercourse with nations which occupy a prominent place in the Chinese annals, and introduce the names of some princes who are to be recognised in those also[3].

We have, however, in this (6th) and the following century, from Greek writers, two remarkable notices of China, in the comparison of which we still may trace the duplicate aspect of this great country to which we have referred in the opening of this Essay. For Cosmas, the

[1] See extracts in Note VII.

[2] D'Anville suggests that Serinda may be a compound name but identifies it with *Sirhind* in North Western India. This name I presume however to be Persian, and to date from comparatively late times. Gosselin will have it to be Srinagar in Kashmir. The Ravenna Geographer puts *India Serica* in the North of India on the Ganges and Acesines (*Rav. Anon. Cosmog.* Berlin, 1860, pp. 45, 48).

[3] See a sample of these narratives in Note VIII.

first of these authors, recognises it chiefly on its southern or maritime side, the other, Theophylactus, solely on its land side, and without knowledge of any other. The evidence of both goes to show that the name of Seres had been now practically almost, if not entirely, forgotten.

21. COSMAS, called from his maritime experiences *Indicopleustes*, apparently an Alexandrian Greek, who wrote between 530 and 550[1], is the first Greek or Roman writer who speaks of China in a matter-of-fact manner, and not as a land enveloped in half mythical haze. He speaks of it also by a name which I suppose no one has ever disputed to mean China[2]

This writer was a monk when he composed the work which has come down to us, but in his earlier days he had been a merchant, and in that capacity had sailed on the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, visiting the coasts of Ethiopia, and apparently also the Persian Gulf and the western coasts of India, as well as Ceylon[3].

His book was written at Alexandria, and is termed a *Universal Christian Topography*[4], the great object of it being to show that the Tabernacle in the Wilderness is a pattern or model of the universe. The earth is a

[1] Dates deduced by Montfaucon from different parts of his work show that parts of it were written in 535, and other parts at least twelve years later. The work bears tokens of having been often altered and expanded. Five books only were at first published; six and a fraction more were added gradually to strengthen arguments and meet objections. (See preface in Montfaucon's *Collectio Nova Patrum et Script. Græc.*, ii, which contains the work; extracts were also previously published in Thévenot's Collection of Travels.) [A new edition and translation of Cosmas has been brought out by Mr. J. W. McCrindle for the Hakluyt Society, 1897.]

[2] See page 12.

[3] Sir J. E. Tennent (*Ceylon*, i, 542) says that Cosmas got his accounts of Ceylon from Sopatrus whom he met at Adule, and Lassen ascribes all Cosmas says of India to the same authority (ii, 773). But I have not found the ground of these opinions. One anecdote is ascribed to Sopatrus, no more.

[4] Χριστιανικὴ Τοπογραφία περιεκτικὴ παντὸς τοῦ Κόσμου.

rectangular plane, twice as long as it is broad. The heavens come down to the earth on all four sides like the walls of a room; from the north wall to the south wall, at an undefined height, a semicircular waggon-vault is turned at the level of the springing of which lies the firmament, like a flat ceiling. All below this firmament is this world; the upper story is Heaven, or the world to come. In fact one of those enormous receptacles, which carry the dresses of female travellers in our day, forms a perfect model of the Cosmos of Cosmas.

In the middle of the rectangular surface of this world lies the inhabited earth encompassed by the Ocean. Beyond the Ocean, bordering the edges of creation, is the unvisited transoceanic land on which, in the far east, lies Paradise. Here, too, on a barren and thorny soil, without the walls of Paradise, dwelt man from the fall to the deluge. The ark floated the survivors of the human family across the great ocean belt to this earth which we inhabit, and which, in comparison with that where Noah and his fathers dwelt, is itself almost a Paradise. The earth rises gradually from the south towards the north and west, culminating in a great conical mountain, behind which the sun sets.

Again and again this crotchety monk sputters with indignation against those who reject these views of his, "not built," he says, "on his own opinions and conjectures, but drawn from Holy Scripture, and from the mouth of that divine man and great Master, Patricius[1]." Those wretched people who chop logic, and hold that the earth and heavens are spherical, are mere blasphemers, given

[1] [This appears from Assemani to be the translated name of *Mar-Aba*, Patriarch of the Nestorian Church from 536 to 552 (see ii, 412; iii, 73–6; iii, pt. ii, 406). The same author says that Cosmas, in his expositions of Scripture and his system of the World, closely follows two chief Nestorian Doctors, Theodorus of Mopsuestia and Diodorus of Tarsus (405).]

up for their sins to the belief of such impudent nonsense as the doctrine of Antipodes[1]. The sun, instead of being larger than the earth, is only of the diameter of two climates (18° of latitude) on the earth's surface[2].

Altogether the book is a memorable example of that mischievous process of loading Christian truth with a dead-weight of false science, which has had so many followers. The book as a whole is what Robert Hall called some dreary commentary, "a continent of mud," but there are a few geographical fossils of considerable interest to be extracted from it[3]. These have been dug

[1] See pp. 125, 185, 191, etc., and the drawing in ridicule of the doctrine of Antipodes.

[2] P. 264.

[3] [Mr. J. W. McCrindle in his edition of Cosmas writes: "Since the *Topography* had for its main design the exposition of these views, it has been compared by Yule to 'a mere bank of mud, but remarkable on account of certain geographical fossils which are found imbedded in it.' This comparison, however, we venture to think, does less than justice to the work, for besides the geographical there are many other 'fossils' to be found in the mud, of different kinds and generally of more or less interest and value. A list of these—but not pretending to be complete—has been given by Montfaucon in his Introduction. Among others may be specified the indication of Clysma as the place of the passage of the Red Sea; the wares brought by merchants to the Israelites when they sojourned in the wilderness; the seat of the terrestrial Paradise; the worship of Mithras by the Persians; the rite of baptism; the date of the Nativity; the question of the canonicity of the Catholic Epistles; the exposition of the prayer of Hezekiah; the inscriptions on the rocks found in the desert of Sinai; the state of Christianity in Socotra, Ceylon and India; the extent to which Christianity had spread over the heathen world; the interpretation of the prophecies of Daniel; extracts from Pagan writers and Fathers of the Church preserved only by Cosmas; and his views on the destiny of children who die in the womb or in infancy. The portion, moreover, of the *Topography* which is the 'mud bank' of the comparison is not without some value. It is a specimen of a once prevalent and not yet quite extinct mode of Scriptural exegesis; it reveals what were some of the main currents of thought which permeated the Christian world at the beginning of the Middle Ages; it discloses to what a lamentable degree, as Monotheistic Christianity rose to the ascendant, triumphant alike over the Persian Dualism of the Manichaeans, and the Greek Pantheism of the Neo-Platonists, the light of Hellenic learning and science had faded from Christendom before as yet Islam, which was destined to receive and preserve that

out accordingly, and will be found in Note IX, at the end of this Essay.

22. It will be seen from one of these extracts that Cosmas had a very correct idea of the position of China, as lying on the extreme eastern coast of Asia, "compassed by the ocean running round it to the left just as the same ocean compasses Barbary (Somáli Land) round to the right." He knew also that a ship sailing to China, after running east for a long way, had to turn to the north at least as far as a ship bound for Chaldaea would have to run up from the straits of Hormuz to the mouths of the Euphrates; and that thus it was intelligible how China by the overland route lay much nearer to Persia than might have been thought from the length of the sea-voyage thither.

23. The form of the name which he gives the country is remarkable, *Tzinitza*, as it reads in the 2nd extract, but as it occurs further on (5th extract) more correctly TZINISTA, representing the Chinasthana of the old Hindoos, the Chinistan of the Persians, and all but identical with the name given to China in the Syriac inscription of Si-ngan fu, of which we shall speak further on, viz., TZINISTHAN[1]. Cosmas professes no knowledge of geographical details between Ceylon and China, but he is aware that the cloye country lies between the two, which is in itself a considerable step in geography for the sixth century. Silk, aloes-wood, cloves, and sandal-wood are the chief exports that came westward to Ceylon from China and the intermediate countries.

light, had appeared in the world; and while it exhibits the attitude in which Theology and Science in those days stood to each other, it illustrates the signal danger of regarding Scripture as a storehouse of divine communications which may be turned to account in defending or in oppugning scientific speculations" (pp. xx–xxi).]

[1] See Pauthier, *L'Inscript. de Singanfu*, p. 42.—[Tzinista, Greek transcription of Sanskrit Cīnasthāna.]

24. The other Greek notice of China, which has been alluded to above, is to be found in the History of THEOPHYLACTUS SIMOCATTA, a Byzantine writer of the early part of the seventh century. This author appears to have acquired, through some exceptional source, a knowledge of wars and revolutions that had been going on among the Turkish nations of Central Asia, and some curious fragments of the history of their relations with one another and with their neighbours, which he introduces into his book without much relevance to the thread of his narrative. Among these fragments is a notice of a great state and people called TAUGAS, which he describes as very famous over the east, originally a colony of the Turkish race, now forming a nation scarcely to be paralleled on the face of the whole earth for power and population. Their chief city was at a distance of 1500 miles from India[1]. After treating of some other matters, the historian returns to the subject, and proceeds[2]:—

25. "The ruler of the land of the Taugas[3] [Ταυγας] is called *Taissan*, which signifies, when translated, the *Son of God*[4]. This kingdom of Taugas is never disturbed

[1] *Theoph. Simoc.*, vii, 7. The main subject of the history of Theophylactus is the reign of Maurice. Gibbon calls this author "a vain sophist," "an impostor," "diffuse in trifles, concise in the most interesting facts."

[2] *Ib.*, vii, 9.

[3] The name of China which this probably represents will be shown below. In the Latin version in the *Corpus Hist. Byz.* and in the Bonn edition it is *Taugast*, as also in the Ecclesiastical History of Nicephorus Callistus, who copies largely from Theophylactus (Lang's Lat. Version, Francf., 1588, book xviii, ch. 30).

[4] This is supposed by Klaproth to represent the Chinese *Thiantsé*, "Son of Heaven." It is curious, however, that the name of the emperor reigning in the latter years of Theophylactus, and a very celebrated sovereign in Chinese history, was *T'ai Tsung*. He came to the throne in 626. The last addition *known* to have been made to the history of Theophylactus is an allusion to the death of Chosroes, King of Persia, which occurred in 628. Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Biography* says that the historian is supposed to have died in the following year, but there does not

by disputed successions, for the authority is hereditary in the family of the chief. The nation practises idolatry, but they have just laws, and their life is full of temperate wisdom. There is a law binding on these people which prohibits the men from ever wearing ornaments of gold, although they derive great wealth in gold and silver from their commerce, which is both large and lucrative. The territory of Taugas, of which we are speaking, is divided in two by a river[1], which in time past formed the boundary between two very great nations which were at war with one another. These nations were distinguished from one another by their dress, the one wearing clothes dyed black, the other red. In our own day, however, and whilst Maurice wielded the Roman sceptre, the nation of the black-coats crossed the river to attack the red-coats, and having got the victory over them they thus became supreme over the whole empire[2].

seem to be any authority for this; and it is *possible* that at a later date the name of T'ai Tsung might have reached him. [What renders the change of *Thiantsé*, says Yule in an additional note, or some similar term into *Taissan* more probable than it seems at first sight, is the fact that Ssanang Ssetzen calls the title by which the Chinese Emperor, Ying Tsung, ascended the throne for the second time (A.D. 1457) *Taissun*, the real title being *T'ien Shun*, "Favoured by Heaven." (See Schmidt, p. 293, and *Chine Ancienne*, p. 405.)]

[1] ["Le Wei choui coule au nord de cette ville, et s'y divise en deux bras, qui se rejoignent après l'avoir parcourue. Ce sont les deux rivières dont Théophylacte parle. Le récit de cet auteur donne une preuve de son exactitude, et témoigne en faveur de la véracité des Annales chinoises." Klaproth, *J. As.*, viii, 1826, pp. 227–230.]

[2] The great river is the Kiang, which divided the Empire of the Sui, whose capital was at Ch'ang-ngan or Si-ngan fu, from that of the Ch'en whose Emperor resided at Nan king. The sovereign of the Sui crossed the Kiang as here related in the year 589, and therefore in the reign of Maurice at Byzantium (582–602). The Ch'en Emperor threw himself into a well; the tombs of his ancestors were violated and their bodies thrown into the Kiang. The Sui thus became masters of the United Empire as Theophylactus relates. (Klaproth, *Mém.*, as below, and see Deguignes, vol. i, 51, 52.) The characteristic black clothing of the people of Shen si, in which lay the capital of the Sui, is noticed by Hajji Mahomed in the extracts given in Note XVIII.

"And this city of Taugas they say was founded by Alexander the Macedonian, after he had enslaved the Bactrians and the Sogdianians, and had consumed by fire twelve myriads of barbarians.

"In this city the king's women go forth in chariots made of gold, with one ox to draw them[1], and they are decked out most gorgeously with gold and jewels of great price, and the bridles of the oxen are gilt. He who hath the sovereign authority hath 700 concubines[2]. And the women of the chief nobles of Taugas use silver chariots.

"When the prince dies he is mourned by his women for the rest of their lives, with shaven heads and black raiment; and it is the law that they shall never quit the sepulchre.

"They say that Alexander built a second city at the distance of a few miles, and this the barbarians call KHUBDAN[3].

"Khubdan has two great rivers flowing through it,

[1] In *Chine Ancienne*, I see a plate from a Chinese drawing which represents Confucius travelling in a carriage drawn by one ox (Pl. 30).

[2] The Emperor T'ai Tsung above mentioned, is said to have dismissed three thousand women from the imperial establishment. (*Ch. Anc.*, p. 286.)

[3] This is sufficient of itself to show that the Taugas of the Greek writer is China. For *Khumdan* was the name given by the Turkish and Western Asiatic nations to the city of Ch'ang-ngan —now represented by Si-ngan fu in Shen si—which was the capital of several Chinese dynasties between the 12th century B.C., and the 9th century A.D. The name Khumdan appears in the Syriac part of the Si-ngan fu inscription repeatedly; in the Arab *Relations* of the 9th century published by Renaudot and by Reinaud; in Mas'udi; in Edrisi (as the name of the great river of China); and in Abulfeda. What is said in the text about the two rivers running through the city is substantially correct (see Klaproth as quoted below). I have here transposed two periods of the original, to bring together what is said of Khubdan. Pauthier takes Khumdan for a western transcription of *Ch'angan*, whilst Neumann regards it as a corruption of *Kong-tien*, court or palace. Both of these explanations seem unsatisfactory. [Khumdan = Khamdan = Khan t'ang, the court of the Emperor = Si-ngan fu. See Hartmann, *Chine* in *Encyclop. de l'Islam*, p. 863.]

the banks of which are lined with nodding cypresses, so to speak.

"The people also have many elephants; and they have much intercourse for trade with the Indians. And these are said to be Indians who are white from living in the north.

"The worms from which the silk filaments are produced are found among these people; they go through many alternations, and are of various colours. And in the art of keeping these creatures the barbarians show much skill and emulation."

26. The passing remarks of some scholars have identified the Taugas of this curious passage with some of the tribes of Turkestan, but there can be no reasonable doubt that it refers to the Chinese, though there is no allusion by Theophylactus to Sinae or Seres, and it is pretty clear that he was repeating what some well-informed person had told him without himself at all understanding where the country lay of which he spoke. Deguignes first showed that the passage referred to China. Gibbon accepted this view, and Klaproth has expounded it in the same sense, apparently unaware that he had been anticipated[1]. And yet he does not explain the name applied to the Chinese or their capital.

Deguignes explained it as indicating the *Ta-göei*, great Göei, or Wei dynasty[2], which preceded the Sui, but there can be little doubt that it represents the obscure name of

[1] Gibbon, ch. cxl, notes; Klap., *Mém. Rel. à l'Asie*, iii, 261–4; [*Journ. Asiatique*, viii, 1826, pp. 227–230].

[2] [Pelliot (*T'oung pao*, Oct. 1912, p. 732) adopts Deguignes' theory: "From 386 to 556 the north of China was occupied by a foreign dynasty coming from eastern Mongolia which took the Chinese name *Wei*; its capital was for a long time in Shan si, then in Hô nan. But the Chinese historians have kept the native name of these invaders with the transcription T'o pa (Thak-bat)." It is possible that Tabyaci has been derived from T'o pa, Thak-bat.]

TAMGHAJ, once applied vaguely to China or some great country lying in the mists of the Far East by the western nations of Asia, and by old Arabian and Persian writers. Thus in 1218, when Mahomed, Sultan of Khwarizm, received envoys from Chinghiz Khan, at Bokhara, he sent by night for one of those envoys who was a native of his own territories, and asked him if it was really true that Chinghiz Khan had conquered Tamghaj[1]?

[1] D'Ohsson, i, 203. That author refers in a note to the Taugas of Theophylactus. So also Albiruni terms the city of Yangju in China "the Residence of the Faghfur, who has the title of *Tamghâj Khan*" (Sprenger's *Post- und Reise-route des Orients*, p. 90). Abulfeda says the same, quoting the "*Qanun*," which I believe is Albiruni's work—"the Faghfur of China, who is called Timghaj Khan, and who is the Great King, according to the history of Al-Niswy, where in his account of Khwarizm Shah and the Tartars, it is stated that the name of the King of the Tartars in China is *Tooghaj*." I take this from MS extracts of Abulfeda kindly translated for me by Mr Badger. ["On lit dans le *Qânoun* : Yandjoû est le capitale du Faghfoûr de la Chine. Il porte le nom de Tamghâdj-khân : c'est leur grand roi. On lit dans la chronique de Nasawi, laquelle est consacrée à l'histoire des rois du Khârizm et des Tatars : La capitale du roi des Tatars en Chine se nomme Tóughâdj." Aboulfeda, II, 2e partie, p. 123.—Guyard's translation.] I do not know how the last word is written in the Arabic, and its closer correspondence to the Taugas of Theophylactus is almost certainly due to accident. The Niswy or Nessawi quoted by Abulfeda was secretary to Sultan Jalaluddín of Khwarizm, and no doubt the allusion is to the anecdote told in the text from D'Ohsson.

Mas'udi says the King of China when addressed was termed Tamgama Jabán [and not *Bagbour*] (qu. Thamgaj ?) (*Prairies d'Or*, i, 306).

Clavijo says: "The Zagatays call him (the Emperor of China) *Tangus*, which means Pig Emperor" (!). See Markham, pp. 133–4. ["Los Chacatays lo llaman Tangus, que han por denuesto, que quiere decir Emperador Puerco." (P. 152, *Vida del gran Tamorlan por Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo*; Madrid, 1782.)] In the Universal History it is mentioned (probably after Sharifuddín) that in 1398 envoys came to Timur from *Tamgaj Khan*, Emperor of Cathay. ["In Ili are found the Chiuese called *T'ao-hua-shi*. Palladius supposes that this is designed to render the word *tamgaj*, applied in ancient times by the Mohammedans in China." Bretschneider, *Med. Researches*, i, p. 71.]

The following examples are more doubtful. "We call this region China, the which they in their language name *Tame*, and the people *Tangis*, whom we name *Chinois*" (*Alhacen, his Arabike Historie of Tamerlane*, in *Purchas*, iii, 152).

Tangtash, Tangnash, Taknas, occur repeatedly in the translation of Sadik Isfahani and of the *Shajrat ul Atrák* as synonymous

27. I am not aware of any other mention of China in a Greek writer till we get to LAONICUS CHALCONDYLAS in the latter half of the fifteenth century. We need not be surprised at the vagueness of the site ascribed to Taugas by Theophylactus when we find this author, who wrote from one to two centuries after the travels of Polo, Odoric, and Ibn Batuta, describing Cathay in one passage as somewhere near the Caspian, in another as in India, between the Ganges and Indus[1].

with Machîn, or a great city therein. But these words are perhaps corrupt readings of *Nangiás*, which was a name applied by the Mongols to Southern China. (See D'Ohsson, i, 190–1; Quat., *Rashideddin*, p. lxxxvi.)

The name can scarcely have any reference to the *T'ang* dynasty, for they did not attain the throne till the latter years of Theophylactus, and he mentions Taugas in connexion with a Khan of the Turks in the time of the Emperor Maurice. It should be mentioned, however, that the title *Thangáj* is found on a coin of a Turkish Khakan of A.D. 1043–44 (see Frœhn's remarks on this in Meyendorff's *Voyage d'Orenbourg à Bokhara*, p. 314 *seqq.*; see also *D'Herbelot* in v. *Thamgaj*). The geographer Bakui also defines *Thamgaj* as a great city of the Turks' country, near which are many villages between two mountains, and only approached by a narrow defile. (*Not. et Extr.*, ii, 491.)

[1] "Hence he (Timur) directed his march against the Chataides, threatening them with destruction. This people are believed to be the same with the ancient Massagetæ, who crossed the Araxes (Jaxartes?) and took possession of an extensive region adjoining that river, in which they settled." (*De Rebus Turcicis*, iii, p. 67.) Again: "Chataia is a city towards the east of Hyrcania, great and flourishing in population, and surpassing in wealth and all other attributes of prosperity all the cities of Asia except Samarkand and Memphis (Cairo). By the Massagetæ it was established with excellent laws in olden time." (*Ib.*) Somewhat later (p. 80) he puts *Chatagia* in India, as mentioned above. Indeed geography for a Greek writer must have been in a state of very midnight at this time, when a historian who ventured to treat of Timur and Shah Rukh (Σαχροίχος) was fain to say of *Cheria* (Herat): "in what part of Asia it was situated, whether in the land of the Syrians or the land of the Medes, he could not ascertain. But some thought that anciently Cheriah was Ninus (Nineveh) as Pagdatine (Baghdad) was Babylon." (*Ib.*, p. 68.)

II. CHINESE KNOWLEDGE OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

28. Having thus set forth such indications as we can of acquaintance with China from Greek and Roman writers, we shall now collect such notices of the Greek and Roman territories as we are able to find in translations from Chinese sources.

It was under the Emperor Wu Ti, of the Han dynasty (B.C. 140–87), that the Chinese first had relations with the countries west of the Bolor mountains, and even the *discovery* of those regions is ascribed by Chinese writers to this period, though the correctness of that idea may well be questioned. ["The thirty-six kingdoms then opened up became afterwards gradually subdivided into more than fifty; all lying to the west of the Hiong-nu, and south of the Wu-sun. Along the north and south run great mountains, and through the centre flows a river [Tarim]. . . . On the west it is limited by the Ts'ong-ling mountains[1]."]

[In the third century before our era, two rival peoples were fighting for supremacy in the north of China, then divided into states under the power, more and more nominal, of the princes of the State of Chau; they were the Hiong Nu, extending from the north of the Shan si Province to lake Barkul, and the Yue chi settled in the region forming the present province of Kan Su. The Hiong Nu, at first subject to the Yue chi, vanquished these a first time at the end of the third century and a second time in B.C. 177. The Yue chi, expelled from Kan Su, their cradle, in 165, went to Ku cha, arrived in the country of the Ili river and of its two southern tributaries, the

[1] [A. Wylie, *Notes on the Western Regions*, translated from the "Tsëën Han Shoo," Bk 96, Pt I (*Journ. Anth. Inst.*, Aug. 1880).]

Tekes and the Konges where the Wu sun were established; the newcomers defeated the Wu sun, and passed beyond the Issik-kul; the Yue chi split into two branches: the little Yue chi who mixed with the K'iang or Tibetans, and the great Yue chi who took Kashgar at the expense of the Sakas (B.C. 163). The Yue chi, defeated again by the Hiong Nu, protecting the Wu sun, were compelled to march towards the south, pushing the Sakas before them, and after some intermediate halts, they arrived first in Ta wan (Farghânah), and then subjugated the kingdom of Ta Hia, or Bactriana, whose capital was Lan She, south of the Oxus, in Badakhshan, northern part of Tokharestan; in B.C. 120 the Yue chi destroyed the Greek dynasty and took in the same year the saka kingdom of Soter Megas. The Sakas or Sak, whom Herr von Le Coq thinks of Iranian stock, fled to the N.W. of India, settled in Sindh and Pendjab, and finally mixed probably with the Yue chi. Later on the Yue chi made the conquest of Kashmîr and, after seeing their Indian Empire fall into pieces in the hands of the Hindu princes, disappeared in the fifth century of our era before the White Huns. The part played by the Yue chi, Tokharians or Indo-Scythians, has been considerable, and they were probably the intermediaries between China and the West, and it is certainly by them that buddhism was known to the Celestial Empire. According to Prof. F. W. K. Müller, of Berlin, one of the "unknown" languages brought to light by the recent excavations in Central Asia is the language of the Tokharians, Indo-Scythians or Yue chi, of the Indo-Germanic group of languages.]

[The Chinese Emperor Wu being desirous of opening communication with the Ta Yue chi in order to excite a diversion against the Hiong Nu, the constant disturbers of the Chinese frontier, ignoring that these Yue chi had

already left the Ili valley and fled south, sent for this purpose an officer called Chang K'ien with about one hundred people (A.D. 138). Chang K'ien had hardly left by the north-western route before he was caught by the Hiong Nu and kept a prisoner for about ten years. Chang K'ien then escaped with some of his comrades, but adhering to his mission succeeded in reaching Ta wan (Farghânah), where he was well received by the people who were acquainted by fame with the powers and riches of China, though they had never had any direct communication with that country. The Yue chi were north of the Oxus, but having conquered Ta Hia (Tokharestan), they went south to occupy their capital Lan She, and Chang K'ien followed them thither, passing through K'ang kiu, but failed to induce them to quit their new seat upon the Oxus to return to their eastern deserts and battle with the Hiong Nu. Thus unsuccessful, after a stay of one year (A.D. 128) with the Yue chi, Chang K'ien tried to return to China by way of Tibet, but was again taken by the Hiong Nu and detained for some time; he managed to escape in 126, and at last this adventurous man got back to China with a Turkish wife and a single follower out of the hundred who had started with him. He was able to report, from personal knowledge, of the countries on the Jaxartes and Oxus, and, from the information he had collected, on other countries of the west. He had noticed bamboos and cloths forwarded from Yun Nan and Sze ch'wan through Shen tu (India) and Afghanistan, and suggested that a new route be taken through India to go westward instead of crossing the Hiong Nu country, and henceforward the emperor Wu acted upon this advice[1].]

One of the consequences of Chang K'ien's voyage was

[1] [Chavannes, *Se-ma Ts'ien*, i, pp. lxxi–lxxiii.]

a desire of the Emperor Wu to open a route to the west through the Turkish and Tibetan tribes; this he was able to do after the victory of General Ho K'iu-ping in A.D. 121 and the conquest of Kan chau and Leang chau which formed the commandry of Ts'iau ts'iuan with a governor (*t'ai chau*) at the place now named Su chau; this commandry was subsequently divided into three: Wu wei (Leang chau), Chang ye (Kan chau) and Tun hwang. The Great Wall built by Ts'in Shi Hwang Ti in A.D. 214, and uniting the various walls erected against the Hiong Nu by the Northern States, was pushed on to the west through the desert after the second expedition of Li Kwang-li against Ta wan in A.D. 101 and 102[1].]

[The Yue chi had fled before the Wu sun of the Ili valley; Chang K'ien gave the advice to make an alliance with these Wu sun against the Hiong Nu, thus securing a free access to the West. Chang K'ien was again sent in A.D. 115 with 300 men to the country of the Wu sun, too weak to show openly their hostility to the Hiong Nu. However Chang K'ien was well received and was able to send agents to Farghânah and Zarafshân. Chang K'ien has the merit of having opened up the road to the countries in the north-west.

The Chinese envoys had reported "that Ta wan had excellent horses in the city of Urh-sze; but they refused to show them to the envoys.... The Emperor forthwith despatched the sturdy yeoman, Chay Ling, and others, on a mission to the king of Ta-wan, with 1000 ounces of gold, and a golden horse, to prefer a request for some of the famous horses in the city of Urh-sze... the demand of the Chinese envoy was met by an absolute refusal. The envoy was enraged, and gave way to unguarded

[1] [Chavannes, *Documents chinois découverts par* A. Stein, pp. v–vi.]

utterances, hammered the golden horse into a shapeless mass, and left (Wylie, *Notes on the Western Regions*, p. 53)." The envoy was murdered at Yau ch'eng and the Emperor, who had already chastised Lau lan, in a fury sent against Ta wan (B.C. 104) Li Kwang-li who was utterly defeated; but in 102 the Chinese general was more successful, reached Ta wan and Yau ch'eng, punished the kings, and returned to China in the following year.]

[Another consequence of Chang K'ien's voyage was the endeavour of the Chinese to find in the south a route to Ta-hia, *viâ* India. To the east were the kingdoms of Tong Hai (Che Kiang) and of Min Yue (Fu Kien); to the south, Chao T'o had founded the kingdom of Nan Yue with Canton as its capital; to the west had been established the kingdom of Tien (Yun Nan); the Chinese were badly received in 122 by the chief of Tien and in 112 they sent an army against Nan Yue. Having established their power in the south by wars in B.C. 111 and 110, the Chinese were able to bring all their forces against the Hiong-Nu. The Emperor Wu died in B.C. 87.]

About the same time the Chinese began to take vigorous measures against the Hiong Nu, and to extend their frontier westward. By B.C. 59 their power reached all over what is now Chinese Turkestan; a general government was established for the tributary states; and about the time of our era, fifty-five states of western Tartary acknowledged themselves vassals of the empire, whilst the Princes of Transoxiana and Bactriana are also said to have recognised its supremacy.

29. [During part of the first century the power of China decayed; in 99 the Emperor Wu sent general Li Kwang-li to fight the Hiong Nu near Lake Barkul; another general, Li ling, at first victorious, was crushed

south of Hami; the Hiong Nu recovered some of their ascendancy and during the period *yong p'ing* (A.D. 58–75) they twice attacked Tun hwang, but they were repelled. At the end of this period, the Chinese entered into communication with the western countries. In A.D. 83, Pan Ch'ao, one of the most illustrious commanders in the Chinese annals, born in 32, at P'ing ling (Shan si province), who had appeared in the field some years previously, was appointed commander of the troops. He took advantage of the feuds between the various countries of Central Asia, Su-le (Kashgar), K'ang kiu (Sogdiana), Shan Shan (South of Lob Nor), Yu t'ien (Khotan), Kiu mi (Uzun Tati), Ku mo (Aqsu), Sh'e ch'eng (Uch Turfan), So kiu (Yarkand), the Yue chi, the Wu sun (Ili) to turn them against K'iu tze (Kucha). In 88 the Yue chi, who had helped the Chinese in attacking Kiu she (Turfan), sent them a tribute of jewels and lions and asked in marriage for their king a princess of the Han family; their ambassador was put under arrest by Pan Ch'ao and sent back; the Yue chi, very angry at the treatment of their envoy, sent an army of 70,000 men under the command of Sie, through the Ts'ong ling (Pamir) to attack Pan Ch'ao; Sie tried to gain to his cause K'iu tze (Kucha), but his emissaries were stopped by Pan Ch'ao, their chief was put to death, and Sie frightened retired; from this time the Yue chi sent a yearly tribute to the Chinese. From A.D. 89 to 104, all the western countries had submitted to the empire, but the K'iang (Tibetans) revolted then and the west was again cut off from China. In 91 Pan Ch'ao was appointed General Protector (*tu hu*) after K'iu tze (Kucha), Ku mo (Aqsu) and Wen Su (Uch Turfan) had submitted. After attacking Yen k'i (Karashahr), Pan Ch'ao took Kiu she (Turfan) and, according to the Chinese historians, then crossed the Ts'ong ling (Pamir)

but this is doubtful. It is not, however, doubtful that he did not push his conquests to the Caspian, nor did he have a way open to the shores of the Indian Ocean, though "we are told that in the year 97 he despatched one of his officers called Kan Ying to make his way by sea to TA TS'IN or the Roman Empire" (Yule[1]). In 100 he asked to be relieved of his command and he died in A.D. 102 at the age of 71 years. He was replaced by his son Pan Hiong who had a military camp of 300 men established at Tun hwang; during the period *yong p'ing* (A.D. 58–75), a Chinese official had already been stationed at Tun hwang and another one at Kiu she (Turfan)[2].]

30. Notices of the TA TS'IN region are found in the geographical works of the time of the latter Han (A.D. 56–220)[3], in the annals of the Ts'in (265–419), and of the T'ang (618–905). But references are also made by the Chinese editors to the same country as having been known in the days of the first Han dynasty (from B.C. 202) under the name of LIKAN or LIKIEN, a name which Pauthier with some probability refers to the empire of the Seleucidæ of Syria, whose conquests at one period extended to the regions of the Oxus[4].

[1] [Yule says in 102; it is a mistake.]—Rémusat, in *Mém. de l'Acad. des Ins.* (new), viii, 116–125. Klaproth, *Tab. Hist.*, p. 67, etc.; see also Lassen, ii, 352 *seq.*

[2] Ed. Chavannes, *Trois généraux chinois de la dynastie des Han orientaux.* (*T'oung pao*, May, 1906, pp. 210–269.)

[3] [See A. Wylie, *Notes on the Western Regions*, translated from the "Tsëën Han Shoo," Bk 96, Pt I (*Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, Aug. 1880.)]

[4] Pauthier, *De l'Authent.*, pp. 34, 55 *seqq.*; Klap., *o.c.*, p. 70. ["We are told in records as old as the *Hou Han Shu* and the *Wei lio* that Ta Ts'in and Li-kan are one and the same country, and it is clear that Li-kan is the older name of the two. It apparently first occurs in the *Shih-ki* (ch. 123). When Chang K'ien had negotiated his treaties with the countries of the west, the king of An-hsi (Parthia) sent an embassy to the Chinese court and presented large birds' eggs, probably ostrich eggs, and jugglers from Li-kan." (Hirth, *l.c.*, pp. 169–170.)]

The name *Ta Ts'in* (*Great China*), we are told, was applied to those western lands on account of the analogy of its people to those of the Middle Kingdom. Some even alleged that they had sprung originally from China. But this was probably a puerile perversion, and we may suppose that the name was given from some perception that those Greek and Roman countries bore to the west the same relation that China and its civilisation bore to Eastern Asia.

From this we gather, among other things, that the Chinese in the time of Pan Ch'ao recognised the term *Ts'in* as a name by which they were known, at least to foreigners. Indeed Fa Hian the Buddhist traveller (early in the fifth century) repeatedly speaks of his native land under this name[1], though perhaps with a restricted reference to the ancient territory of the Ts'in which was the province of his birth.

31. Ta Ts'in, according to the earlier of these notices, is otherwise called the kingdom of the Western Sea [*Hai si*]. It is reached from the country of the *T'iao chi* (Tajiks, or Persians, according to Pauthier and others)[2],

[1] *E.g.*, pp. 7, 333.

[2] [Visdelou identifies *T'iao chi* with Egypt, Deguignes with Persia. According to Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient*, p. 144, it is Babylonia. Under the Han, it was a western kingdom; it became a government under the T'ang; see Chavannes, *Tou kiue*, p. 368.

It would be more exact to say that T'iao chi corresponds to Mesene, *i.e.* the country between the Tigris and the Euphrates, near their confluence, and Babylonia and the sea; it was annexed in 225 to their possessions by the Sassanid sovereigns and finally was part of the Khalifate of Baghdad.

The earliest mention of T'iao chi appears in the *Ts'ien Han shoo* (B.C. 206–A.D. 23) and the *Shi ki*, Hirth, *l.c.*, p. 144.

"My interpretation of these (Chinese) records leads to the conclusion that the ancient country of Ta-ts'in, called Fă-lin during the middle ages, was not the Roman Empire with Rome as its capital: but merely its oriental part, viz., Syria, Egypt and Asia Minor; and Syria in the first instance." (Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient*, p. vi.)

"The length of the sea-route from T'iao-chih to Ta-ts in,

by traversing the sea obliquely for a distance of 2000 miles and is about 8000 miles distant from Ch'ang ngan or Si-ngan fu. The name of the capital is ANTU[1]. The *An si*, and people of India, drive a great and profitable trade with this empire by the way of the Great Salt Sea, and merchants sailing thither are obliged to provide themselves with necessaries for three years. Hence there are few who succeed in reaching so remote a region[2]. The extent of the empire is 2000 miles from east to west, and as much from north to south[3], and it has 400 cities of the first class. The coinage is stated to be of gold and silver, ten pieces of silver making the value of one piece

i.e., from a port on or near the mouth of the Euphrates (Babylon, Velogesia, Hira, Orchoë, Charax Spasinu ?) to Aelana, the seaport of Petra or Rekem, is described as measuring over 10000 li." . . ." We have to interpret this expression [10,000 li] . . . as meaning an indefinite large number." (Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient*, p. 164.)

" We may conclude from the hints contained in the earlier Chinese histories, that this route (Central Asia, Hekatompylos, Acbatana, Ktesiphon, Hira, mouth of the Euphrates, Persian Gulf, Indian Ocean, Red Sea, Aelana and Petra with its bifurcation to Gaza along the Phoenician coast and to Bostra, Damascus, etc.) was the principal channel of trade between China and Syria as the representative of the Far West from the beginning of commercial relations till up to the year A.D. 166." (Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient*, p. 169.) It will be seen hereafter that the sea-route was known before the year A.D. 166.

Dr. Hirth has given the translation and the text of various notices of Ta Ts'in from Chinese works in *China and the Roman Orient*: in the Supplementary Notes will be found the notice from Chau Ju-kua's *Chu-fan-chi*, translated also by Hirth in 1912, pp. 102–4.]

[1] Antioch, probably, as Pauthier supposes; and, if so, it shows that the information came from a date earlier than the time of Pan Ch'ao. [With reference to this name, apparently indicating *Antioch*, it is curious to read in Mas'ūdī that at the time of the Musulman conquest there remained of the original name of the city only the letters *Alif*, *Nún*, and *Tá* (*Ant* or *Anta*, see *Prairies d'Or*, iii, 409).]

[2] So, conversely, the author of the *Periplus* says, " It is not easy to get to this Thin, and few and far between are those who come from it."

[3] The extract at p. 36 of Pauthier (*De l'Authent.*) has 1000 li (200 miles); but this is evidently a mistake for 10,000, as given in another extract at p. 43.

of gold[1]. There follows a variety of what read to us as vague or puerile notices of the constitution and productions of the country, including, however, a detailed and apparently correct enough account of the coral fisheries of the Mediterranean[2].

32. In the annals of the T'ang we are told that the country formerly called Ta Ts'in has in later days been called FU LIN (πόλιν, = Byzantium, see Note to Ibn Batuta, vol. IV, *infra*)[3]. Many of the trivialities in the

[1] In the Byzantine coinage, however, *twelve* of the ordinary silver coin (*miliaresion*) went to the piece of gold (*nomisma*).

[2] Pauthier, *De l'Auth.*, pp. 34–40; Klap., p. 68.

[3] "[" The texts of the T'ang dynasty speak of 'Fu-lin, that is the ancient Ta-ts'in,' or of 'Tats'in, also called Fu-lin,' and it appears that the two names were interchangeable. From the Chinese point of view the question would, therefore, be simple enough. If Ta-ts'in is Syria, Fu-lin must be Syria....My present view... is briefly this: Ta-ts'in is the Roman empire with all its grandeur emanating from Rome, its capital; but the detail placed on record in the contemporaneous texts is confined to its Asiatic provinces, for which reason, not Rome but Antioch is described as the capital city. Its relations to China were of a commercial kind. Fu-lin is the Eastern empire of Byzantium, but as in the case of Ta-ts'in, the Chinese accounts are confined to certain Asiatic portions of it, and its relations to China were chiefly ecclesiastical." (F. Hirth, *The Mystery of Fulin*, 1910, p. 1.) Prof. Chavannes after accepting this view has abandoned it in his *Notes additionnelles sur les Tou-kiue* (*T'oung pao*, 1904, p. 37, note 3). Hirth has thus resumed the arguments of Chavannes, *l.c.*, p. 2, who refers to Yule's notes in *Cathay*, p. 402:

"1. The name Fu-lin represents the Greek accusative πόλιν in εἰς τὴν πόλιν, Istán-polin, according to Mas'udi the origin of Istambul.

2. The name Fu-lin appears in Chinese literature previous to the arrival of the Nestorians in China.

3. It may have been brought to China during the Sui period by the Western Turks, who had been visited by Byzantine ambassadors in 568 and 576 A.D.

4. The king of Fu-lin who sent ambassadors to China in 643 was called *Po-to-li*. By substituting [one character for another], the name would appear as *Po-si-li*, which may stand for βασιλεύς.

5. The Arab general *Mo-i*, who was sent to effect the siege of Fu-lin, may be identical with Muawia's son 'Yézid ben Muawia,' one of the three emirs who attacked Constantinople.

6. The king of Fu-lin who sent an embassy to China in 1081 *Mié-li-i-ling-kai-sa* may have been identical with the pretender Nicephorus Melissenus." However, Prof. Hirth maintains his view and identifies Fu-lin with Bethlehem, *l.c.* p. 17, and in a

older accounts of Ta Ts'in are repeated, with some circumstances that are new. And among the peculiarities ascribed by the Chinese to the Roman empire it is curious to recognise not a few that nearly or entirely coincide with things that have been described by ancient or mediæval writers as peculiarities of China, or the adjoining countries. Such are the eminently peaceful and upright character of the people; the great number of cities and contiguous succession of populated places; horse-posts; the provision made for the conveyance and maintenance of foreign ambassadors; the abundance of gold and gems, among which are some in the form of tablets that shine in the dark[1]; pearls generated from the saliva of golden pheasants (!), tortoise-shell, rare perfumed essences, asbestos stuffs that are cleaned by fire, cloths of gold brocade and damask silk; remarkable capons, rhinoceroses, lions, and vegetative lambs[2]. Jugglers and conjurors are also seen who perform amazing things[3].

new paper in the *Journ. Amer. Orient. Soc.*, xxx, 1909, and xxxiii, 1913.

I never accepted the derivation of Fu-lin from Bethlehem, an obscure place for the Chinese; phonetically it cannot come from πόλιν. M. Blochet has suggested that *Fu-lin* is derived from *Rûm* but adduced no proof of the fact, while M. Pelliot has quite recently brought forward a number of linguistic facts confirming this view. The word Fu-lin is found for the first time in a Chinese work of the middle of the sixth century, but it is quite possible that it was known a century before, according to Pelliot, under the forms *Pu-lan* and *Pu-lam*.]

[1] Benjamin of Tudela says that the lustre of the diamonds on the emperor's crown at Byzantium was such as to illumine the room in which they were kept (p. 75).

[2] The obscure extracts in Pauthier (*op. cit.* pp. 39, 47), as to certain lambs found to the north of the kingdoms dependent on Fu lin, which grow out of the ground, and are attached by the navel to the soil, appear to refer to the stories of the Lamb-Plant of the Volga countries (see *Odoric*, p. 241), and not, as Pauthier supposes, to the fat-tailed sheep of Western Asia. [Cf. Chavannes, *T'oung pao*, May, 1907, p. 183 *n.*; and Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient*, p. 261.]

[3] See traces of this juggling skill in a passage of one Italian version of Odoric, at p. 338 of *Appendix*. In the Byzantine

33. If such trivialities as most of these were all on which to build, the identification with the Roman empire would not be very satisfactory. But in additior to the name of *Fu lin*, and the position ascribed to the kingdom as lying N.W. of Persia, others of the details, though the mention of some of them has a dash of the whimsicality of Chinese taste, appear to be genuine touches from the reports of those who had visited Constantinople. The accounts of the coral fishery and the horse-posts have already been alluded to, as well as the desire ascribed to the kings of Ta Ts'in for a direct communication with the Middle Kingdom, which has its counterpart in the statements of Procopius and Menander about the silk trade. The compass of 100 *li* or 20 miles, ascribed to the capital of Fu lin, nearly corresponds with that estimated by Benjamin of Tudela, and by popular opinion in the city itself[1] It stands upon the shore of the sea; the houses are very lofty, and built of stone; the population extends to 100,000 fires (say 500,000 souls); the adjoining boroughs, villages, and houses are in such numbers as to form an almost unbroken succession[2]. The palaces and

History of Nicephorus Gregorias, there is a curious account o some Blondins of those days, whose itinerancies extended from Egypt through Constantinople to Cadiz, and who, in their funam bulistic exhibitions, shot arrows standing on the rope, and *carried boys on their shoulders*, across it at a vast height from the ground etc. (viii, 10).

[1] Benjamin says eighteen miles (p. 74). According to Gibbon, it was really between ten and eleven. "Ambitus urbis non attingit tredecim milliaria...si ejus situs collinus in planitiem explicaretur, in ampliorem dilataretur latitudinem, attamen nondum ad magnitudinem *quam vulgo Byzantini ei attribuunt, videlicet duodeviginti milliariorum.*" (*Pet. Gyllius de Topog. Constant.* in Banduri, *Imp. Orientale*, Venet., 1729, i, 284; see also Ducange, *Const. Christiana.*) [According to the *Sin T'ang Shu*, translated by Hirth, *l.c.*, p. 57: "The capital [of Fu lin] is built of [granite] stone; the city is eighty li broad."]

[2] When King Sigurd sails into Constantinople, he steers near the shore, and sees that "over all the land there are burghs, castles, country towns, the one upon the other without interval." (*The Saga of Sigurd—Early Travels in Palestine*, p. 59.)

other great houses of the capital had colonaded porticoes, and parks with rare animals; there were twelve principal ministers, distinguished by titles of honour, who directed the administration of the empire[1]. One great gate of the city towards the east is 20 *chang* (about 200 feet) high, and is covered with gold-leaf from top to bottom[2]; another of the gates has a golden steelyard over it, and also a clock showing the twelve hours of the day by means of the golden figure of a man who drops a golden ball at every hour[3]; the houses have flat terraced roofs, over which, in hot weather, water is discharged from pipes; the costume of the sovereign, his jewelled collars and cap, his silken robe embroidered with flowers, and without any opening in front, a.. all in accordance with particulars

[1] The Empire, whilst entire, was divided into *thirteen* dioceses; but of the administrators there were *twelve* vice-prefects, a number likely to adhere in popular accounts. Gibbon also says: "The successive casualties of inheritance and forfeiture had rendered the sovereign proprietor of many stately houses in the city and suburbs, of which *twelve were appropriated to the ministers of state*" (ch. liii). Gibbon is, perhaps, here building on Benjamin of Tudela, whose words closely corroborate the popular view as exhibited in the Chinese notices: "Twelve princely officers govern the whole empire by (the emperor's) command; each of them inhabiting a palace at Constantinople, and possessing fortresses and cities of his own" (p. 74).

[2] *The Saga of Sigurd*, quoted above, says: "The Emperor Alexius had heard of King Sigurd's expedition, and ordered the City Port of Constantinople to be opened, which is called the GOLD-TOWER, through which the emperor rides when he has been long absent from Constantinople, or has made a campaign in which he has been victorious" (p. 59). The Golden Gate stood towards the south end of the western wall of the city, not on the east as said in the Chinese reports. "The western side of the city is towards the land," says Mas'ūdī, "and there rises the Golden Gate with its doors of bronze." (*Prairies d'Or*, ii, 319.) It was built by Theodosius, and bore the inscription, "*Hæc loca Theudosius decorat post fata tyranni; Aurea Sæcla gerit qui portam construit auro.*" (*Insc. Constant.*, in Banduri, i, p. 156.)

[3] Pauthier quotes passages from Codinus about a brazen *modius*, etc., over the arch of Amastrianus; but they do not seem to afford any real corroboration of this account. See Banduri, at pp. 18, 73–74; and Ducange, p. 170. The latter, indeed, speaks of a *golden horologe* in the Forum of Constantine; but this is a slip, for the original, which he cites, has χαλκοῦν (p. 134).

to be observed in effigies of the Byzantine emperors[1]. But the most convincing proof that the Chinese authors had real information about the empire of Constantinople, is found in a notice which they give of a somewhat obscure passage in the Byzantine History:

34. "The *Ta shi* (or Mohamedan Arabs), after having overrun and forcibly taken possession of kingdom after kingdom, at last sent their general-in-chief, MOI, to lay siege to the capital city of Fu lin. YENYO, who was the negociator of the peace which followed, made it one of the conditions that the *Ta shi* should every year pay a tribute, consisting of gold and silk-stuffs[2]."

In this passage is commemorated the remarkable fact that the Khalif Moawiyah, after having (A.D. 671–678) for seven successive summers renewed the endeavour to take Constantinople, at length felt himself under the necessity of sending envoys to sue for peace from the Emperor Constantine IV Pogonatus. The latter agreed, and sent the patrician *Ioannes* Petzigaudias (the *Yenyo* of the Chinese) to Damascus to conduct the negociation with the Arabs. The result was that the latter pledged themselves to a thirty years' peace, and to pay to the

[1] The Chinese story ascribes wing-like appendages to the emperor's cap. Pauthier refers to medals as showing these; but I have not been able to verify this. The wings attached to the cap are rather an ancient Hindu feature, and are remarkably preserved in the state costume of the kings of Burma and the sultans of Java. [I suppose that these so-called wings are the flaps or fanions flowing from the tiara or cap of the sovereign examples of these flaps may be seen on the coins of Tigranes I the Great (97–56 B.C.), king of Armenia.]

[2] Pauth., *De l'Auth.*, p. 49. ["Since the Ta Shih [Arabs] had conquered these countries they sent their commander-in-chief, Mo-i, to besiege their capital city; by means of an agreement, they obtained friendly relations, and asked to be allowed to pay every year tribute of gold and silk; in the sequel they became subject to Ta Shih [Arabia]." *Kiu T'ang Shu*, translated by Hirth, *l.c.*, pp. 55-6; this passage has been mistranslated by Pauthier and Bretschneider; of Phillips, *China Review*, vii, p. 412.]

empire every year 3000 pieces of gold, fifty slaves, and fifty horses [1].

35. In a later work, called the *History of the Barbarous Nations*, some of the particulars ascribed to Ta Ts'in appear to belong to Syria under the Ayubite sultans, but with these also are mixed up circumstances, both old and new, which really point to the Roman empire. Thus it is said, with that confusion of Christianity with Buddhism of which we have elsewhere quoted various instances (Benedict Goës, *infra*) :—"On the recurrence of every seventh day people assembled from all directions to offer their devotions in the chapels, and to adore Fo."

In all these notices we see much that is analogous between the fragmentary views of the great seats of western civilisation under the names of Ta Ts'in and Fu lin, taken in the Far East, and those of the great eastern civilisation under the names of Sinæ and Seres taken in the west. In both we see the same uncertainty in degree as to exact position, the same application of facts belonging to the nearer skirts of the half-seen empire as descriptive of the whole; and in that isolated chance record in the Chinese books of a real occurrence in the history of Byzantium we have a singular parallel to the

[1] See *Niceph. Patriarch. Breviarium Historic.*, in the 1st volume of the *Corpus Byzant. Histor.*, pp. 21–2; also, *Theophanis Chronographia*, in the same coll., p. 295, and Gibbon, ch. lii. Pauthier seems to think that the circumstances are passed over entirely by Gibbon and other modern historians; but this is a mistake. Gibbon does not name the Greek envoy; but he mentions his going to Damascus, and the result. He also relates how the tribute was greatly augmented a few years afterwards, when the Khalifate was in difficulties; but finally repudiated by the Khalif Abdulmaliq in the time of Justinian II. The circumstances, with the name of the Patrician, are also detailed in St. Martin's edition of Lebeau (*Hist. du Bas Empire*, xi, 428). Silk-stuffs are not mentioned here as part of the tribute; but "gold and silk-stuffs" do frequently appear as the constituents of tribute exacted in the early Saracen wars. See Gibbon, ch. li, *passim*. I believe no *Mahomedan* writer records this transaction.

like fragment of Chinese history which had been picked up and entered in his narrative by Theophylactus. The form given in the Chinese fragment to the name of the Khalif [Moawiyah] is nearly the same as that (*Maui*) which we find in an Armenian writer [1], and this little circumstance may possibly indicate the people who furnished the Chinese annalists with some of their scraps of knowledge.

36 After this short view of the Chinese ideas of the Roman empire we may return to Kan Ying, the officer whom General Pan Ch'ao commissioned at the end of the first century [2] to open communication with those western regions, whether in view to trade or to conquest [3]. This officer proceeded to take ship, it would seem on the Persian Gulf [in T'iao chi]. "But the ship's company said to him, 'When out at sea a multitude of things will occur to make you sigh for what you have left behind. He who occupies his business in the great waters is liable to regret and repentance for what he has undertaken. If the envoy of the Han has no father, no mother, no wife or children to pine after, then let him go to sea—not otherwise." They also represented that with a fair wind it would take two [4] months at least to cross the sea to Ta Ts'in, and if the wind were adverse it might take two years to make the return voyage, so that adventurers

[1] Michael the Syrian, translated by Dulaurier in *Journ. Asiat.*, sér. iv, tom. xiii, p. 326.

[2] [Under the emperor Ho, the 9th year (97 A.D.) *yong yuan*.]

[3] Klaproth says that Pan Ch'ao entertained a scheme for *invading* the Roman Empire, but that the general to whom this was confided was better advised, and retraced his steps. (*Tabl. Hist. de l'Asie*, p. 67.) The extract, however, given by Pauthier from the Annals of the Tsin, as cited in the Encyclopædia of the Emperor K'ang Hi says Kan Ying was despatched as *envoy*. (Pauth., p. 38.) Probably he was sent to reconnoitre.

[4] [Chavannes translates *three* months from the *Hau Han Shu*; cf. *T'oung pao*, May, 1907, p. 178.]

bound for Ta Ts'in were accustomed to lay in stores for three years[1]. Such at least were the excuses made by the chicken-hearted Kan Ying, who was certainly not the man to conquer the Roman empire; he therefore thought better of it, and retraced his steps. Hence at this time no contact occurred between the representatives of the two great seats of civilisation[2].

36 *bis*. [One of the consequences of Chang K'ien's voyage and the search for a road southward towards India, was the conquest of the country of the Kiao chi (Tong King) which under the Anterior Han (B.C. 206–A.D. 24) and the Posterior Han (A.D. 25–220) was annexed to China (B.C. 111–A.D. 39 and A.D. 42–186) and divided into three parts: Kiao chi (Ha-noi), Kiu chen (Thanh hoa?) and Ji nan (Kwang binh). Tong King became the terminus of the sea route instead of Tiao chi. Canton took the place of Tong King after some hard competition; the pilgrim Yi Tsing embarked at Canton. When Annam became independent in 968, Tong King was abandoned by the Chinese and Canton remained up to the nineteenth century the great emporium of China, except during the Mongol period when Zaitùn seems to have been the important trading port of China. However from the second century until the end of the sixth century, *i.e.* before the Tibetan invasion, the Turkestan route was taken in preference.]

37. Sixty years later, however (A.D. 166), in the reign of Hwan Ti[3] of the Han, an embassy came to the court of China from ANTUN, king of Ta Ts'in (the Emperor M. Aurelius ANTONinus). This mission had no doubt made

[1] This may have referred rather to the difficulty of obtaining provision suited to Oriental tastes. Governor Yeh, when a captive bound for Fort William, laid in seven years' provision of *eggs*!

[2] Pauthier, *u.s.*; Rémusat, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

[3] [Ninth year *yen-hi*.]

the voyage by sea, for it entered China by the frontier of Ji nan or Tong King, bringing presents of rhinoceros horns, ivory, and tortoiseshell. This is not precisely the sort of present we should have looked for, and indeed the Chinese annals say that it was believed the ambassadors had purloined the rarer objects of their charge; just the accusation that was brought against Friar John of Montecorvino eleven hundred years later. It seems likely enough that they had lost their original presents by shipwreck or robbery, and had substituted in the east such trumpery as they were told the Chinese set a value upon. The historians also observe that the embassy came by this southern route, and not by the northern route, which, it is implied, they might have followed; a route which was doubtless debarred to them by Parthian hostility[1].

[With regard to this embassy, which evidently was not sent by Marcus Aurelius and was headed by some Syrian merchant, we shall remark that the same route to Kiao chi was followed in 159 and 161 A.D. under the same emperor Hwan Ti by ambassadors from *T'ien tchu* (India). Already in 120 A.D. musicians and jugglers

[1] Klap., 68–9; Pauthier, *De l'Auth.*, p. 32; *Id.*, *Hist. des Relations*, etc., p. 20; Déguignes in *Mém. de l'Acad.*, xxxii, 358. Reinaud supposes that Pausanias may have got his information about the production of silk from the members of this embassy (*supra*, p. 21). ["The sea route from the Persian Gulf to Rekem, it appears from what we may gather, was the principal channel for the silk trade up to the time of the Parthian war conducted under Marcus Aurelius Antoninus by Avidius Cassius during the years A.D. 162 to 165; whereas the bulk of oriental articles which had nothing to do with further treatment (dyeing, embroidering, re-weaving) in Phoenicia, probably went to Alexandria, for distribution over the Roman Empire. It is probably not an accidental coincidence that just at the conclusion of this war, which terminated with the capture of Seleucia and Ktesiphon by the Romans in A.D. 165, a mission went forward from Ta-ts'in by sea to the Far East which arrived at the court of China in October, A.D. 166. Up to this time the Parthians had monopolised the trade between China and Ta-ts'in as we learn from the *Hou Han-shu*, the *Wei lio* and other records." (Hirth, *l.c.*, pp. 173–4.)]

from Ta Ts'in had arrived in Burmah, showing that relations by sea existed between the Roman Empire and the Far East[1]. The first relations between China and Southern and Western Asia through Burmah took place at the beginning of the 2nd century of our era, when king Yung-yau-tiao was reigning in the country of Shan; Yung had received in 97 some sort of imperial investiture, and he was the prince who sent the Ta Ts'in jugglers to China in 120[2].]

About the same time [*c*, 164], and perhaps by means of this embassy, the Chinese philosophers were made acquainted with a treatise on astronomy, which had been brought from Ta Ts'in; we are told that they examined it, and compared it with their own[3].

38. Some intercourse would seem to have been kept up after this of which no precise record has been preserved. For we are told that early in the third century the Sovereign of Ta Ts'in sent to the Emperor T'ai Tsu[4], of the Wei dynasty which reigned in Northern China, articles of glass of a variety of colours, and some years later a person who had the art of "changing flints into crystal by means of fire," a secret which he imparted to others, and by which the fame of the people of the west was greatly enhanced in China[5].

A new embassy came from Ta Ts'in in the year 284, bringing *tribute*, as the presents are termed on this occasion, with the usual arrogant formula of the Chinese. This

[1] [Chavannes, *Les Pays d'Occident* d'après le *Heou Han Chou*, *Toung pao*, May, 1907, p. 185.]

[2] [Pelliot, *Deux Itinéraires*, p. 132.]

[3] Deguignes in *Mém. de l'Acad.*, xlvi, 555.

[4] *Ibid.* [There is something wrong in this passage from Deguignes as there is no T'ai Tsu of the Wei dynasty.]

[5] Klaproth, *op. cit.* Pauthier, probably by an alternative translation, calls the presents "glasses of a red colour, stuffs of azure silk figured with gold, and the like" (p. 49).

must have been despatched by the Emperor Carus (282-283), whose short reign was occupied with Persian war [1].

A long suspension of intercourse seems to have followed, enduring till the 7th century. In the time of the *Sui* the Emperor Yang Ti (605–617) greatly desired to open communication with Ta Ts'in, now called Fu lin, but he could not succeed in his object. In 643 however, during the reign of T'AI TSUNG, the second emperor of the T'ang dynasty, and one of the greatest monarchs in Chinese history, whose power was acknowledged south of Hindu Kush and westward to the Caspian, an embassy came from Fu lin bringing a present consisting of rubies, emeralds, etc. This embassy is alleged to have been sent by the King of Fu lin called POTOLI or PHEITOLI. The emperor deigned to address a gracious and conciliatory letter in reply to this mission [2]. Considering that the

[1] ["During the T'ai-k'ang period of the emperor Wu-ti (A.D. 280–290) their king [Ta Ts'in] sent an envoy to offer tribute."] *Chin-shu*, tr. by F. Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient*, p. 45.

[2] It is difficult to guess who is meant by the *Wang Pheitoli*, who sent this embassy. Heraclius died in February 641; his son Constantine three months later. Heracleonas was then proclaimed; but speedily displaced by Constans, son of Constantine, at the age of eleven. Klaproth ascribes this embassy to *Theodorus*, the brother of Heraclius, whose name might be represented in Chinese as *Potoli*. But he appears to have been killed in 638. Pauthier adopts the name, but applies it to *Pope Theodorus*, who might have sent this embassy to China after his accession to the Pontifical throne in November 642; a desperately improbable hypothesis. May not *Wang Pheitoli* represent the *Prætorian* Prefect during the infancy of Constans? St. Martin thinks the name represents *Valentine* Cæsar, whose revolt put Constans on the throne. (On Lebeau's *Hist. du Bas Empire*, xi, 306.) [With regard to *Potoli*, Hirth, *l.c.*, p. 294, remarks: "The old pronunciation of this name was probably *Bat-da-lik* (the modern Cantonese sound is *Po-to-lik*); and this, in default of any prominent personage being mentioned under a similar name in that period of the history of Syria, I consider as the Chinese form of Arabic *Bathric*. D'Herbelot (*Bibl. Orient.*, vol. i, p. 380), says: "*Bathrik* et *Bathrirak*, dont le pluriel est *Batharekah*, signifie en Arabe, Persien et Turc, le Patriarche des Chrétiens de chaque Secte et de chaque Église." It is further stated by d'Herbelot that, at the council of Constantinople held under Theodosius the Great in A.D. 381, the rank of the patriarchs,

Musulmans had in the seven preceding years wrested Syria from the Roman Empire and Persia from the Sassanian kings; that Yezdegerd, the last of these latter, had sent (as we shall see hereafter) envoys to China to seek support, and that the suzerainty of T'ai Tsung was acknowledged in Farghânah, Bactria, and a part at least of Afghanistan and Khorassan, it seems not improbable that the object of the Byzantine mission also was to stir up a Chinese diversion against the terrible new enemy.

39. Another embassy from Fu lin, mentioned without particulars under the year 711, must have been despatched under Justinian II, who was slain in that year. In 719 arrived another embassy from the ruler of Fu lin, who is termed on this occasion, not king, but YENTHUHOLO, *of the rank of Premier Functionary of the Empire*, bringing presents of lions and great sheep with spiral horns. The emperor at this time was Leo the Isaurian. Possibly the mission, whatever its object, may have been despatched before he was established on the throne (717) [1].

the spiritual rulers over large countries, was fixed, and that the patriarch of Antioch was to rank fourth amongst five (*viz.*, those of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem." J. Edkins writes: "My own suggestion in regard to *Pa-ta-lik* is that it was the title of the Nestorian patriarch.... Dr. Hirth introduces the Arabian word *Baṭhrik* from d'Herbelot as the medium by which the word Patriarch was introduced to the Chinese. But the Chinese at that time had both *p* and *b* in their syllabary, and so had the Greeks, and of course the Syrians also. It is better to pronounce *pa* as the syllabic spelling requires." (*Journ. China Br. R. As. Soc.*, xx, 1885, p. 283.) Chavannes thinks that *Po-to-li* is a transcription of the word *basileus*. Cf. *T'oung pao*, Dec. 1913, p. 798.]

[1] Pauthier translates the appellation in the Chinese record, "*Patrice, ou chef supérieur des fonctionnaires de l'empire*" (p. 50). Leo is termed, at the time of his election to the empire, *Leo the Patrician* (*Niceph. Constant.*, p. 34). I suppose the name Λέοντος τοῦ Ἰσαύρου might become in Chinese organs something like *Yenthuholo*.

[From the *Kiu T'ang shu* quoted by Hirth, *l.c.*, p. 295, we gather the following facts:

In 742 came, bringing presents, another mission from Fu lin, but this time composed of *priests of great virtue*[1]. Leo (717–741) was still reigning when this party must have been despatched from Byzantium, if from Byzantium they came. But we shall find that the Christian inscription of Si-ngan fu records the arrival in 744 of a priest of Ta Ts'in, *Kiho* by name, who, "observing the stars and the sun, came to the court to present his respects to the august emperor." Kiho is immediately afterwards styled "*Of great virtue.*" Probably therefore the same event is alluded to, and it may appertain rather to the missions of the Nestorian Church than to the political relations of the Eastern Empire with China.

40. Another long interval then occurs; the Mahomedan power now forming a wide and dense barrier between the Empires. But in 1081, during the reign of Chên Tsung of the Sung dynasty, whose capital seems to have been still at Ka'i-fung fu, an embassy arrives from Fu lin, despatched by the King MILI-I-LING (or MIKIALING) KAISA. This is supposed by Klaproth and Pauthier to indicate the Emperor *Michael* Ducas, who, indeed, was compelled to resign the purple some three years before (1078), but whose envoys, in the uncertainties of Asiatic travel, might have been detained long upon the way[2].

1. The emperor Yang-ti wishes to communicate with Fu lin A.D. 605–617.
2. An embassy is sent to China in A.D. 643.
3. The capital of Fu lin is besieged by the Arabs, and finally submits to Arab rule.
4. An embassy is sent to China in A.D. 667.
5. An embassy is sent in A.D. 701.
6. An embassy is sent in A.D. 719.]

[1] Klap., p. 70; Pauthier, pp. 32, 50. The extract in the last reference appears to mix up the missions of 719 and 742.

[2] The name of the Byzantine Cæsar appears to be read by Pauthier himself, as it has been by Deguignes, *Mi-li-iling*. Klaproth makes it *Mikialing*, but probably with some forcing, as Pauthier, though adopting this reading in a later work, says "*Mikia-i-ling* comme Klaproth *a cru pouvoir lire*." (Klap.,

Another mission is mentioned without particulars ir the year 1091, which would fall in the reign of Alexius I Comnenus. And the last distinct record of a communication from the Byzantine Empire is found in 1371 under Hong Wu of the Ming dynasty, a few years after the expulsion of the House of Chinghiz, when there came to the court an envoy from Fu lin called *Kúmín Nikúlún*. This person received presents, and an imperial letter in reply to the requests which he had submitted[1]. Other envoys from this country, it is vaguely added, came with tribute. I cannot throw any light upon the identity of this Nicholas Comanus, or whatever his name was.

II*. COMMUNICATION WITH CENTRAL ASIA.

[We have already seen what were the conquests of General Pan Ch'ao in Central Asia.

The decline of the Chinese power in Central Asia dates from the beginning of the second century of our era under the emperor Ngan Ti (A.D. 107–125) of the Posterior Han.

p. 70; Deguignes, i, 67; Pauthier, *De l'Auth.*, p. 33; *Do., Hist. des Relations*, etc., p. 22.) If Michael be not accepted, I suppose the name of the competitor for the empire, *Bryennius Cæsar*, would be the only alternative; but why either should have sent a mission to China I cannot venture to suggest. [Hirth thinks that *Mi-li-i-ling Kai-sa* must be the title of a Seldjuk under-king; it stands "for the words 'Melek-i-Rûm Kaisar,' *i.e.*, 'under-king of Rûm and Caesar.' King of Rûm was, indeed, the title of Soliman, whose residence was at Iconium in Asia Minor." *L.c.*, p. 300.]

[1] Pauth., 51. This is cited from the Supplement to the Literary Encyclopædia of Ma Twan-lin. The Great Imperial Geography, also quoted by Pauthier (p. 54), gives a somewhat different account. "Towards the end of the dynasty of the Yuen (a parenthesis says in 1341, but the fall of the Yuen was in 1368) a man of Fu lin named Nikúlún came for purposes of trade to the middle kingdom. In the fourth year of Hung Wu of the Ming this merchant of Ta-Ts'in was invited to appear at court. The emperor ordered presents to be made to him, and an imperial letter was entrusted to him to be delivered to his king when he should return to his own country, and relate what he had witnessed. In consequence of this an embassy came to China with tribute." [On Nikúlún, see *Cathay*, iii, p. 12 *n.*]

During the third century, the emperor Wu Ti (265–290), of the Western Tsin, had once more secured the unity of China, which had been divided into three kingdoms during the *San kwo chi* period; he tried to re-establish Chinese influence in the valley of the Tarim and built adjoining the old Great Wall another wall with watch-towers beyond Su chau.

During the First Han there were four routes to the west; (1) Tun hwang, south of Lob Nor, Charchan and Khotan; (2) Tun hwang, north of Lob Nor, Kurla south of Karashahr, Kucha, Aqsu; (3) Hami, Turfan, Kucha, where it met the second route: (4) Hami, towards lake Barkul and the northern slopes of the T'ien Shan.

The great power of Central Asia from the first half of the sixth century to the middle of the seventh century were the Western Tu Kiue (Turks).

The Turks or *Tu Kiue* were subject to the Juan Juan during the first half of the sixth century of our era. In 546, the Tölös, of whom the Uighúrs were a branch, attacked the Juan Juan but were defeated by the Tu Kiue; the Juan Juan having refused to reward the victorious party, the chief of the Tu Kiue, T'u men (Bu min), son of the great jabgu T'u Wu, turned against his lord who was crushed in 552. The Turks were divided into two branches: the Northern, Eastern or Orkhon Branch and the Western Branch; the two branches were distinct from the middle of the sixth century, but their political separation due to the intrigues of the Chinese dates from 582. The chief of the Northern Turks bore the title of *qagan* while the head of the Western Turks or Turks of the Ten Tribes was the *jabgu*. T'u-men's brother, She-tie-mi (Istämi), is the ancestor of the Western Tu Kiue. After the downfall of the Juan Juan, the Turks became the neighbours of the Hephthalites who were the enemies of the Persians.

Khosru Naoshirwan, taking advantage of the disaster that had befallen the Juan Juan, made an alliance with the conqueror and married the daughter of the qagan She-tie-mi (Dizabul, Silzibul); the Hephthalites were subjugated between 563 and 567 and the Oxus became the boundary between the Turks and the Persians; later on, availing themselves of the weakness of the Sassanids, the Turks annexed the whole of the possessions of the Hephthalites. The agreement between Turk and Persian did not last long. The Sogdians, who were the chief intermediaries in the silk trade and had passed from the rule of the Hephthalites to that of the Turks, with the help of their new lords, wished to push their trade into Persia and, being unsuccessful there, they sent—with the approval of the Turks—an embassy to Justin II, at Byzantium, hoping to find in the Roman Empire a market for their trade. The intrigues of the Turks brought on a war between the Romans and the Sassanids (571–590) which weakened the two countries, now unable to stand against the rising power of the Arabs whose victory at Yarmuk (20th August 636) gave them Syria. The Arabs then turned against the Persians and their king Yezdijerd. The decline of the Turks began about 630. The T'ang Emperor, T'ai Tsung, having defeated the Northern Turks, had now his hands free and turned against the Western Turks. The Chinese allied themselves with the Uighúrs, and finally the Tu Kiue were subjugated in 659[1].

The Karluk (*Ko lo lu*) seem to have taken the place in political importance of the Western Tu Kiue in the middle of the eighth century; originally they were but one of the clans of the Tu Kiue, living to the N.W. of Pei t'ing across the Black Irtysh (Pu ku chen). They apparently were the ancestors of the Boghra Khân dynasty established at

[1] [Ed. Chavannes, *Doc. sur les Tou kiue (Turcs) occidentaux.*]

Balaçâcâghun (Balāsāghūn)[1]. The Boghra Khans (Ilak Khans) in the eighth century were the dominant power in Semiriechie and Kashgar, though these countries were then in the hands of the Tu Kiue. Afrâçiâb is supposed to be their ancestor. Probably on the suggestion of the Sassanids, in the middle of the tenth century, Satok Boghra Khan who was reigning over the country from Issik-kul to Kashgar (Urdukand) embraced Islam and captured Bokhara; his capital was Kashgar, but after his death in 993, it was transferred to Balāsāghūn and his descendants took the title of Ilak Khan; the last of them was killed by Mohamed Khwariszm Shah who was himself defeated by Chinghiz Khan[2].

The Boghra Khans were the allies of the Tibetans, but when these lost their power, the Khans were at the mercy of their enemies the Uighurs. To the causes of the decline of Chinese influence in Central Asia must be added the enterprise of the Tibetans. Under the Han, the tribes scattered throughout Tibet were known as the *Ki'ang*; under the T'ang and the Sung it was called *T'u fan*=*T'u po*=*T'u bod*; the Leao called it *T'u po t'è*. The historical period of Tibet begins at the end of the sixth century A.D. when the first king, Lunt sang, made inroads to India. Srong btsan sgam po, Lunt sang's son, married Bribtsun, daughter of Ançuvarman, sovereign of Nepal in 639, and

[1] [The exact site of Balāsāghūn in Central Asia is not known; Grenard thinks it is Tokmak; Barthold says it must be looked for in the Russian territory of Semiriechie, probably on the Chu, where many ruins are seen to-day; astronomical calculations would seem to show that B. was situated to the N.W. of Awliya-Ata, formerly Taraz on the Talas river; in the year 1218, B. was captured without any resistance by Jebe Noyon, one of the generals of Chinghiz Khan, and the Mongols gave it the name of Ghubāliq; it was in ruins in the fourteenth century. (Grenard, *La légende de Satok Boghra Khan*, *J. As.*, Jan.–Fév. 1900; V. Bartold, *Encyclop. de l'Islam.*)]

[2] [Elias-Ross, *Tarikh-i-Rasmai*, p. 287 *n.*; Bretschneider, *Med. Res.*, i, pp. 252–3.]

in 641 the princess of Wen ch'eng, daughter of the Chinese Emperor T'ai Tsung, whose court he had visited in 634; under their influence he introduced Buddhism into his states, and founded in 639 Lha dan (Lhásá); the power of the Tibetans increased yearly. In 663 they conquered Ku ku nor from the T'u yu huen, of Sienpi race for the first time they took in the first year, 4th month of the period Hien Hêng (670), the Four Garrisons of the Protectorate of Ngan-si, and they took possession of Kashgaria (670–692), thus cutting the road of the Chinese to the West.

The destruction by the Chinese (658–659) of the Empire of the Western Tu Kiue had extended the power of the Son of Heaven beyond the Oxus, to the Indus; it is the epoch of its greatest extension towards the West, but internal difficulties during the reign of the Empress Wu Hau, the conquests of the Arabs, and the occupation of Kashgar by the Tibetans, closed the road of the Pamir to the invader from the East, and rendered illusory the domination of China in these distant countries, notwithstanding the victorious expedition led in 747 by general Kao Sien-chi beyond the Pamir, through the Baroghil and Darkot passes to Gilgit, to stop the advance of the Tibetans.

Being the allies of the Arabs, whom they supported in the valley of the Jaxartes, the Tibetans in return received their help in Kashgaria. They dominated in Kan Su, Sze chw'an, Yun Nan and penetrated even into Ch'ang ngan, the capital of the T'ang Emperors. Taking advantage of the struggle of the Chinese and of the Tibetans, P'i-lo-ko, in the eighth century, founded the kingdom of Nan chao with Ta-li as its capital; the new kingdom declined after the ninth century; the Chinese were too busy elsewhere to look after it, but in 1253 the Mongols subjugated the kingdom of Ta-li which had replaced Nan chao.

In 692, the Chinese retook their Four Garrisons (Karashahr, Kucha, Kashgar, Khotan) of Central Asia. "During the reign T'cheng yuen, 785–804 A.D., the black-coated Ta shi began a war with T'u fan (Tibet), and the Tibetans were obliged every year to send an army against the Ta shi. On this account the Chinese frontier enjoyed more peace[1]." The two most ancient historical edicts of Tibet have been found by Dr. L. A. Waddell upon a lofty pillar of victory which stands at the foot of Potala Hill, under the castles of the ancient kings, now incorporated in the palace of the Dalai lama; they date between A.D. 730 and 763, are the earliest documents hitherto discovered, and throw a side-light on the ancient history and geography of China. The eighth century is the culminating point of Tibetan power, which was destroyed when the Uighúrs became the masters of the whole country between Pei t'ing and Aqsu.

The Uighúrs were of Turkish race; their ancestor was a descendant of the Hiong nu; at the time of the Posterior Wei, they were called *T'iele* (Tölös) and were subject to the Tu Kiue; they lived on the banks of the Selenga; in the middle of the seventh century their chief P'u sa rebelled against the northern Tu Kiue, defeated their chief Hie-li qagan, and in 646 they sent an embassy to China. Under T'ai Tsung, the Uighúr tribe became the Han hai Prefecture, and the chief T'u mi tu was appointed commander of the region. Their power went on increasing from the beginning of the eighth century; at first they were called by the Chinese *Hwei ho* and later *Hwei hu* and *Wei wu eul*; the Tibetans appear to have named them *Dru gu*.

The expansion of the religion of Mo-ni (Mani), Manichæism, is intimately connected with the history of the

[1] From the History of the T'ang (Bretschneider, *Arabs*, p. 10).

Uighúrs; the discovery of documents made in Central Asia and at Tun hwang by Stein, Grünwedel, von Le Coq, Pelliot, and the researches of F. W. K. Müller, have thrown new and unexpected light on Manichæism, its dogma and its art, believed to be lost; the pictures on stone brought to Berlin by von Le Coq give a high idea of this art. Though the contemporary Chinese savant Tsiang Fu is of opinion that Manichæism was introduced into China as early as the time of the Northern Chau (A.D. 558–581) and of the Sui (A.D. 581–618) dynasties, it appears that its first pilgrim came to China from Ta Ts'in only in 694; Manichæism seems to have been mentioned for the first time in Chinese books by Hiuen Tsang in his Memoirs (seventh century); a Manichæan astronomer arrived in China in 719; Manichæism had henceforth a great deal of influence on Chinese astronomy. However an imperial edict of Hiuan Tsung in 732 declared the religion of Mo-ni a perverse doctrine taking falsely the name of Buddhism. Circumstances soon allowed Manichæism to take a more important place. The emperor Hiuan Tsung, who had chastised the Uighúrs guilty of murdering the commander of Liang chau (713–714) and stopped the traffic on the road to Ngan-si, died on the 3rd May, 762; his successor Su Tsung mounted the throne on the 16th May following; troubles arose, and during the rebellion which ensued, the Uighúrs entered Lo Yang on the 20th Nov. 762, pillaged it and left it in November 763. At Lo Yang the Uighúr qagan, having met some Manichæans, was converted to their faith and when he left this capital he took with him four of their priests. In 768 and 771 the Uighúrs of the Manichæan faith were ordered to build temples called *Ta yun kwang ming*. We note that some Manichæans were among the members of the Uighúr embassy sent to China in 806. But the influence of Manichæism declined

with the power of the Uighúrs. In 840 the Kirghiz, who claimed to be originally descended from the Chinese general Li Ling captured by the Hiong nu in 99 B.C., took the Orkhon capital of the Uighúrs and killed the qagan. The Uighúrs were scattered to the south and to the south-west towards Turfan and Karashahr and to the west towards Kucha; however thirteen Uighúr tribes elected in 841 Wu-kiai as their qagan; Wu-kiai led a wandering life, and finally was killed in 847 in the Altai. After the fall of the Uighúrs, the property of the Manichæans was confiscated and their temples were closed. The remaining Uighúrs settled at Kan chau, in Kan Su, and at Kao ch'ang, east of Turfan. Their religion lasted in Chinese Turkestan until the thirteenth century; in China proper it was concealed under the cover of Buddhism and Taoism till it disappeared finally [1].

The capitals of the Uighúrs were Kao ch'ang, Khotcho or Idiqut Shahri, near Turfan, and Kara Balgasún [2] on the left bank of the Orkhon. An inscription in Chinese, Turki and Sogdian found at Kara Balgasún, devoted to the qagan who died in 821, throws a good deal of light on Manichæism[3]. The Uighúr writing, from which is derived the Manchu script, is itself derived probably from the Sogdian and not from the Estranghelo, its parent writing.]

III. COMMUNICATION WITH INDIA.

41. We have seen, in the early part of this Essay, that reason exists for believing in very early intercourse

[1] [Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Res.*, i, pp. 236 *seq.*; Chavannes, *Tu Kiue*, pass.; Chavannes et Pelliot, *Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine*, *J. As.*, ii, 1912; i, 1913.]

[2] [A plan of this city has been given by Radloff in his *Atlas der Alterthümer der Mongolei*, 1892-6.]

[3] [See the bibliography in *Bibliotheca Sinica*, col. 2732-3.]

between India and China; but the Chinese annals appear to have lost all sight of this, for their first mention and knowledge of India is referred to B.C. 122, when Chang k'ien, returning from his adventurous expedition to Bactriana, brought back intelligence about various regions in the West. When in that country he observed among the articles exposed for sale certain canes, which struck him as being like those grown in the mountains of Kiong shan, and cloths also which he recognised as the production of the country of *Shu*, *i.e.* Ch'eng tu fu in Sze ch'wan. On inquiry he was told that these articles had been purchased by merchants in the country of SHEN TU, otherwise called T'IEN CHU (Sind or India). This country lay some thousand *li* to the south-east of Ta Hia or Bactriana, and from all that he could gather could not be far distant from the province of Sze ch'wan, which accounted for the importation of the articles which he had seen for sale. There were three roads by which Shen tu might be reached from China; one, leading by the Kiang, very dangerous and difficult; a second by the north and through the lands of the Hiong Nu, who would certainly obstruct attempts at communication; and a third, which would be the safest, by Sze ch'wan. The emperor, pleased with the hope of adding to the list of his tributaries in those western countries, sent Chang k'ien to attempt to enter India by the way of Kien wei (Siu chau fu in Sze ch'wan), and others by different roads. Indeed some ten attempts in all were made, but they were all as unsuccessful as Colonel Sarel's late attempt to follow in the steps of Chang k'ien[1].

[1] See De Mailla (I can only refer to the Italian translation, vol. vii); Julien in *J. As.*, sér. IV, tom. x, 91–2; Deguignes in *Mém. de l'Acad.*, xxxii, 358. The Italian translation of De Mailla is a curiosity. The editor, finding that the Chinese names were distasteful to the readers of his earlier volumes, changes them all into a more pleasing form. Thus Kúblái figures as *Vobalio*, Wang Khan as *Govannio*, Ilchiktai as *Chitalio*. [See the title of this translation in H. Cordier's *Bibliotheca Sinica*, col. 586–7.]

42. In the succeeding century, however relations must have been opened, for in A.D. 65 the Emperor Ming Ti, in consequence of a dream, sent ambassadors to T'ien chu to obtain instruotion in the doctrines of Buddha, and to bring back images of him, a step which brought upon that emperor's memory the execrations of the orthodox Confucian *literati*, and which led to very peculiar relations between the two countries for many centuries[1].

Under the Emperor Ho Ti (A.D. 89–105) Indian sovereigns several times sent tribute (presents) to the court of China, and again in 159 under Hwan Ti, the same emperor that received the mission supposed to have come from Marcus Aurelius.

43. Throughout the greater part of the third and fourth centuries political intercourse between India and China seems to have been interrupted[2], though it may

[1] [The authenticity of this story is very doubtful. From the study of some newly discovered texts, it appears that Buddhism was introduced into China at the beginning of the Christian era, and that at the very time the two bonzes are supposed to have been brought back from India by Ming Ti's envoys, some Buddhist monks and laymen were living in China with a brother of the Emperor. Prof. Henri Maspero, of Hanoi, who made a careful study of the texts, has come to the conclusion that the traditionary history of the introduction of Buddhism in China is based entirely on some pious legends of the second century. H. Maspero, *Le songe et l'ambassade de l'empereur Ming*, *Bul. Ecole Ext. Orient.*, Jany.–March, 1910, pp. 95–130. In B.C. 2 the king of the Yue chi was a fervent Buddhist and tried to develop his religion in China; it is probably from him and through the ambassadors of Ngai Ti that the Chinese knew Buddhism.]

[2] [Chavannes has given as an appendix to his translation of Sung Yun (*Bul. Ecole franç. Ext. Orient.*, July–Sept., 1903) a list of various works relating to India published in China before the time of the T'ang. According to the *Leang Shu*, during the Period of the Three Kingdoms, a sovereign of Wu (A.D. 222–280) sent in the middle of the third century K'ang Tai and Chu Ying as ambassadors to Fan Siun, king of Fu Nan (Cambodia); they learned that some years previously, Fan Shan, king of Fu Nan, had sent a mission to Central India whose sovereign sent back with them a certain Ch'en sung who was seen by K'ang Tai, to whom he gave some information on India recorded in the *Leang Shu*.] [" At the time of the Wei and Tsin (220–419) the relations between China and India were interrupted, and they were not

be gathered from the history of Fa Hian's travels that a sea-trade between China and India existed at the end of the latter century, as it probably had done for some time previously. Its commencement, however, perhaps does not ascend beyond the early years of the Eastern Tsin (residing at Nan king, 317–420) as the first intercourse between China and Ceylon is ascribed to their time. Ceylon was famed for its figures of Buddha, and these often were sent as presents to the Chinese court. The first embassy from Ceylon arrived in 405[1], having come apparently overland, as it was *ten years* upon the road. It brought a Jade image of Buddha, exquisite in material and workmanship. In the course of the same century came four more Singhalese embassies; one in 428, when the King *Chacha Mohonoan* (Raja Mahanaama, reigned 410–432) sent an address to the emperor, together with a model of the shrine of the Sacred Tooth; one in 430, one in 435, and a fourth in 456, composed of five priests, of whom one was Nanté, a famous sculptor, and who brought a threefold image of Buddha. During the sixth century the kings of Ceylon acknowledged themselves vassals of China, and in 515 Kumara Dás, on succeeding to the throne, sent an envoy to China to announce the event, and who reported that the king had been desirous to go himself, but was afraid of the sea. Embassies are also recorded under the years 523, 527, 531[2].

resumed for a long time." *Pien-yi-tien*, quoted by Sylvain Lévi, *Mélanges Charles de Harlez*, p. 176.]

[1] [The first embassy from Ceylon came to China under the reign of Hiao Wu-ti (373–396) of the Tsin. With regard to the embassy of 428 sent by King *Ts'a-li Mo-ho-nan* (Kṣatriya Mahānāman), see S. Lévi, *Wang Hiuen-t'se*, p. 413.—According to the *Mahāvaṃsa*, Mahānāman reigned from 412 to 434; during his reign Buddhagosa came from Magadha to Ceylon.]

[2] Tennent's *Ceylon*, 2nd ed., i, 590–1; 596. Sir Emerson Tennent was supplied with unpublished translations of extracts from Chinese authors for his work. The authorities are given by him.

44. In 428 also the King of Kapila (the birth-place of Buddha in the present district of Gorahkpúr) by name *Yuei-ai* or "Loved of the Moon," *i.e. Chandragupta*, sent an ambassador carrying a diamond ring, a gold bracelet, red and white parrots, etc., to the Emperor Wu Ti. In 466 came another mission from the same court, and again in 500–504 bringing a trained horse.

In 441, 455, 466, and 473 other Buddhist kingdoms in or adjoining India sent tribute. In 502 *Kioto* (or Gupta), a king of India, sent one Chulota to present to the emperor a letter, a spittoon of lapis-lazuli, perfumes, cotton-stuffs, etc. This king's territory adjoined the great river *Sinthao* (Indus) with its five branches. Rock-salt like crystal, it is observed, is found there[1].

In 605 Yang Ti of the Sui dynasty, the same whose desire had been to open relations with the Roman empire, having formed some ambitious projects, sent to try and induce the kingdoms of Tibet and India to render him homage, but those of India refused, which much enraged the emperor.

Two years later we find one Chang-tsuen, "Director of the Military Lands," sent on an embassy to Ceylon[2].

45. In 641 the King of Magadha (Behar, etc.) sent an ambassador with a letter to the Chinese court. The emperor (the great T'ai Tsung) in return directed one of his officers to go to the king with an imperial patent and to invite his submission. The King *Shiloyto* (Çîlâdîtya) was all astonishment. "Since time immemorial," he asked his officers, "did ever an ambassador come from MOHOCHINTAN?" "Never," they replied. The Chinese author remarks that in the tongue of the barbarians the Middle Kingdom is called Mohochintan (*Mahachinas-*

[1] Julien, *u.s.*, pp. 99–100.
[2] Tennent, i, 583.

thana)[1]. This led to a further exchange of civilities extending to 646[2]. But the usurping successor of Çīladītya did not maintain equally amicable relations, and war ensued, in the course of which the Chinese, assisted by the Kings of Tibet and Nepal, invaded India. Other Indian kings lent aid and sent supplies; and after the capture of the usurper *Alanashun*, and the defeat of the army commanded by his queen on the banks of the *Khientowei* (Gandhara), 580 cities surrendered to the Chinese arms, and the king was carried prisoner to China[3]. A magician, who accompanied the Chinese general from India, was employed to treat the Emperor T'ai Tsung, who was very ill, but with no success. Wang Hiuen-ts'e, the envoy who had gone on the mission which resulted in this war, wrote a history of all the transactions in twelve books, but it is lost[4].

[1] [In 643, 17th year of the period Cheng kwan, Li I-piao with Wang Hiuen-ts'e as his second, was sent to Magadha to take back a Brahman; according to the History of the T'ang he was the bearer of a reply of the Chinese Emperor to King Harṣa Çīladītya. Sylvain Lévi, *Wang Hiuen-ts'e*, *Journ. Asiat.*, xv, 1900, pp. 298–9, 320–1.]

[2] [In 646 Wang Hiuen-ts'e was sent again to Magadha with thirty horsemen. Harṣa Çīladītya having died was replaced by his usurping minister Na-fu-ti O-lo-na-shoen, who had the Chinese escort massacred and Wang, taking refuge in Tibet where Srong-btsan Sgam-po was reigning, gathered a troop of 1200 Tibetans and 7000 Nepalese horsemen, fell upon Magadha, captured the king and brought him back as a prisoner to China (648). Sylvain Lévi, *l.c.*, pp. 300–1. In 657 Wang was sent again on a mission to the western countries.]

[3] ["K'ien-t'o-wei ramène à Gandavatī ou Gaṇḍavatī, une des formes possibles du nom de la Gaṇḍakī (cf. grec Κονδοχάτης). C'est donc dans la région entre Pāṭaliputra, situé au confluent de la Gaṇḍakī et du Gange, et le Népal d'où sort la Gaṇḍakī, qu'il faut chercher la ville de Tch'a-pouo-ho-lo," captured by Wang Hiuen-ts'e. Sylvain Lévi, *l.c.*, p. 307 *n.*]

[4] [See Sylvain Lévi, *Wang Hiuen-ts'e*, *J. As.*, xv, 1900.] Julien, pp. 107–110. The Çīladītya of this account is known from Hiuen Tsang to have been one of the great kings of Indian history. His empire extended from the sea-coast of Orissa at least as far north-west as Kanauj, which was his capital, and possibly to the frontiers of Kashmír (see Lassen, iii, 673 *seqq.*). Lassen, as

In 667–8 it is asserted the Kings of the five Indies all sent to offer homage; and this homage was repeated in 672 and 692. These kings are named in the Chinese Annals—(1) the King of Eastern India, named *Molopama*; (2) the King of Western India, called *Shiloyito*; (3) the King of Southern India, called *Chilukhipalo*; (4) the King of Northern India, called *Nana*; (5) the King of Central India, called *Timosina*[1].

In 670 King Datopiatissa of Ceylon sent a memorial to the Emperor with a present of native productions. Another Ceylonese embassy came in 711[2].

46. In 713 an embassy came to the Emperor Hien Tsung from Chentolopiti (*Chandrapida*), King of Kashmír, acknowledging allegiance and some years later a patent of investiture was granted to this prince. A successor and brother called *Mutopi* (*Muktopida*) also offered homage and requested the Emperor to send troops into Kashmír, offering to quarter them on the banks of the Lake Mahapadma in the centre of that valley. Tribute continued to be paid regularly by Kashmír for some time. The pressure of the rising power of Tibet probably induced this state to seek Chinese protection[3].

Between 713 and 731 repeated missions are reported from the different kingdoms of India, one of which begged aid against the Arabs and the Tibetans, and requested the

as I can discover, says nothing as to this Chinese invasion of India, or the usurper Alanashun. Nor is the chronology consistent with his (from Hiuen Tsang), which continues Çîladîtya's reign to 650; whilst the account followed in the text makes him already dead in 646. The Emperor T'ai Tsung died in 650.

[1] *Chine Ancienne*, p. 301.

[2] Tennent, i, p. 597. [The King of Ceylon in 670 was Hatthadāṭha or Dāṭhopatissa II (664–673).]

[3] Remusat, *u.s.*, p. 106; *Chin. Anc.*, 311; Reinaud in *Mém. de l'Acad.*, xvii, p. 190. There is a King Chandrapida in the Kashmír Annals, but he is killed in 691. The king reigning 695–732 was Laladitya, a great conqueror. He seems to have had a brother Muktopida (see Lassen, iii, 993,1997).

Emperor to bestow an honorific title upon the Indian monarch's army. The Emperor perhaps found this the most convenient part of the petition to comply with, and decreed it the title of "the Army which cherishes virtue[1]."

In 742 foreign merchants who had arrived in China by the Sea of the South brought a number of precious articles from the kingdom of Lions (*Sinhala* or Ceylon) to be presented to the Emperor on behalf of *Shiloshukia* their king[2]. Other embassies came from the same island in 746, 750, 762. There is then an interval of many

[1] See Julien, *u.s.*, and compare *Chine Ancienne*, pp. 309, 310. About this time there is frequent mention in the Chinese Annals of relations with two kingdoms called *Great and Little Poliu*, which lay between Kashgar and Kashmír. The king of Little Poliu dwelt in a city called *Nieito*, near a river called *Soï*. The Great Poliu was more to the east; this country was occupied by the Chinese forces in 747 (Rémusat, in *Mém. de l'Acad.* as above, pp. 100–2). Rémusat renders Poliu *Purut*; but there can be no doubt that the kingdoms in question are Ladakh and Balti, which continued to a late date to be known as *Great and Little Tibet*. These titles will be found in Tavernier I think, and in the letters of the Jesuit Desideri (1716), and indeed the term Little Tibet for Balti is scarcely yet obsolete. Ladakh is probably "the city of Tibet, built on an eminence over a river" of Edrisi (i, 492). In Meyendorff we find the cities of Great and Little Tibet still spoken of at Bokhara. The Georgian Danibeg went from Kashmír to the "city of Tibet" in twenty days. It was three months from Lhásá. And the Tajik route given by Meyendorff speaks of reaching by the Karakorum pass "Tibet, a city on the *croupe* of a mountain, with the governor's residence at the top," a description which applies perhaps equally well to Ladakh and Balti. The latter is perhaps the name concealed in the Poliu of the Chinese, and the Soï may be the *Shayok* (Meyendorff, pp. 122, 339). ["Pulu is the modern Balti. At this time it was divided into two states, Greater and Lesser. The Greater Pulu is described in the T'ang History as being due west of T'ufan, contiguous to the Small Pulu, and bounded on the west by the Northern Indian State, Wuch'ang (Udyâna). They sent several missions with tribute to China from the year 696, but were finally conquered by the Tibetans in 734." Bushell, *Early History of Tibet, J. R. As. Soc.*, N.S., xii, p. 530.—Kao Sien-chi was the Chinese general in command in 747. The Soï or Soyi River is no doubt the Shyok River.]

[2] *Ch. Anc.*, p. 312. This is not mentioned by Tennent. The king reigning at Anurajapura at this time was Aggabodhi III or Alabo.

centuries before Ceylon is again heard of in the Chinese Annals[1].

47. Towards 758–760, China, it is said, having lost the country of *Holong*, the Kings of India ceased to send homage[2]. I do not know what country is indicated, whether *Khulum* in the valley of the Oxus or some region on the Yun nan frontier. The former is probable, as the narratives of the Buddhist pilgrims show that the long route by Kashgar and Badakhshan was that generally followed between India and China.

The Tibetans at this time were becoming powerful and troublesome neighbours, insomuch that about 787 the Emperor Te Tsung, by the advice of one of his ministers, applied to the Uighúrs, the Princes of India, and the Khalif to join in a league against them[3].

After this, for a long time no political intercourse is heard of; but a few more missions from Indian kingdoms are recorded under the later years of the tenth century and the beginning of the eleventh as visiting the Court of the Northern Sung. With the exception of one in 1015 from the country of *Chulien*, which is supposed by Deguignes to be the Chola Kingdom of Southern India, I suspect these embassies to belong rather to the Archipelago than to India Proper[4].

48. Throughout this period, however, there are frequent notices either of the visits of Indian Buddhist devotees to the Court of China or of leave obtained from

[1] Tennent, *ib.*, p. 597.

[The embassies of 742 and 746 and probably also those of 750 and 762 were sent by Aggabodhi VI Sīlamegha (741–781). S. Lévi, *l.c.*, p. 428.]

[On the relations between Ceylon and China see the translations from the *Pien-yi-tien*, by Sylvain Lévi, *Journ. Asiat.*, Mai–Juin, 1900, pp. 411–418.]

[2] Julien, p. 111.

[3] *Ch. Anc.*, p. 321.

[4] Deguignes, i, pp. 66 *seqq.* *Tanmoeilieu*, one of the kingdoms named, is perhaps Tana-Malayu, the Malay country.

the Emperor by Chinese Buddhists to visit India for religious objects[1]. One of the parties from India is related to have been accompanied by the son of an Indian king, by name Mañjuçri, a very zealous Buddhist, who was treated with great favour by the Emperor. The monks were jealous of this, and as he did not understand Chinese they made him believe that the Emperor had ordered his departure. He went off in much indignation to the southern coast to embark in a merchant vessel for India[2]. These religious visitors to China became very frequent after 975, perhaps a sign that by that time Buddhism was becoming oppressed in India. In 986, however, a monk of I chau (Kamul) returning from India brought a letter from a king who is called *Mosinang*, written in terms of humblest reverence, which are preserved

[1] The route of one of these parties is described as carrying them by Kan chau, Sha chau, I chau, (Kamul), Karashahr, Kucha, Khotan, Khulum, Peshāwar, and Kashmír.

[2] Julier, pp. 111–114. This Mañjuçri appears in the traditions of the Newars of Nepal as the Buddhist Apostle of their country (see Lassen, iii, 777 *seqq.*, quoting from B. H. Hodgson). [The Bodhisattwa Mañjuçri, Mañjughoṣa-Bissōchtma, called at times Vâgîçvara, "Lord of the Voice," came to Nepal from Maha Čina-(Great China); the disciples who accompanied him were the first colonists; they also came from Maha Cina; he gave a king to the country, the Chinese Dharmâkara who himself had as his successor another Chinaman Dharmâpala. The Newars are the companions of Mañjuçri who returned to China when his task was finished; he is more particularly venerated at the Wu t'ai shan (*Pañča cîrṣa parvata*) in the Shan si Province. Mañjuçri appears to have been a Hindu by birth and the Sanskrit sources of Târanâtha make him live under the reign of Čandragupta, King of Orissa, a short time after the reign of Mahâpadma, about the epoch of the Macedonian invasion.—S. Lévi, *Népal*, i, pp. 320, 340. With regard to the relations of China with Nepal it is said that King Çaktisimha sent presents to China and that the Emperor was so pleased with them that he in his turn sent a seal bearing engrâved the name of Çaktisimha with the title of Râma, and an official letter, in the year of China (Činâbda) 535. Relations were resumed under the Ming; Hung Wu sent in 1384 a bonze to Nepal to bring to the king a seal conferring upon him the official investiture; these relations continued under Yong lo. (Sylvain Lévi, *Le Népal*, ii, pp. 227, 228.)]

by the Chinese authority, and transmitting relics of Sakya[1].

49. Indeed, for many centuries subsequent to the introduction of Buddhism in China, the intercourse between its devotees in the two countries was frequent, and the narratives of Chinese pilgrims who spent years in studying the Buddhist doctrines in their original country and in visiting the sacred sites and monastic establishments of India, form a curious and valuable part of Chinese literature. Of these works several have been translated into European languages, as the Travels of Fa Hian (399–414);

[1] Julien, pp. 115–116. This letter was translated by one Shihu, an Indian ecclesiastic, who also communicated some information about the kingdoms of India. Besides Central India (here Magadha) there were in the north the kingdoms of *Utiennang* (Udyana, according to Julien), west of that *Khientolo* (Gandhara), *Nanggolokialo* (Nagarahara), *Lanpo* (Lamghan, now generally called Laghman), then *Gojenang* (probably *Ghazni*), and then Persia. Three days' journey west of Magadha was *Alawei* (*Rewa ?*), then Karana Kiuje (*i.e. Kanya Kubja* or Kanauj), Malwa, Ujjayani, *Lolo* (Lara, according to Julien), Surashtra, and the Western Sea. Southern India was four months' journey from Magadha, and ninety days west of it was Konkana.

Gandhara mentioned above [is the valley of Peshawar, the Pu-lu-sha-pu-lo of the Chinese Pilgrim Hiuen Tsang, Purusapura, the Purushavar or Purshavar of Al-birûnî, the Pershavar or Peishavar of Abul Fazl. (A. Foucher, *l.c.*, p. 327.). The capital of Gandhâra was Peshâwar (Purusapura)]. It is the *Kandahár* of Al-biruni and other early Arab writers, the capital of which was *Waihand*, which stood on the west of the Indus north of the Kabul River's confluence. This is supposed to be the *Utakhanda* of Hiuen Tsang, and has been identified with Ohind or Hund about fifteen miles above Attok. Udhyana lay *west* of Gandhara, the country on the Upper Swat and eastern part of the modern Kafiristan. [The Swat valley and neighbourhood constitute the principal portion of the old province of Udyana, and the capital was Mungali, or Mung-kie-li, identified by General Sir A. Cunningham (*Ancient Geog. of India*, p. 82) with Minglaur=Mingaur, or Mingora. Major Deane accepts Mungali=Minglaur, but makes a separate place of Mingaur. Foucher has Mung-kie-li =Mangalapura, some distance from the left bank of the Swat River. (H. A. Deane, *Note on Udyâna and Gandara*, *Journ. R. As. Soc.*, 1896, p. 655. A. Foucher, *Notes sur la Géog. ancienne du Gandhâra*, *Bul. Ecole franç. Ext. Orient.*, 1901, pp. 322 *seq.*).] Nanggolokialo or *Nagarahâra* appears to have been near the present Jalalabad. See Reinaud in *Mém. de l'Acad.*, xvii, 108, 157, etc.; Lassen, iii, 137 *seq.*; V. St. Martin in *N. Ann. des Voyages* for 1853, ii, 166.

of Hiuen Tsang (travelled 628–645); and of Hwei Sing[1], who set out in 518. One of the latest of these travellers was Khinie[2], who journeyed (964–976) at the head of a body of 300 monks whom the Emperor despatched to India to seek relics of Buddha and collect books of palm-leaves. Fragments of descriptions of the western countries are cited from a work of one of these pilgrims older even than Fa Hian the monk Shi-tao-an who died in 385. It does not seem to be known if the work is extant[3].

These pilgrimages must have become more unfrequent as the indigenous Buddhism of India gradually perished, but perhaps they had not altogether ceased even in the middle of the fourteenth century. For at that date we find the Emperor of China asking leave from Mahomed Tughlak to rebuild a temple near the base of the Himalaya, which was much visited by his subjects[4].

50. In the thirteenth century we find revived indications of communication with Ceylon[5]. Singhalese writers mention imports from China at this time; and in 1266 Chinese soldiers are mentioned as taking service in the army of the Ceylonese King. We hear, also, during the

[1] [Companion of Sung Yun.]

[2] [Khinie is properly named to-day Ki-ye; his itinerary has been translated with the name of Wang-nieh by G. Schlegel in the *Mémoires du Comité sinico-japonais*, xxi, 1893, pp. 35–64, and again by the late Edouard Huber in the *Bulletin de l'Ecole d'Extrême-Orient*, ii, July, 1902, pp. 256–9. Prof. Chavannes has added some valuable notes to the itinerary in the same periodical, Jan.–March, 1904. The itinerary was printed in the first chapter of the Wu ch'wan lu; it was written by Fan Ch'eng-ta, who obtained his notes from Ki-ye, then living near the O-mei shan in the Sze ch'wan Province. Ki-ye died eighty-four years old.]

[3] Julien, *op. cit.*, pp. 272–294, and Preface to *Vie de Hiouen Thsang*. The Chinese bibliographer quoted by Julien observes of Fa Hian that he applies the term *Chong Kouo* or Middle Kingdom to *India* instead of China. This error he observes is a fashion of the Buddhist monks, and is not worth the trouble of refutation! I suppose the Buddhists used it as a translation of *Madhyadesa*; the classical name which the Burmese still apply to Gangetic India.

[4] See Ibn Batuta, *infra*, Vol. iv. [5] Tennent, i, 497–8.

Mongol reign in China of the occasional despatch by the Emperors of officers to Ceylon to collect gems and drugs; and on three occasions, envoys were sent to negotiate the purchase of the sacred alms-dish of Buddha. Such missions are alluded to by Polo and Odoric.

51. As late as the beginning of the fifteenth century, under the Ming dynasty, the Chinese made a remarkable and last attempt to renew their former claims to honorary allegiance in the maritime countries of the west. In 1405 a mission from China, which had come to Ceylon bringing incense and offerings to the Shrine of the Tooth, was maltreated by the reigning King Wijayabahu VI [1398–1410], who was a native of *Solli*[1] or the Peninsula, and an oppressor of Buddhism[2]. The Emperor Ch'eng Tsu [had dethroned his nephew Kien wen (Hwei Ti) who disappeared when his capital, Nan King, was captured and his palace invaded in 1402, and was] indignant at the outrage, and anxious to do something for the re-establishment of the declining prestige of China, despatched [the eunuch] Cheng Ho, [commonly known as San Pao T'ai kien, a native of the Yun nan province and] a soldier of distinction, with a fleet of sixty-two ships, and a force [of more than 37,000 soldiers], and armed with credentials and presents, to visit the western kingdoms[3]. He touched

[1] ["The King is of the *Soli* race, a most earnest believer in the Buddhist religion, and one who treats elephants and cows with a feeling of veneration." (Ma Huan, *Journ. China B. R. As. Soc.*, 1885, p. 212.)]

[2] [S. Lévy, *l.c.*, p. 437, remarks that the king who treated rudely Cheng Ho at the time of his first visit to Ceylon A lie ku na eul (A-le-ko-nar) is the prince named in the royal list Bhuvaneka Bahu V, who was known under the name of Alagakkonāra before his accession to the throne; this king was of origin Coḍa, the Sinhalese word for Soli.]

[3] [The Emperor Yong lo, fearing that his predecessor Hwei Ti "was concealing himself in some country over the sea, wanted to trace him, and at the same time to display his military force in foreign countries, in order to show that China was rich and strong. In the sixth month of the year 1405, he ordered Chêng Ho, his companion Wang Ching-hung, and others, to go as envoys to the

at Cochin China, Sumatra, Java, Cambodia, Siam, and other places, proclaiming at each the imperial edict and conferring imperial gifts. If any of the states refused to acknowledge the Emperor's supremacy they were subdued by force; and in 1407 the expedition returned to China accompanied by envoys from the different nations. Cheng Ho being sent again next year on a like mission, the Singhalese King tried to entrap and capture him, but Cheng Ho avoided the snare, caught the king, his whole family and officers of state, and carried them prisoners to China. In 1411 the Emperor set the prisoners free, but deposed the misdemeanant king, and appointed another of the party in his place, who was sent back to Ceylon accompanied by a Chinese commissioner to invest him as a royal vassal of the empire. This new king is named by the Chinese *Pulakoma Bazae Lacha*, which identifies him as Parakkana Bahu Raja VI, whose reign according to the Ceylonese annals extended from 1410 to 1462. Tribute was paid regularly by Ceylon for fifty years; apparently therefore throughout the long reign of this prince and no longer. During that time the king

kingdoms in the western ocean. They took with them 30,000 soldiers and a large quantity of gold and silks. The fleet consisted of 62 ships, most of them of large tonnage, some measuring 440 feet long and 180 feet broad. They sailed from Liu-kia-kiang, an inlet of the Yang-tze, situated a little to the north of Wu sung, the entrance of the Shanghai River. They touched on their way south at Woga, at the mouth of the Min, from which place they sailed to Cochin China, and so on to the various countries in the Straits and India, making known at each place the orders from the Emperor. They gave presents to the princes and chiefs, and those who would not submit were compelled to do so by force. Ma Huan has left us an account of twenty of the kingdoms visited by the expedition." (Ma Huan's work is named *Ying-yai-shêng-lan*; Ma Huan was an Interpreter and a Mohamedan. Cf. Geo. Phillips, *Journ. R. As. Soc.*, 1895, pp. 523 *seq.*) The King of Ceylon visited by Ma Huan was Parakkana Bahu VI, second successor to Bahu V (1410–1462). Recently, in the town of Galle, Ceylon, a tablet has been found bearing inscriptions in Chinese, Tamil and Persian; it refers to the second visit to Ceylon of Cheng Ho and bears a Chinese date (7th year Yong lo) corresponding to the 15th Feb. 1409.—*Spolia Zeylanica*, June, 1912; *J. North China B.R.A.S.*, 1914, pp. 171–2.]

is asserted to have been on two occasions the bearer of it in person[1]. Other circumstances mentioned appear to imply that a Chinese Resident was maintained on the island who superintended the administration. The last tribute was paid in 1459. Chinese influence was thus a matter of recent memory on the arrival of the Portuguese in the beginning of the following century, and they found many traces of it remaining.

Those events are of course very differently represented in the Ceylonese annals. According to their account the King of Mahachina landed in the island with an army under the pretence of *bringing tribute*; the King of Ceylon was then treacherously taken and carried captive to China, etc.[2]

52. As regards warlike relations between India and China in the middle ages we may mention the Mongol invasion of Bengal "by way of Cathay and Tibet" during the reign of Alauddin Musaüd King of Delhi; the only invasion of Bengal from that quarter distinctly recorded in history. This took place about 1244, and was defeated by the local officers. Firishta in speaking of it says it is supposed that they entered by the same route which was followed by Mahomed Bakhtiyar Khilji when he invaded Cathay and Tibet from Bengal[3]. This refers to the

[1] [The work *Ts'ien Wen ki* written by Chu Yun-ming, quoted by W. F. Mayers, *China Review*, iii, 329, contains a note entitled "The Voyages to the West," with particulars of an undertaking in the reign of Siuen Teh (1426–1435); the members of the expedition included: Officers, soldiers, purveyors, steersmen, leadsmen, interpreters, clerks, accountants, doctors, blacksmiths, carpenters, and other artificers, sailors, and landsmen; in all, 27,550 souls! The expedition left Lung Wan (near Nan King) on the 6th day of the intercalary 12th moon of the 5th year of Siuen Teh (about the beginning of A.D. 1431), visited Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula and sailed to Ceylon (6th of 11th moon, 7th year), Calicut, Ormuz (26th of 12th moon); sailed on return voyage (18th of 2nd moon of 8th year) via Pulo Condor, Chan ch'eng and reached Nan King on the 6th of the 7th moon.]

[2] Tennent, pp. 601–2.

[3] Briggs's *Firishta*, i, 251.

expedition some forty years before, to which allusion is made at Note E, Ibn Batuta, Vol. IV of the present work. It is very possible that Bakhtiyar Khilji's ambition dreamt even of a raid upon China, but it is difficult to gather from the account extant how far he had really got when forced to retreat; perhaps not beyond the Assam valley[1]. In the still more disastrous enterprise of Malik Yuzbek in 1256–57 aims more distant than Kámrup are not alluded to. The mad expedition of Mahomed Tughlak in 1337 was, according to Firishta's account, directed against China. Of the force, which both that historian and Ibn Batuta[2] estimate at one hundred thousand horse besides infantry, scarcely any returned to tell the tale, except the few who had been left to garrison posts in rear of the army. It is difficult to guess by what point this host entered the Himalaya, nor have I been able to identify the town of *Jidiáh* at the base of the mountains, mentioned by Ibn Batuta, which would ascertain the position.

53. We ought not to omit in the record of relations between China and India, the two embassies mentioned by the author last named, viz., that sent by the Mongol Emperor Shun Ti or Togan Temur to the Court of the same Mahomed Tughlak in 1341–42, and the unlucky return embassy entrusted to the Moorish traveller himself, which has furnished this collection with one of its chief items.

An embassy from Bengal is mentioned in the time of Ch'eng Tsu of the Ming (1409), but from what sovereign, Hindu or Musalman, does not appear[3]. It was, perhaps,

[1] See Stewart's *History of Bengal*, pp. 45–50.

[2] Ibn Batuta, iii, 325.

[3] *Chine Anc.*, p. 402. [Phillips says that most of the facts of "Mahuan's account of Bengala are to be found endorsed in the records of Foreign countries to be met with in the Ming Dynasty histories. In one account I find that Gai-ya-szu-ting, the king of Bengala, sent, in 1409, an embassy with presents to the Chinese Court; another king of Bengala, by name Kien-fuh-ting, sent a

one of those complimentary missions which General Cheng Ho went cruising to promote, as mentioned on p. 76.

And in 1656, though the date is beyond the field of our notices, we find that the Dutch envoy Nieuhoff was presented at Peking along with an ambassador from the Great Mogul, at that time Shah Jahan[1].

54. Returning to earlier days, we find that in the time of the Mongol emperors an ample trade by sea existed between China and the ports of Malabar. To this Polo, Odoric, Marignolli, and Ibn Batuta bear witness. The rise of this trade, so far as we know about it, will be more conveniently related under the head of Chinese intercourse with the Arabs. Ibn Batuta alludes to the Chinese merchants residing at Kaulam[2], and such residents are

letter to the Emperor of China, written on gold leaf, and accompanied by a present of a giraffe. The first embassy, viz. that of Gai-ya-szu-t'ing, is said to have come to China in the sixth year of Yong-lo's reign, which corresponds with 1409 of our era. The Bengal king reigning at that time appears to have been Shihab-ad-din Bayazid Shah, who only came to the throne in that year. A former king, Ghiyas-ad-din, who reigned from 1370–1396, comes very near the Chinese name Gai-ya-szu-ting, but he had ceased to reign ten years before the embassy is said to have arrived in China. Possibly the Chinese dates are wrong. In the twelfth year of Yong-lo, 1415, the time assigned by the Chinese chroniclers to the arrival of the second embassy to China, Jalál-ad-din was king of Bengal. To make his name agree with the Chinese Kien-fuh-ting is somewhat difficult, but I think no other can be meant." (*J.R.A.S.*, 1895, p. 534.)

Mr. John Beames, *l.c.*, p. 900, makes the following remark on the subject: "As to the identification of Gai-ya-szu-ting with Ghiyas-uddin, the Chinese date seems to be wrong, as there are no coins or inscriptions of this king later than A.H. 799, corresponding to A.D. 1396. But the other king may, perhaps, be identified as follows: In A.D. 1415 (=A.H. 817–818) Jaláluddin was king, but his reign did not commence till A.H. 818, the end of March, 1415. In the former part of the year 1415 his father, the Hindu Raja Káns, was apparently still alive. Might it not, therefore, be possible that the Chinese historian has mixed up the two, and made out of Káns and Jaláluddin a joint name, Káns uddin, which he represents by Kien-hut-ding. A Chinese would not be aware of the incongruity of a mixed Hindu and Musulman name" This seems to me far-fetched.]

[1] Pauth., *Relations Polit., etc.*, p. 49. 103.

also alluded to in ancient Malabar documents[1]. I have already suggested that Marignolli's mention of "Tartars" in connection with the tomb of St Thomas at Mailapúr (III, p. 251, *infra*) may indicate that Chinese traded, perhaps were settled, also on the Coromandel Coast. But Ritter's idea that CHINAPATAM, one of the native names of the town of Madras, is a trace of ancient Chinese colonisation here, is not well founded. That name, properly Chennapatam or Chennapapatam, was bestowed on the site granted to the British in 1639 by the Naik of Chingleput, in honour of that chief's own father-in-law, *Chennapà* by name[2]. It is curious, however, in connection with such a suggestion, that Gasparo Balbi in the sixteenth century, speaking of certain Pagodas seen in making Negapatam after rounding Ceylon (apparently the monolithic temples at Mahabalipuram, commonly known still as the Seven Pagodas) observes that they were called the *Sette Pagodi de' Chini*, and were attributed to ancient Chinese mariners[3].

[1] See *Madras Journal* for 1844, p. 121.

[2] Ritter, v, 518, 620; *Madras in the Olden Time*, by J. T. Wheeler, Madras, 1861, i, p. 25. ["In honour of the local Naik's father Chennappa, the settlement, as distinct from the town of Madras itself, was called Chennappapattanam, but the natives now apply the name Chennapattanam to the whole city." (*Imp. Gaz. India*, xvi, pp. 368–9.)]

[3] It is worth noting that the Catalan Map of 1375 has in this position a place called *Setemelli*; qu. an error for *Seite templi*? [See note in *Marco Polo*, ii, p. 336.] [We read in the *Tao yi chi lio* (1349) that "T'u t'a (the eastern stupa) is to be found in the flat land of Pa-tan (Fattan, Negapatam ?) and that it is surrounded with stones. There is a stupa of earth and brick many feet high; it bears the following Chinese inscription: 'The work was finished in the eighth moon of the third year *hien chw'en* (1267).' It is related that these characters have been engraved by some Chinese in imitation of inscriptions on stone of those countries; up to the present time, they have not been destroyed." Hien chw'en is the *nien hao* of Tu Tsung, one of the last emperors of the Southern Sung Dynasty, not of a Mongol Sovereign. I owe this information to Prof. Pelliot, who adds that the comparison between the Chinese Pagoda of Negapatam and the text of the *Tao yi chi lio* has been made independent of him by Mr. Fujita in the *Tōkyō-gakuhō*, November 1913, pp. 445–6.]

55. We hear from Marco Polo of some part of the intercourse which Kúblái Khan endeavoured to establish with western countries of Asia, and his endeavours are also specially mentioned in the Chinese annals. Unfortunately he and his officers seem to have entertained the Chinese notion that all intercourse with his empire should take the form of homage, and his attempts that way in Java and Japan had no very satisfactory result. But he is said to have been more fortunate in 1286 with the kingdoms of MAPAEUL, SUMUNTALA, SUMENNA, SENGKILI, MALANTAN, LAILAI, NAVANG, and TINGHOEUL. Of these the first four are almost certainly Indian. Maabar[1], (Dwara) Samundra[2], Sumnath[3], are not difficult to recognize; the fourth, Sengkili, is probably the Shinkali of Abulfeda, the Singuyli of Jordanus, the Cynkali of Marignolli, *i.e.* Cranganor[4]. The rest of the names probably belong to the Archipelago[5].

[1] See *infra*, p. 141; II, 67, etc.

[2] The kingdom of the Bilal Rajas immediately north of Ma'bar, and constantly coupled with it in the Mahomedan histories.

[3] See *Marco Polo*. pt. III. ch. 32.

[4] See *infra*, p. 133; II, 249.

[5] Thus Malantan, Navang, Tinghoeul may be compared with the names of the actual Malay states or provinces of Kelantan, Pa hang, and Sungora. Pauthier introduces the list (which he gives as Siumenna, Senghili, Nanwuli, Malantan, Tingkorh, Maparh, and Sumuntala) as that of "ten maritime kingdoms of the Indian Archipelago," but that is merely an opinion of his own. It is possible, certainly, that Sumuntala may represent Sumatra, as it appears to do in passages quoted from Chinese geographies by M. Pauthier. Some of these, indeed, appear to be derived from European sources; others do refer to the Chinese Annals as far back as the tenth century, and if these can be depended on as showing that the island or a kingdom on it was called Sumatra at so early a date, the circumstance is remarkable. In the absence of more distinct evidence, I should doubt if the name is so old. The Malay traditions, quoted by Dulaurier, ascribe the foundation of the city called Sumatra to the father of the king reigning in Ibn Batuta's time.

The list of names in the text is from Gaubil (see G., *Hist. de Gentchiscan*, p. 205; Pauthier's *Polo*, p. 572; also Baldelli Boni's *Il Milione*, ii, 388).

I may observe that in an old Chino-Japanese map described

IV. INTERCOURSE WITH THE ARABS.

56. This likewise, in all probability, goes back to an earlier date than is to be learned from any existing history, as the forms in which the name of China reached the Greeks have already suggested to us[1].

The earliest date to which any positive statement of such intercourse appears to refer is the first half of the fifth century of our era. At this time, according to Hamza of Ispahan[2] and Ma'sudi, the Euphrates was navigable as high as Hira[3], a city lying south-west of

by Klaproth and Rémusat, the kingdoms of *Sumennaï Kylantin*, *Mapoeul*, and *Tinghoeul*, are placed far to the west beyond the Arabs. (*Not. et Ext.*, vol. xi, and Klap., *Mém.* ii.) This, however, only shows that the author of the map did not know where to put them.

[1] ["Mahomet n'a point ignoré le nom de la Chine, car il recommanda à ses disciples d'acquérir la science, dussent-ils aller la chercher en Chine. Il avait eu quelque notion de ce vaste empire, soit par Selman Farsy ou par les membres des colonies persanes établies sur les côtes de l'Arabie, soit par les gens des ports du Yemen qui étaient en rapports fréquents avec les villes du littoral du golfe Persique où abordaient les navires naviguant dans les mers des Indes, de la Malaisie et du sud de la Chine." Ch. Schefer, *Relat. des Musulmans avec les Chinois*, p. 2.]

[2] [Martin Hartmann says (*Chine* in *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*): "Reinaud ne devrait pas citer, au sujet des navires de Chine à Hîra, Hamza-al-Iṣfahānī, p. 102: il est dit seulement: 'Hira était alors le pays riverain (*sāḥil* n'est pas la bordure littorale) de l'Euphrate; car la mer (lire *al-baḥr* au lieu d'*al-furāt* que Gottwaldt traduisit par inadvertance; cette faute de transcription s'explique par la présence du mot *al-furāt* un peu plus haut) pénétrait alors loin dans les terres (littér. se trouvait plus près de la bordure septentrionale de la plaine côtière babylonienne) et arrivait même jusqu'à Nadjaf.' Cette addition fantaisiste a fait ensuite naître dans la tête de Richthofen le beau tableau suivant (*China*, i, 526): 'Suivant le témoignage de Masudi et de Hamza d'Ispahân, les navires chinois venaient chaque année (!) jeter l'ancre à côté des navires hindous devant les maisons de Hîra.'"]

[3] ["Less than a league south of Kûfah are the ruins of Ḥîrah, which had been a great city under the Sassanians. Near by stood the famous palaces of As-Sadîr and Al-Khawarnak, the latter built, according to tradition, by Nu'mân, prince of Ḥîrah, for King Bahrâm Gûr, the great hunter. The palace of Khawarnak with its magnificent halls had mightily astonished the early Moslems when they first took possession of Ḥîrah on the conquest of Mesopotamia." (G. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 75.)]

ancient Babylon, near Kufa[1], (now at a long distance from the actual channel of the river), and the ships of India and China were constantly to be seen moored before the houses of the town[2]. Hira was then abounding in wealth. and the country round, now a howling wilderness, was full of that life and prosperity which water bestows in such a climate. A gradual recession took place in the position of the headquarters of Indian and Chinese trade. From Hira it descended to Obolla[3], the ancient Apologos, from Obolla it was transferred to the neighbouring city of Basra, built by the Khalif Omar on the first conquest of Irak (636), from Basra to Siraf[4] on the northern shore

[1] [" The city of Al-Kûfah was founded immediately after the Moslem conquest of Mesopotamia, at the same time as Basrah was being built, namely, about the year 17 (638), in the Caliphate of 'Omar. It was intended to serve as a permanent camp on the Arab, or desert side of the Euphrates, and occupied an extensive plain lying above the river bank, being close to the older Persian city of Al-Ḥîrah. Kûfah rapidly increased in population, and when in the year 36 (657) 'Alî came to reside here the city during four years was the capital of that half of Islam which recognised 'Ali as Caliph. In the mosque at Kûfah 'Ali was assassinated in the year 40 (661)." (G. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 75.)]

[2] Reinaud, *Relations*, etc., I, xxxv; Tennent's *Ceylon*, i, 541; Mas'ûdî in *Prairies d'Or*, i, 216 *seqq*. The passage in Mas'udi, as translated by Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, is not so precise in its evidence as I should have gathered from Reinaud and Tennent. I have not access to Hamza. [Yule in a note says: " The facts stated in Sir H. Rawlinson's paper in vol. xxvii of the *J.R.G.S.*, p. 185, seem to throw very great doubt upon the allegation that Ḥîra could have been a haven for eastern trade at the time indicated, if *ever* it was so."]

" Hira was the seat of a race of kings who had embraced the Christian religion, and reigned above six hundred years under the shadow of Persia " (Gibbon, ch. li).

[3] [Al-Ubullah = Apologos, " dated from Sassanian or even earlier times, but it lay on the estuary and was feverish, and the Moslems when they founded their new city, Basrah, built this further inland near the desert border." (G. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 47.)]

[4] [" Further up the coast, to the north-west of Nâband, was the port of Sîrâf, the chief emporium of the Persian Gulf in the 4th (10th) century, prior to the rise of Ḳays island into pre-eminence. Sîrâf, Iṣṭakhrî says, nearly equalled Shîrâz in size and splendour; the houses were built of teak wood brought

of the gulf, and from Siraf successively to Kish[1] and Hormuz[2].

from the Zanj country (now Zanzibar), and were several storeys high, built to overlook the sea." (G. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 258.)]

["Aujourd'hui cette ville [Killah] est le rendez-vous général des vaisseaux musulmans de Siraf et d'Oman, qui s'y recontrent avec les bâtiments de la Chine; mais il n'en était pas ainsi autrefois. Les navires de la Chine se rendaient alors dans le pays d'Oman, à Siraf, sur la côte de Perse et du Bahrein, à Obollah et à Basrah, et ceux de ces pays naviguaient à leur tour directement vers la Chine. Ce n'est que depuis qu'on ne peut plus compter sur la justice des gouvernants et sur la doctrine de leurs intentions, et que l'état de la Chine est devenu tel que nous l'avons décrit, qu'on se rencontre sur ce point intermédiaire." Mas'ūdī, i, p. 308.]

[1] ["The country of Ki-shī [Island of Kish] is on a small island in the sea, in sight of the Ta-shī (coast), which is distant from it a half day's journey. There are very few towns (in this region....Every year the Ta-shī send camels loaded with rose-water, gardenia flowers, quicksilver, spelter, silver bullion, cinnabar, red dye plants, and fine cotton stuffs, which they put on board ships on arriving in this country to barter with other countries." (Chau Ju-kua, pp. 133-4.)

"The island of Ḳays, or as the Persians wrote the name, Kîsh, which in the course of the 6th (12th century) became the trade-centre of the Persian Gulf after the ruin of Sîrâf." (G. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 257.)]

[2] ["Old Hurmuz, or Hurmuz of the mainland, lay at a distance of two post-stages, or half a day's march from the coast, at the head of a creek called Al-Jîr, according to Iṣṭakhrî, 'by which after one league ships come up thereto from the sea,' and the ruins of the town are still to be seen at the place now known as Minâb, vulgarly Minao. In the 4th (10th century) Old Hurmuz was already the seaport for Kirmân and Sijistân, and in later times, when New Hurmuz had been built on the island, this place supplanted Ḳays, just as Ḳays had previously supplanted Sîrâf, and became the chief emporium of the Persian Gulf.....At the beginning of the 8th (14th) century—one authority gives the year 715 (1315)—the king of Hurmuz, because of the constant incursions of robber tribes, abandoned the city on the mainland, and founded New Hurmuz on the island aforesaid called Jîrun (or Zarûn), which lay one league distant from the shore. (Le Strange, *l.c.*, pp. 318–319.) In one of the itineraries of Kia Tan (between A.D. 785 and 805) we read: 'Now the Fu-li-la river of the realm of the Ta-shī flows southward into the sea. Small boats ascend it two days and reach the country of Mo-lo, an important market of the Ta-shī.' Rockhill says: 'Molo I am disposed to identify with old Hurmuz,' and adds: 'Assuming that the identification of Mo-lo with Hormuz is correct, it is interesting to note that this is the only reference in Chinese works to this great port of the Persian Gulf. This is another proof that the Chinese cannot have taken any personal part in the sea trade

57. Chinese Annals of the T'ang dynasty [618-907] of the seventh and eighth centuries, describe the course followed by their junks in voyaging to the Euphrates from Kwang chau (Canton). After indicating the route and the times occupied as far as Ceylôn[1], we are told that they passed in front of MOLAI (Malé of Cosmas, Malabar), after which they coasted ten small kingdoms towards the north-west, and after two days' sail to the north-west across sea (Gulf of Cambay) they reached TIYU (probably Diu). Ten days' further voyage carried them past five small kingdoms to another TIYU, near the Great River MILAN or SINTEU[2]. In twenty days more they came to the frontiers of another country, where there was a great lighthouse in the sea[3]; one day more brought them to Siraf, and thence they reached the mouth of the Euphrates.

with Persia in the eighth century, as Geo. Phillips (*J.R.A.S.*, 1895, 525) thinks they did.'" (Chau Ju-kua, p. 14 *n.*)]

[1] All which, strange to say, is omitted by Deguignes, from whom this is quoted (*Mém. de l'Acad. des Insc.*, xxxii, 367). The passage does not seem to have been reproduced by later Chinese scholars. It also speaks, as may be gathered from Deguignes in another essay, of the different places in Asia whither the goods taken to the Gulf were carried for sale, and indicates places of commerce on the coast of Africa. (*Mém.*, as above, xlvi, 547.)

[2] The *Milán* or *Sinteu* is the *Sindhu* or *Indus*, called by the Arabs *Mehrán*. *Tiyu* is probably, as suggested by Deguignes, the port of Diul, Dewal, or DAIBUL, which lay to the west of the Indus mouths and cannot have been far from Karáchi. Edrisi speaks of it specifically as frequented by Chinese ships. Daibul was besieged and taken by the Mahomedans before the end of the seventh century. The district at the mouths of the Indus appears to have retained the name long after the decay of the port, for Barbosa calls this territory *Diul* (Jaubert's *Edrisi*, i, 161; Gildemeister, p. 170, but the reading of Ibn Haukal here which places Daibul on the *east* of the Indus appears to be erroneous; *Barbosa* (Lisbon ed.), p. 266; Reinaud in *Mém. de l'Acaa.*, xvii, p. 170).

[3] Probably at the Straits of Hormuz. I do not find any light there mentioned, but Mas'ûdî mentions that at the terminus of this voyage at the entrance of the roadstead near Obollah and Abadan (*i.e.*, off the mouth of Euphrates) there were three great platforms on which beacons were lighted every night to guide ships coming in. (*Prairies d'Or*, i, 230.)

The ships of China, according to some authorities, used to visit Aden as well as the mouths of Indus and Euphrates[1]. I do not think that either Polo or any traveller of his age speaks of them as going further than Malabar, the ports of which appear to have become the *entrepôts* for commercial exchange between China and the west, nor does it appear what led to this change. Some time in the fifteenth century again they seem to have ceased to come to Malabar, nor can it be positively gathered from Abd-ul-Razzak or Conti whether Chinese vessels continued to frequent that coast in their time (*circa* 1430–42)[2]. We read, however, that Ch'eng Tsu of the Ming dynasty (1402–24) despatched vessels to the islands and countries of India, Bengal, Calicut, Ceylon, Surat, the

[1] See *Ibn el Wardī*, in *Not. et Extraits*, ii, 43. Edrisi says that, from Aden ships sailed for Hind, Sind, and China (i, 51). He gives a list of the wares brought from China by these ships, but except iron, sword-blades (perhaps Japanese), shagreen, rich stuffs and velvets, and various vegetable tissues, the articles rather belong to the Archipelago.

["In the nineteenth year of Yong-lo (1422), an Imperial envoy, the eunuch Li, was sent from China to this country [Aden] with a letter and presents to the king. On his arrival he was most honourably received, and was met by the king on landing and conducted by him to his palace. During the stay of the embassy the people who had rarities were permitted to offer them for sale. Cat's eyes of extraordinary size, rubies, and other precious stones, large branches of coral, amber, and attar of roses were among the articles purchased. Giraffes, lions, zebras, leopards, ostriches, and white pigeons were also offered for sale." (Mahuan's *Account of Aden*. Geo. Phillips, *Journ. R. As. Soc.*, 1896, p. 348.)—"It is stated in the History of the Ming, that the first embassy from Aden to China was sent in 1427 and that they subsequently were often repeated." (Bretschneider, *Arabs*, p. 18.) In the same year, 1427, an envoy arrived at the Chinese court from Mu ku tu su [Magadoxo, on the east coast of Africa. (*Ibid.* p. 21.) Chu pu which lies not far from Magadoxo sent also an envoy to China during Yong-lo's reign. (*Ibid.*, p. 22.)]

Baroch is also mentioned as a port visited by ships of China (Edrisi, i, 179); and Suhár in Oman (the Soer of Polo), as a port from which Arab vessels traded to China (*Id.*, i, 152).

[2] Abdul Razzāk, however, does mention merchants and maritime people of China among those who frequented Hormuz in his time (1442). He does not distinctly say that ships of that country came, and the passage is perhaps too general to build upon. (*Ind. in XV Cent.*, p. 56.)

Persian Gulf, Aden, and the Red Sea, expeditions to which reference has been made in a previous page, and which do not seem to have been in any degree commercial. This, however, is the last notice with which I am acquainted of Chinese vessels visiting Malabar and Western Asia[1].

57 *b*. [The Arabs were known by the Chinese as the *Tazi* or *Ta shi* (*Ta shi* is but a transcription of the Persian *Tazi* تازی or *Tajik* تاجیك; the Arabs were then made known to the Chinese by the Persians; this fact seems to prove the priority of the travels of the Persians. Cf. Ferrand, *Textes*, pp. 2–3); from the Sung Dynasty (960–1279), when no less than twenty embassies from the Ta shi are reckoned, the Mohamedans are known as the *Hwei Hwei*, also *Hwei Ho* or *Hwei Hu*, the very names given to the Uighúrs during the T'ang dynasty. We do not know the exact date of the entrance of the Mohamedans into China: there is an inscription in the mosque of Si-ngan fu dated 742 from which it appears that the doctrine of Mahomet penetrated into China during the period K'ai hwang (581–600), Sui dynasty; the date of Hegira being 622, it is difficult to believe that Islam was known in China some years previously; the inscription is no doubt apocryphal[2]. For a long time the inscription of the mosque (*Hwei Sheng sze*) of Canton (1st day 8th month 10th year *Che cheng*=2 Nov. 1350) was considered as the most ancient in China, but the inscription of the mosque of *Ts'iuan chau* (1310–11)[3] is older. Now a Sino-Arabic document has been found in Japan whither it was sent from *Ts'iuan chau* in 1217 by a Japanese bonze; this is so far the oldest known Arabic document found in China[4].]

[1] Deguignes, i, 72.
[2] H. Cordier, *Journal des Savants*, Jan. 1913, p. 31.
[3] Arnáiz and Van Berchem. (*T'oung pao*, VII, 1896.)
[4] Pelliot in *J. Asiat.*, Juillet–Août 1913, pp. 177 *seq.*

58. The Arabs at an early date of Islam, if not before[1], had established a factory at Canton, and their numbers at that port were so great by the middle of the eighth century that in 758 they were strong enough to attack and pillage the city, to which they set fire and then fled to their ships[2] Nor were they confined to this port. The city now called Hang chau fu, the Quinsai and Khansa of the middle ages, but known in those days to the Arabs as KHANFU[3], was probably already frequented by them; for one hundred and twenty years later, the number of foreign settlers, Musulman, Jew, Christian, and Gueber, who perished on the capture of that city by a rebel army, is estimated at one hundred and twenty

[1] ["In the year 651 A.D. the king of the Ta-shi, by name *Han mi mo mo ni* [Emir al mumenin], sent for the first time an envoy with presents to the Chinese court, and at the same time announced in a letter, that the house Ta-shi had already reigned thirty-four years and had three kings." (From the History of the T'ang, Bretschneider, *Arabs*, p. 8.)]

[2] Deguignes, i, 59, ii, 503; also in *Mém. de l'Acad.*, xlvi, 545. In the latter essay, Deguignes attributes this outbreak to the Arab auxiliaries mentioned further on.

["The history of the T'ang states finally, that in the year 758 the Po ssu, following on the path of the Ta shi (Arabians), invaded unexpectedly *Kuang chow* (Canton), destroyed the town by fire, and returned to their country by sea. This appears to me to be the last time that the Persians are mentioned under the name of *Po ssu* in Chinese history." (Bretschneider, *Notes and Queries on C. and J.*, iv, p. 57.)]

[3] *Khanfu* was properly only the port of Hang chau or Khansa, called by the Chinese KAN P'HU (a name still preserved as that of a town half a league north of the old site), and by Marco Polo *Ganfu* (ii, 189). The place is mentioned as a coasting port in Chinese Annals under A.D. 306; as the seat of a master attendant in 706; and as that of a marine court under the Mongols. (Klap., *Mém. rel. à l'Asie*, ii, 200 *seqq.*). The name of the port seems to have been transferred by the early Arabs to Hang chau; for there seems no reason to ascribe to Kan p'hu itself the importance here assigned to *Khanfu*. Indeed, Abulfeda says expressly, "*Khanfu*, which is known in our days as Khansa." [Pelliot proposes to see in Khanfu a transcription of Kwang-fu, an abridgement of Kwang chau fu, prefecture of Kwang chau (Canton). Cf. *Bull. Ecole franc. Ext. Orient.*, Jan.-June 1904, p. 215 *n.*, but I cannot very well accept this theory. See *Marco Polo*, ii, 199.]

thousand, and even two hundred thousand[1]! Of course we must make large deductions, but these contemporary statements still indicate a large foreign population.

59. In the eighth century also the Arabs began to know the Chinese not only as *Sinæ*, but as *Seres*, *i.e.* by the northern land route. The successes of Kutaiba, who in the time of Khalif Walid overran Bokhara, Samarkand, Farghânah, and Khwarizm, and even extended his conquests across the Bolor to Kashgar, brought the two powers into dangerous collision[2]; and the Emperor of China seems to have saved himself from an Arab invasion, only by the very favourable reception which he gave to an embassy from Kutaiba, composed of twelve Mahomedans, whom he sent back loaded with presents for the Arab general[3].

This was no doubt the embassy to the Emperor Hwen Tsung (*circa* 713), of which the Chinese annals relate that the envoys demanded exemption from the *kotow*, and in consequence were put upon their trial and pronounced worthy of death. The emperor, however, graciously pardoned them[4]!

[1] Reinaud, *Relations*, etc., i, p. 64; Mas'ūdī, *Prairies d'Or*, i, 304.

[2] Hajáj, the Viceroy of Irak, sent messages to Kutaiba and to Mahomed Ibn Kassim in Sind, urging both to press forward to the conquest of China, and promising that the first to reach it should be invested with the government. This induced Kutaiba to advance to Kashgar, and Mahomed to press towards Kanauj. But the death of their patron and of the Khalif put an end to their schemes and brought destruction upon both. (Reinaud in *Mém. de l'Acad.*, xvii, 186).

[3] De Sacy in *Not. et Extraits*, ii, 374–5.

[4] Rémusat, *Mélanges Asiat.*, i, 441–2. ["In 713 A.D. an Envoy appeared from the Ta shi, bringing as presents beautiful horses and a magnificent girdle. When the Envoy was presented to the Emperor, he refused to perform the prescribed obeisance, saying: 'In my country we only bow to God never to a Prince.' At first they wanted to kill the Envoy: one of the ministers however interceded for him, saying that a difference in the court etiquette of foreign countries ought not to be considered a crime.

"In the year 726 A.D. an Envoy, by name *Su li p'u*, came from

The emperors seemed to have entertained a correcter apprehension of the character of the new enemy than their successors have exhibited in later days when coming in contact with European nations, and consequently they were very cautious in their answers to the many applications that were made to them for aid against the irresistible Arabs. Yet collisions were not entirely avoided. Indeed according to one Mahomedan historian[1] the end of the year 87 of Hegira (A.D. 709) had already witnessed the glorious defeat of two hundred thousand Tartars who had broken into the Mahomedan conquests under the command of *Taghabun*, the Chinese Emperor's nephew. And at a later date, about 751, we find the Chinese troops under their general Kao Sien-chi engaging those of the Khalif near Taraz or Talas and entirely routed[2]. A few years afterwards (757–8), when the Emperor Su Tsung was hard pressed by a powerful rebel, he received an embassy from the Khalif Abu Jafar al Mansúr, accompanied by auxiliary troops. But even these ministers of timely aid are related in the Chinese annals to have been compelled to perform the *kotow* in spite of their strong remonstrances. Uighúr and other western troops also joined the emperor's standard, and the rebel was completely defeated in the immediate neighbourhood of Si-ngan fu [A.D. 757]. These auxiliaries seem to have been found very unmanageable; the eastern capital, Lo yang, was pillaged by them, and, as we have seen, one account ascribes to them, on their

Ta shi to the court. He made the required obeisance before the Emperor and received a purple robe and a girdle as presents." From the History of the T'ang; Bretschneider, *Arabs*, p. 8.] So in turn ten Chinese envoys are said to have been murdered at the Burmese court in 1286, because they insisted on appearing in the royal presence with their boots on. (*Mission to Ava*. p. 79.)

[1] Tabari, quoted in *Ch. Anc.*, p. 310.

[2] *Ib.*, 311; Deguignes, i, 58. [Kao Sien-chi was routed by the Arabs (*Ta shi*) allied to the Karluk near Talas in the 9th year *t'ien-pao* (750). See Chavannes *Tou-Kiue* p. 142.]

way to embark for the west, the sack of Canton which occurred at this time[1].

Mention has been made in a preceding page how about 787 the emperor applied to the khalif to join in a league against the Tibetans. Some years later (798) the celebrated Khalif Harun Al Rashíd sent three ambassadors to the Court of China, and it is recorded of them that they performed, apparently without remonstrance, the ceremonies to which the former Arab envoys, like ours in modern times, had so strongly objected[2].

An embassy from the khalif is said to have also reached the Chinese Court in 974, and another to have visited the Northern Sung in 1011[3].

V. INTERCOURSE WITH ARMENIA AND PERSIA, ETC.

60. Besides that communication by land and sea with Arabia, and with the various states of India, of which illustrations have been given, there existed from an old date other and obscurer streams of intercourse between China and Western Asia, of which we have but fragmentary notices, but which seem to indicate a somewhat fuller mutual knowledge and freer communication than most persons probably have been prepared to recognise.

[1] See *Mém. de l'Acad.* (old), xvi, p. 254, and *supra*, p. 89. ["*A po lo pa* [Ab'ul Abbas, 750–754, the first Khalif Abbasid] was chosen king and his territories were henceforward called *Hei yi Ta shi*, or black coated Ta shi. After his death his brother *A p'u ch'a fo* [Abu Jafar, 754–775] ascended the throne. In the year 756 the king sent an Embassy to China. The Emperor retook, with the help of his (the caliph's) army, both capitals of China." From the History of the T'ang. Bretschneider, *Arabs*, p. 9.]

[2] Rémusat, *u.s.*

[3] Deguignes, in *Acad.*, xlvi, 544; *H. des Huns*, i, 66, *seqq.* [".The History of the Sung dynasty, 960–1280, has a long article on the Ta shi (Arabs), yet I have found but little of interest in it. Mention is made of twenty Embassies from the Ta shi having come to China in ships during this past period. But it seems that most of them bore no official character and have to be reduced to mercantile expeditions." Bretschneider, *Arabs*, p. 11.]

Thus, China appears to have been well known from an early period to the Armenians. Moses of Chorene, who wrote a little after A.D. 440, and who probably drew from earlier authors, speaks of JENASDAN (*i.e. Chinistàn* or China) as a great plain country, east of Scythia, at the extremity of the known world, and occupied by a wealthy and civilised people of character so eminently pacific as to deserve to be called not merely *friends of peace* but *friends of life*. Their country furnished an abundance of silk, insomuch that silk dresses, so rare and costly in Armenia, were there common to all classes. It also produced musk, saffron, and cotton. Peacocks were found there. Twenty-nine nations were comprised within its bounds; and not all of equal civilisation, for one was addicted to cannibalism[1]. The king, whose title was *Jenpagur*, had his residence in the city of *Siurhia* towards the Terra Incognita. The country of the *Sinae* adjoined Jenasdan and embraced seven nations; it contained many rivers and mountains, and extended likewise to the Unknown Land[2]. According to the same historian, in the reign of Tigranes VI (A.D. 142–178) several bodies of foreign settlers, and amongst others Chinese, were placed in Gordyene or Kurdish Armenia, for the defence of the country[3].

[1] Compare Ptolemy, vi, 16; and *Marco Polo*, ii, 225, 228 *n*.

[2] St. Martin, *Mém. sur l'Arménie*, ii, 22, 23, 377. The *Jenasdan* of Moses of Chorene is perhaps the Empire of the Wei dynasty which ruled in Northern China with varying power from the fourth to the sixth century, and whose authority in Tartary was very extensive. Their capitals were various; *Lo yang* was one of them. I do not know if this could be identified with Siurhia; but it may be observed that in the Syriac of the Si-ngan fu inscription Lo yang is supposed to be meant by *Saragh*. The *Sinae* would perhaps represent the Tsin reigning at Nan king. [Yule adds: "Some clue to the origin of this name [Siurhia] may perhaps lie in the circumstance that the Mongol Ssanang Ssetzen appears to give Deitu or Peking, as the capital of the Great Khan, the appellation of *Siro-Khaghan*. The meaning of the title is not explained by Schmidt. (See his work, p. 127.)"]

[3] St. Martin, ii, 47.

To more than one great Armenian family a Chinese descent was attributed. One of these families was that of the Orpelians, which in Georgia was known by the name of *Jenpakuriani* from their supposed ancestor the Jen-pakur or Emperor of China[1]. Another family was that of the Mamigonians, one which plays an important part in Armenian history. Their story is told by Moses of Chorene, who refers their establishment in Armenia to a date two hundred years before his own time, and therefore to the first half of the third century. He relates that, in the latter days of Ardeshir, the founder of the Sassanian dynasty (who died in 240), a certain Arpog was King of China, one of whose sons, Mamkon by name, fled from home on account of a charge brought against him, and took refuge in Persia. The Chinese threatening war on account of the shelter afforded him, he was obliged to retire to Armenia, where he was received by the King Tiridates, who eventually bestowed the province of Daron upon him and his Chinese followers. From this Mamkon came the family of the Mamigonians, whose Chinese descent is spoken of by all the Armenian historians[2].

About the same time we find it stated that the Emperor of China offered to mediate between Ardeshir, King of Persia, and Khosru I of Armenia; whilst Suren, a brother of St. Gregory of Armenia, is represented as taking refuge in China. All these circumstances imply some familiarity of relation. The authority quoted for them is Zenob, a

[1] St. Martin says that *Pakur* is the Faghfur of the Mahomedan writers, the generic name applied to the Emperors of China. See note under § 85, *infra*.

I notice, however, that *Pakur* forms a part of the name or title of many of the Georgian kings in Deguignes's list.

[2] There appears to be some chronological hitch in this account; for Tiridates, who was carried off as an infant to the Romans, was not established on the throne till the beginning of Diocletian's reign (284), forty-four years after the death of Ardashir. (Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Rom. Biog.*)

Syrian, who wrote in Armenian in the beginning of the fourth century. And he says that they were derived from a history of China written in Greek by one Parta or Barta of Edessa[1].

61. The offer at mediation between Persia and Armenia just referred to is apparently unknown to the Chinese Annals. Their first notice of Persia[2] is the record of an embassy to the court of the Wei in 461; succeeded by a second in 466[3]. In the year 518–519 an ambassador came from *Kiuhoto* (Kobád), king of that country, with presents and a letter to the emperor. The Chinese annalists profess to give the literal terms of the letter, which uses a tone of improbable humility[4].

In the reign of Naoshirwan, the celebrated son of Kobád, an embassy came to the Persian court from the Emperor of China, bringing splendid presents. Among these are mentioned a panther formed of pearls with eyes of rubies; a silk robe of ultramarine blue of extraordinary splendour on which was represented in gold the Persian monarch with his courtiers round him; and a golden box to contain this robe and also a female figure, whose face was veiled with her long hair, through

[1] St. Martin, 29.

[2] ["The country *Po ssu* is mentioned for the first time in Chinese Annals in 519 A.D., when the king of *Po ssu* sent an Embassy with presents to the court of the Northern Wei (386–558). The sending of such embassies was often repeated. The Sui dynasty (589–618) received also embassies from *Po ssu*, and during the reign of the emperor Yang Ti (605–617) a Chinese Envoy was sent to *Po ssu*." (Bretschneider, *Notes and Queries on China and Japan*, iv, p. 54.)]

[3] Deguignes, i, 184. [See above, in Communication with Central Asia, p. 59.]

[4] "To the Son of Heaven, the Sovereign of the Great Realm, whom Heaven hath caused to exist and hath placed at the sun-rising to reign eternally over the empire of the Han; the King of Persia, Kobád, presents his respectful homage a thousand and ten thousand times and prays his Imperial Majesty to accept it." (Pauthier, *De l'Auth.*, p. 60.)

which her beauty shone like a ray of light through the darkness[1].

In the same reign (567) is mentioned that the King of Persia sent an embassy to Wu Ti, Emperor of the Chau dynasty, perhaps to engage his aid against the Turks who had then become formidable upon the Bactrian frontiers, as we see in the extracts from Menander, in Note VIII[2].

In 638, Yezdijerd III, the last of the Sassanid kings, when hard pressed in the uttermost corners of his dominions by the Saracens, sent an envoy to seek help from the Emperor of China, now the great and powerful T'ai Tsung. The Persian prince, obliged to retire into Turkestan [after his defeat at Nehāwend (642)], met in Sogdiana his messenger returning with T'ai Tsung's refusal of assistance. This embassy is mentioned both by Chinese and Arabian historians; by the former the unfortunate king is styled *Yisséssé*[3]. The son of this king, called by the Chinese Pi lou ssé, *i.e.*, Perozes or Firúz, established himself in Tokharistan, apparently under some subordination to the Chinese Government. In 661 he reported to China that the Arabs were again pressing him hard, and some years later (670–673) he took refuge at the Chinese court, where he received a high nominal command, [built a Mazdean

[1] Malcolm's *History of Persia*, i, 144–5; Ma'sūdī, *Prairies d'Or*, ii, 201. In the latter's version the long-haired beauty is not a picture, but a living damsel who carried the casket.

[2] Deguignes, ii, 385.

[3] Rémusat, *L'Acad.*, viii, p. 103; St. Martin, ii, 19; Klap., *Tab. Hist.*, p. 208; Pauth., *De l'Auth.*, pp. 17, 61. The reply of the Chinese Emperor is thus represented by the Arab historian, Tabari: "It is just that kings should help one another; but I have gathered from your own ambassadors what manner of men are these Arabs, what their habits, their religion, and the character of their leaders. People who have such a faith and such leaders will carry all before them. Try, then, to make the best of things by gaining their good graces." (*Not. et Extraits*, ii, 365.)

temple in 677, at Ch'ang ngan], and died soon after[1]. After his death, his son, called by the Chinese *Ni ni ssé* or *Ni niei ssé* (Narses ?), took the oath of allegiance to the emperor. In 679 a Chinese general, with a body of troops, was ordered to escort this prince to his paternal dominions; but the general seems to have descried serious obstacles to the completion of this duty; for he turned back from the frontier near Taraz "because of the length of the way and the fatigue of the journey," as the Chinese annalist quaintly puts it. The prince betook himself to Tokharistan where he was hospitably received; but, whatever efforts he may have made to recover his throne, he found them fruitless at last; for, in 707 we find him again presenting himself at the Chinese court, where, like his father, he was consoled with a sounding military title, and did not long survive. But here we must look back a little[2].

[1] *Firuz*, as the name of a son of Yezdijerd, the last Sassanid king, is mentioned by Mas'udi, *Prairies d'Or*, ii, 241. [Yezdijerd III died in 651 at Marv.]

[2] ["The following historical facts with regard to Po ssu are stated in the history of the T'ang.

"Towards the end of the reign of the Sui dynasty (589–618), the Khan of T'u K'üe devastated the kingdom of Po ssu and killed the king K'u sa ho. His son Shi li was appointed as successor by the victors, who gave him a Vice-regent as assistant. Later, the daughter of K'u sa ho was murdered. After the death of Shi li, his son Tan ko fang was forced to take refuge in Fo lin, but was subsequently recalled. His nephew *Yi t'su ssu* became king after the death of Tan ko fang. This king sent, in the year 638, an Envoy, *Mo ssu pan*, with presents to the Chinese Court. Yi ts'u ssu was dethroned on account of several crimes,—he fled to Tokharestan—but was slain on the road by the Ta shi (Arabs). His son *Pi lu ssu* came to Tokharestan and sent off an Envoy to the Emperor Kao Tsung (650–684) to ask for assistance to redress his wrongs. The Emperor declined all interference, saying that Po ssu was a country situated too far from his own. In the year 661 he again implored the Emperor and complained especially against the Arabians. The Emperor at last sent an Official to Po ssu and created a seat of Government in the town of *Tsi ling*, at the head of which Pi lu ssu was appointed. On the death of Pi lu ssu the Emperor was desirous to enthrone *Ni nie shi* (son of Pi lu ssu) as king of Po ssu, but the Chinese armies, which were to uphold him, did not reach Po ssu and were obliged to return. Ni nie shi lived for 20 years as a guest with the king of Tokharestan. In the year 707 he came again to the court of China, where he

62. In the days of Yang Ti of the Sui dynasty (605–617) China had begun to regain that influence over the states of Central Asia which it had enjoyed in the great days of the Han, preceding and following the Christian era, and under T'ai Tsung of the T'ang (627–650) that influence was fully re-established and the frontiers of the empire were again carried to the Bolor and even beyond it to the borders of Persia. In these remoter provinces the actual administration remained in the hands of the native princes who acknowledged themselves the vassals of the emperor. But from him they accepted investiture, Chinese seals of office, and decorations as lieges of the empire. Their states were divided after the Chinese manner into departments, districts, and cantons (*fu*, *chau*, and *hien*), each of which received a Chinese name by which it was entered in the imperial registers; whilst Chinese camps were scattered over the whole territory. The tributary states west of the Bolor formed sixteen *fu* and seventy-two *chau*, over which were distributed a hundred and twenty-six Chinese military posts. The list of the sixteen districts of the first class has been published by Rémusat, and, though doubts attach to the localities of some, enough has been made out to show that this Chinese organisation extended, at least in theory, over Farghânah and the country round Tashkand, over the eastern part at least of Mâ-warâ-n-Nahr, the country on the Oxus from Balkh upwards, Bamian and other districts adjoining the Hindu Kush, with perhaps Sejistan and part of Khorasan[1].

died. There now remained only the Western Branch as rulers. They sent in the beginning of the eighth century ten embassies to the Court of China, which brought as presents valuable carpets, also a throne made of agate." (Bretschneider, *Notes and Queries on China and Japan*, iv, p. 57.)]

[1] Rémusat, *u.s.*, pp. 81 *seqq.* This author considers Kandahar and Kabul to be included in the Chinese distribution of provinces; but see Reinaud, *Mém. sur l'Inde* in *Mém. Acad.*, xvii, 167–8.

One of the Chinese *Fús* is termed *Pussé*; *i.e.*, "Persia,"

The states of Turkestan and Khorasan were probably desirous to place themselves under Chinese protection in the vain hope of finding it a bulwark against the Saracen flood, and may themselves have originated this action of the Chinese Government. Besides the states which were thus organised on a Chinese model, others occupying a wider circle sent occasional embassies of compliment which the Chinese represent as bearing tribute, and among these are found the Khans of Khwarizm and the Khazars. The kings of Samarkand for several generations are alleged to have received investiture from China, but it does not appear that their territory was organised in the Chinese fashion.

The orders for that organisation were issued in 661, and it must remain very doubtful how far they were

which should be at least on the borders of that country. The chief city of this department was called *Tsi ling*. Now, it seems not improbable that this department of *Persia* was really part of SEJISTAN, the chief city of which in early Mahomedan times was called ZARANJ (compare the *Drangiane* and *Zarangiane* of the Greeks), a name which might be well represented by the Chinese *Tsi ling*. This is the more probable, as near Zaranj stood the ancient city of *Fars* (Farrah ?), the traditional capital of Rustum, which might suggest the Persia or Pussé of the Chinese (see Edrisi, i, 445). M. Pauthier suggests *Shiraz* as the identification of Tsi ling. But it would have been a bold step surely in 661 to name Shiraz as the seat of a Chinese Government (see *De l'Auth.*, p. 61). ["H. Yule, dans son *Cathay*, t. i, p. lxxxvii, identifie Tsi-ling à Zaranj, ville près de laquelle se trouve l'ancienne cité de Fars (Farrah), la capitale traditionnelle de Roustoum, qui pourrait expliquer le Pars (P'o sse) des Chinois. Il me paraît impossible que l'administration des Chinois ait pénetré aussi loin de leur domaine, qui avait alors pour confins, encore plus fictifs que réels, les quatre places de guerre (Talas, K'outché, Kachgar et Ouch)." Devéria, *Origine de l'Islamisme en Chine*, p. 307*n*. This argument is not to the point; the Chinese organisation may not have been carried out and still Firúz may have taken a refuge at Zaranj or Tsi ling. The following works on Seistan do not throw any light on the question: *Journal from Bunder Abbass to Mash'ad by Sistan, with some account of the last-named Province*. By Major-General Sir F. J. Goldsmid. (*Proc. R. Geog. Soc.*, xvii, 1872–73, pp. 86–92); *Notes on Seistan*. By Major-General Sir H. C. Pawlinson. (*Journal Roy. Geog. Soc.*, 1873, pp. 272–294, map); *The Frontier of Baluchistan*. By G. P. Tate, Lond., 1909.]

ever carried out, considering that in that very year, as we have seen, the Sassanian Prince Firúz was beginning to find Tokharestan too hot to hold him. The highest point of this tide of the Chinese power must have been then reached, but several of the states west of the Bolor are represented as continuing to send tribute to China with wonderful persistence for years after the conquests of Kutaiba, and well into the middle of the eighth century[1].

The Chinese Annals represent indeed that some small districts of Persia maintained their independence against the Arabs for a considerable time, and between 713 and 755[2] sent ten separate embassies to the court of China. A prince of Tabaristan is especially mentioned as sending one of these missions; his country is correctly described as surrounded on three sides by mountains and on the north by the Little Sea (the Caspian). The capital was called SARI[3]. In the time of the Kings of Persia this had been the seat of an officer called the Great General of the East. This officer had refused to submit to the Arabs, and in 746 he (or rather a successor) sent envoys to the Emperor of China and received a title of honour. Eight years later he sent his son to China, and the Emperor conferred high military rank upon him. The father perished at the hands of the Arabs.

One more embassy is reported from Persia in 923.

[1] See Rémusat, to p. 102. He says the Chinese power really extended to the Caspian in the latter half of the seventh and first half of the eighth centuries. But how can this be reconciled with the Mahomedan conquests?

[2] [The Chinese priest Kan shin (Kien chen) from Yang chau in 748 mentions the existence of a very large Persian village in the island of Hai-nan. (Takakusu in *Premier Congrès int. des Études d'Ext. Orient*, Hanoi, 1903, p. 58.)]

[3] An old city of Mâzandarân, which is celebrated in the legends of Afrasiab. There are, or were in the last century, still to be seen at Sari four ancient circular temples, each thirty feet in diameter and one hundred and twenty feet high. (Malcolm, i, p. 261.)

The greater part of Persia seems at that time to have been under the Samanid dynasty at Bokhara, with whom intercourse was carried on and a marriage alliance took place some twenty years later, if we can depend on the Arabian traveller Ibn Muhalhil (see § 84).

63. In this part of our subject we may also mention as worthy of note, though without being able to throw any light upon it, the tradition of the Druzes of Syria that China is the land of their forefathers, and the happy country to which good Druzes revert beyond the grave[1]

VI. NESTORIAN CHRISTIANITY IN CHINA.

64. The traditions of the eastern churches take back the preaching of the Gospel in China to a very old date indeed. Not St. Thomas only is asserted to have carried so far his indefatigable missionary journeys[2], for the apostle Bartholomew is related by a Syro-Arabian writer to have gone preaching to India and further China[3].

[1] Mr. Cyril Graham in *Journ. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xxvii, pp. 262-3.

[2] The Chaldæan breviary of the Malabar Church in its office of St. Thomas contains this passage:

"By St. Thomas were the errors of idolatry banished from among the Indians;

"By St. Thomas were the CHINESE and the Ethiopians converted to the truth;

"By St. Thomas did they receive the Sacrament of Baptism and the adoption of children;

"By St. Thomas were they brought to believe in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost;

"By St. Thomas when they had gotten the Faith they did maintain it;

"By St. Thomas hath the brightness of the doctrine unto me arisen over all the Indies;

"By St. Thomas hath the Kingdom of Heaven taken unto itself wings and passed even unto CHINA."

And again in an anthem:

"The Hindus and the CHINESE and the Persians, and all the people of the Isles of the Sea, and they who dwell in Syria and Armenia, in Javan and Romania call Thomas to remembrance and adore Thy Name, O Thou our Redeemer." (Assemani, pp. 32, 516.)

[3] Ditto, p. 576.

Apart from these legends, a Christian author of the third century speaks of the Seres with the Persians and Medes as among the nations who had been reached by the power of the Word[1]. On this we cannot build as evidence that Christianity had then extended to China; but that it was in the following century already widely diffused over Mesopotamia and Persia is shown by the number of Bishops and Presbyters who are named as martyrs or otherwise in connexion with the persecutions of Sapor[2]; whilst the existence of an episcopal see at Marv and Tús in 334, raised to metropolitan dignity in 420, shows how early the church had established itself also in Khorasan[3].

65. After the condemnation and banishment [in 431] of Nestorius, his opinions nevertheless spread extensively in Persia and throughout the eastern churches. The separation from Byzantine orthodoxy and influence (formally accomplished about 498) rather recommended

[1] That new power which has arisen from the works wrought by the Lord and his Apostles "has subdued the flame of human passions, and brought into the hearty acceptance of one faith a vast variety of races, and nations the most different in their manners. For we can count up in our reckoning things achieved in India, among the SERES, Persians, and Medes; in Arabia, Egypt, Asia, and Syria; among the Galatians, the Parthians, and the Phrygians; in Achaia, Macedonia, and Epirus; in all the islands and provinces which the rising or the setting sun looks down upon." ["Virtutes sub oculis positae, et inaudita illa vis rerum, vel quae ab ipso fiebat palam, vel ab ejus praeconibus celebrabatur in orbe toto eas subdidit appetitionum flammas et ad unius credulitatis assensum mente una concurrere gentes et populos fecit, et moribus dissimillimas nationes. Enumerari enim possunt, atque in usum computationis venire ea, quae in India gesta sunt, apud Seras, Persas, et Medos: in Arabia, Ægypto, in Asia, Syria, apud Galatas, Parthos, Phrygas: in Achaja, Macedonia, Epiro: in insulis et provinciis omnibus, quas sol oriens, atque occidens lustrat..."] (Arnobius, *Adversus Gentes*, in ii, 448, *Max. Biblioth. Patrum*, 1677).

[2] As., pp. 52–3, 415.

[3] Ditto, 477, 479. ["Tûs, in the 4th (10th century), was the second city of the Naysâbûr quarter of Khurâsân." Cf. Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, pp. 388–390. "Great Marv, in the middle ages, was called Marv-ash-Shâhijân, to distinguish it from Marv-ar-Rûd, Little Marv." *Ibid.*, p. 398.]

the Separatists to the Kings of Persia, though their treatment by those princes constantly fluctuated between favour and persecution. And much the same may be said of their condition under the Arabian khalifs. At first they seem to have been treated by the Mahomedans with some amount of good will[1]. They found employment with the khalifs, especially as secretaries and physicians, and in the latter capacity many of them acquired a wide eastern fame. Still they were always liable to be treated with capricious outbursts of severity, and too often the heavy hand of Islam was brought down upon them through their own internal rivalries and factions.

66. Whatever may have been the faults of the churches, there seems to have been a strong missionary spirit among them in the seventh and eighth centuries, as shown both by positive historical statements[2], and by the extension eastward of the metropolitan sees. Such were constituted at Herat, Samarkand, and in CHINA in the first quarter of the eighth century, and no doubt these must have existed as ordinary bishoprics for some time before[3]. Under the patriarchate of Timothy again (778–820) we find the record of the appointment of one David

[1] The Patriarch Jesujabus (650–660) in a letter given by Assemani, deplores a falling away of thousands of Christian people in the province of Marv before the Mahomedan invasion, not from any reason that they had to fear fire or sword, but only to avoid the loss of part of their goods. He testifies in the same letter that the conduct of the *Tayi*, as he calls the Mahomedans (whence, as M. Pauthier has somewhere pointed out, the *Ta shi* of the Chinese, v. *supra*, p. 48), was in general kindly towards the Christians. Assem. iii, Pt. i, pp. 130–1.

[2] *E.g.*, see in Assemani, p. 478.

[3] Indeed some of the Syrian authors ascribe all three metropolitan sees to much earlier dates. A writer quoted by Assemani says: "Heriæ et Samarkandæ et Sinæ Metropolitanos creavit Salibazacha Catholicos [714–728]. Aiunt vero quidam Achæum [411–415] et Silam [503–520] illos constituisse" (p. 522). The fact may be that Herat was constituted a *bishopric* in 411–415, and Samarkand in 503–520. We shall see that the existence of any bishopric in China before 635 is highly improbable.

to be metropolitan of China. In the middle of the ninth century we find the metropolitan of China mentioned along with those of India, Persia, Marv, Syria, Arabia, Herat, and Samarkand, as excused on account of the remoteness of their sees from attending the quadrennial synods of the church, but enjoined to send every six years a report of the state of their affairs, and not to neglect the collections for the support of the patriarchate[1]. There is thus good evidence from the ecclesiastical annals of Western Asia of the existence of the church in China during the eighth and ninth centuries; and the narrative of the Arab Abu Said, in consistence with this, speaks of Christians as forming one part of a very large foreign population at Khanfu in the year 878.

The institution of a *metropolitan* for China about the year 720 involves a presumption that Christianity had penetrated to that country some time before. Deguignes thought it had got thither *very much* earlier, but he seems to have been misled by a theory that some at least of the earlier notices of Buddhism in China alluded to Christianity[2].

67. For these extreme ideas there seems to be no evidence, unless we accept the loose statement of Arnobius about the Seres. Cosmas, in the sixth century, was not aware of the existence of any Christians further east than Taprobane, nor in Inner Asia does he speak of any beyond the Huns and the Bactrians, on the banks of the Indus and the Oxus. But that Christianity in China was nearly a century older than the date of its first metropolitan bishop is established by more than one Chinese record.

[1] Assem., p. 439.

[2] He refers, without the condemnation which it may be supposed to merit, to a medal representing the Virgin and Child united to a Chinese copper coin of A.D. 556, of which he says a cut is given in the *Lettres Édifiantes*, xvi. See Deguignes, i, 50.

The first of these which would be obscure without the light reflected on it by the second and more important, is an edict issued in 745 by the Emperor Hiuan Tsung of the T'ang, wherein it is declared that the religion of the sacred books known as *Persian* had originally come from Ta Ts'in (the Roman Empire); propagated by preaching and tradition it had made its way to the Middle Kingdom, and had been for a long time practised therein. Temples of this worship had been erected from the first, and had got to be known popularly as Persian temples. But as this title was inaccurate it was by this edict enacted that throughout the empire the name of Persian temples should be thenceforward changed to TA TS'IN TEMPLES[1].

68. The second record is that celebrated monument of Si-ngan fu which has been the subject of so much discussion.

This monument was dug up in the year 1625 during a chance excavation in a suburb[2] of Si-ngan fu, preserving in its name of Ch'ang-ngan that of the city which was for so many ages the capital of successive dynasties. It was a stone slab [about 7½ feet high by 3 feet wide, and some 10 inches in thickness], with a cross carved at the top, [and beneath this are nine large characters in three columns; constituting the heading, which runs: "*Monument commemorating the introduction and propagation of the noble law of* Ta Ts'in *in the Middle Kingdom*"][3], and below that a continuous Chinese inscription of great length [consist-

[1] Pauth., *De l'Auth.*, pp. 79–80.

[2] [This slab *King-kiao-pei* was found in the sub-prefecture of Chau chi, a dependency of Si-ngan fu, among ancient ruins.—Havret, 2nd Pt., p. 71. Pelliot says that the slab was not found at Chau Chi, but in the western suburb of Si-ngan, at the very spot where it was to be seen some years ago, before it was transferred to the *Pei-lin*, in fact at the place where it was erected in the seventh century inside the monastery built by Olopun.—*Chrétiens d'Asie centrale, T'oung pao*, 1914.]

[3] *Marco Polo*, ii, p. 27 *n*.

ing of 1789 characters], besides lines of writing in an alphabetic character, which was soon after the discovery ascertained to be Syriac[1].

The contents of this inscription, attesting the ancient propagation of Christianity in China, speedily became known to the Jesuit missionaries; and a Chinese edition of it was published in the country [in 1641, by Father Emmanuel Diaz, *Yang Ma-no*, under the title *T'ang king kiao p'ai sung cheng ts'iuen*; it has been reprinted in 1878 at T'u se wei]. Long before the first date, however, copies or facsimiles had been sent to Europe, and the first attempt at a translation was published by Athanasius Kircher in 1636 [in his *Prodromus Coptus sive Ægyptiacus*, and again in his *China illustrata*].

[1] Extracts regarding the discovery of the monument will be found in Suppl. Note X. [M. Grenard, who reproduces (iii, p.152) a good facsimile of the inscription, gives to the slab the following dimensions: high 2 m. 36, wide cm. 86, thick cm. 25.—Father Havret has given a photolithographic reproduction of the inscription on the original scale, from a rubbing sent in 1894 from Si-ngan fu by Father Gabriel Maurice, in the first part of *La Stèle chrétienne de Si-ngan fou*, Shanghai, 1895. In 1891 a shed was built over the slab but soon disappeared. In 1907 a Danish gentleman, Mr. Frits V Holm, took a photograph of the tablet as it stood outside the west gate of Si-ngan, south of the road to Kan Su it was one of five slabs on the same spot; it was removed without the stone pedestal (a tortoise) into the City on the 2nd Oct. 1907, and it is now kept in the museum known as the *Pei-lin* (Forest of Tablets). Holm says it is ten feet high, the weight being two tons, he tried to purchase the original, and failing this he had an exact replica made by Chinese workmen; this replica was deposited in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in the City of New York, as a loan, on the 16th of June 1908. "The original Nestorian Tablet of A.D. 781, as well as my replica, made in 1907," Holm writes, "are both carved from the stone quarries of Fu Ping Hien; the material is a black, sub-granular limestone with small oolites scattered through it." (Frits V. Holm, *The Nestorian Monument*, Chicago, 1909.) In this pamphlet there is a photograph of the tablet as it stands in the Pei-lin.

Prof. Ed. Chavannes, who also visited Si-ngan in 1907, saw the Nestorian monument; in the album of his *Mission archéologique dans la Chine Septentrionale*, Paris, 1909, he has given (plate 445) photographs of the five tablets, the tablet itself, the western gate of the western suburb of Si-ngan, and the entrance of the temple *Kin Sheng Sze*.]

The inscription has since been several times translated[1], and has given rise to a large amount of controversy, sometimes of very acrimonious character. Many scholars have entirely refused to believe in its genuineness. Voltaire, as a matter of course, sneered at it. In our own day Renan (though apparently with some doubts) and Julien have denied its authenticity[2]; so has the German Neumann with singular rashness, roundly accusing the Jesuit Semedo of having forged it[3]. On the other hand, Abel Rémusat and Klaproth fully accepted and stoutly maintained its authenticity, which M. Pauthier seems, as far as I can judge, to have *demonstrated*. It is not easy to see why a Jesuit should have expended enormous labour in forging a testimonial to the ancient successes of a heretical sect — though perhaps one could not build entirely on this, as the mysteries of the hoaxing propensity in the human mind are great. But the utter *impossibility* of the forgery of such a monument at the time and place of its discovery is a more invulnerable argument, and to appreciate this the remarks of Rémusat and Pauthier must be read.

69. The monument exhibits, in addition to the Chinese text which forms its substance, a series of short inscriptions in Syriac, containing the date of erection, the names of the reigning patriarch of the Nestorian Church, of the Bishop of China (*Tzinisthán*, the form used by Cosmas), and of the chief clerical staff of the capital, which is here styled, as in the early Greek and Arabic sources already

[1] Cf. *Bibliotheca Sinica*, col. 772–781.

[2] [Renan in the fourth edition of his *Histoire des Langues sémitiques*, 1863, pp. 288–290, has fully recognized the authenticity of the inscription; so has Stanislas Julien.]

[3] See Pauthier, *De l'Auth.*, pp. 6 *seqq.*; 14 *seqq.*; 83 *seqq.*; and especially 91. [The fullest account of the inscription is to be found in *La Stèle chrétienne de Si-ngan-fou*, par le P. Henri Havret, Shanghai, 1895, 1897, 1902, being Nos. 7, 12, 20 of the Collection *Variétés sinologiques*, edited by the Jesuit Fathers at Zi-ka-wei.]

quoted, *Kúmdán*. To this are added in Syriac characters the names of sixty-seven persons, apparently Western Asiatics, the great majority of whom are characterised as priests (*Kashíshá*), with those of sixty-one persons of the country in Chinese, all of whom are styled priests except two[1].

[1] The essential parts of the Syriac matter on the monument run as follows:

"*In the days of the Father of Fathers,* MAR HANAN ISHU'A *the Catholic Patriarch*:

[And] "ADAM *Priest and Bishop and Pope of* TZINISTHAN:

"*In the year one thousand and ninety-two of the Greeks* [A.D. 781] MAR IDBUZIL, *Priest and Chorepiscopus of* KUMDAN, *the royal city, son of Mili, of blessed memory, Priest of* BALKH, *a city of* THOKARESTHAN, *has erected this table of stone, on which are inscribed the Redemption by our Saviour, and the preachings of our Fathers to the King of* TZINIA.

"ADAM *the Deacon, son of Idbuzid, Chorepiscopus*:

"MAR SARGIS [Sergius], *Priest and Chorepiscopus*:

"SABAR ISHU'A, *Priest*:

"GABRIEL, *Priest, and Archdeacon and Church Ruler of the cities of* KUMDAN *and* SARAGH."

[This is the translation of Father Gheikho, S.J. (Havret, *l.c.*, iii, p. 6).

I. Adam prêtre chorévêque et pape de Chine [Sinestan].

II. Au temps du chef des évêques le seigneur Catholicos, le Patriarche Hananjesu,

III. En l'année 1092 des Grecs, le seigneur Jazedbouzid, prêtre et chorévêque de la capitale du royaume Koumdan, le fils du défunt Milis prêtre originaire de Balkh ville de Tahouristan, a élevé ce monument lapidaire où sont écrites la loi de notre Rédempteur et la prédication de nos Pères près des rois de Chine. [Then follow the names.]

Anan Jesus II, according to Assemani (III, i, 155–7), was patriarch of the Nestorian Church from 774 to 778. It is justly pointed out by the same author that the fact of this patriarch's being represented as still reigning in 781 is a perfectly natural result of the long distance from the Patriarchal See. The anachronism is in fact, *quantum valeat*, evidence of the genuineness of the monument. *Saragh*, according to Pauthier, is Lo-yang in Ho-nan, one of the capitals of the T'ang and occupied as such by the Imperial Government for a time, between the introduction of Christianity and the date of the monument.

[Assemani, iii, p. Dxlv, Ch. v, has "Mar Sergius Presbyter, and Chorepiscopus Sinarum." Prof. I. H. Hall (*Journ. Am. Orient. Soc.*, xiii, 1889 p. cxxvi) remarks that Assemani is taking Sinistân, *i.e.* China, for Shiangtsú, and he adds: "It is astonishing that he should make such a blunder, for the 'of Sinistân' occurs elsewhere in the inscription, on the face of the stone." With regard to the word *pope*, *papas* given to Adam, M. Pelliot remarks that the inscription has not *papas* but *papši* and that it is but a Buddhist title, *fa-shi* (*fap-ši*), "Master of the Law." As to Mar Sergius,

The chief contents of the long inscription in Chinese, which contains 1789 characters, may be thus summarised :—1st. An abstract of Christian doctrine, of a very vague and figurative kind. This vagueness is perhaps partly due to the character of the Chinese language, but that will scarcely account for the absence of all intelligible enunciation of the Crucifixion, or even of the death, of our Lord Jesus Christ, though his Ascension is declared. 2nd. An account of the arrival of the missionary, OLOPUN[1], from

chorepiscopus of Shiangtsû, according to the same authority Shiangtsû is not the name of a locality but also a Buddhist title *Shang tso*, sansk. *sthavira*, *i.e.* the head of a monastery. Pelliot, *Deux titres bouddhistes*, *T'oung pao*, déc. 1911, pp. 664–670. Cf. F. Nau, *Journ. Asiat.*, Jan.—Fév. 1913, pp. 235–6.]

[1] This name according to Pauthier is Syriac; *Ao-pano* signifying the *Return of God*. If this, however, be an admissible Syriac name, it is singular that the original should have been missed by one so competent as Assemani, who can only suggest that the name was the common Syriac name *Jaballaha*, from which the Chinese had dropt the first syllable, adding a Chinese termination.

Might not *Olopăn* be merely a Chinese form of the Syriac *Rabban*, by which the Apostle had come to be generally known ?

[Dr F. Hirth (*China and the Roman Orient*, p. 323) writes : "O-LO-PÊN = Ruben = Rupen ?" He adds (*Journ. China Br. R. As. Soc.*, xxi, 1886, pp. 214–215) : "Initial *r* is also quite commonly represented by initial *l*. I am in doubt whether the two characters *o-lo* in the Chinese name for Russia (*O-lo-ssŭ*) stand for foreign *ru* or *ro* alone. This word would bear comparison with a Chinese transcription of the Sanskrit word for silver, *rūpya*, which in the *Pen-ts'ao-kang-mu* (ch. 8, p. 9) is given as *o-lu-pa*. If we can find further analogies, this may help us to read that mysterious word in the Nestorian stone inscription, being the name of the first Christian missionary who carried the cross to China, *O-lo-pên*, as 'Ruben.' This was indeed a common name among the Nestorians, for which reason I would give it the preference over Pauthier's Syriac 'Alopeno.' " But Father Havret (*Stèle chrétienne*, Leide, 1897, p. 26) objects to Dr. Hirth that the Chinese character *lo*, to which he gives the sound *ru*, is not to be found as a Sanskrit phonetic element in Chinese characters, but that this phonetic element *ru* is represented by the Chinese characters pronounced *lu*, and therefore he, Father Havret, adopts Sir Henry Yule's opinion as the only one which is fully satisfactory.]

It is fair, however, to observe that the name in the older versions used by Assemani is written *Olopuen*, which might have disguised from him the etymology proposed by Pauthier. The name of this personage does not appear in the Syriac part of the inscription.

Saragh, it may be added, is referred by Pauthier to the *Saraga*

the empire of Ta Ts'in in the year 635, bringing sacred books and images; of the *translation of the said books* (a notable circumstance); of the approval of his doctrine by the imperial authority, and the permission given to teach it publicly. There follows a decree of the emperor (T'ai Tsung) issued in 638 in favour of the new doctrine, and commanding the construction of a church in [the Square of Peace and Justice (*I-ning Fang*) at] the capital. The emperor's portrait was to be placed in the Church. After this comes a short description of Ta Ts'in (here, says Pauthier, especially meaning Syria) from Chinese geographical works; and then there are particulars given of the continued patronage of Olopun and his doctrine under the Emperor Kao Tsung (650–663)[1], and of the spread of Christianity in the empire. In the end of the century Buddhism establishes a preponderance, and succeeds for a time in depressing the new doctrines. Under Hiuan Tsung (713–755) the church recovers its prestige, and a new missionary called *Kiho* appears. Su Tsung (756–762), T'ai Tsung (763–779), and Te Tsung (780–783), continue to favour the Christians. Under this last reign the monument was erected, and this part of the inscription terminates with an elaborate eulogy of Issé[2], a sage and statesman, who, though apparently by profession a Budd-

of Ptolemy, a city placed by the geographer among the *Sinæ*, and according to his theory of course far to the south of the real position of Lo-yang. But we have seen reason to believe that Ptolemy's view of the *Sinæ* and *Seres* is that of a person using his right and left eye separately. Binocular vision reduces the two objects to one, and corrects their displacement.

[1] Kao Tsung was also the devout patron of the Buddhist traveller Hiuen Tsang. Kúblái and Akbar are examples of like wavering among great kings.

[2] [Issé or Yi-se, according to Pelliot, is but the Chinese transcription of Idbuzid [Yazdbōzēd] who erected the tablet; he was not a monk but belonged to the Nestorian secular clergy; under the T'ang, one of the names given by the Chinese to Balkh was "the City of the Royal Residence." Pelliot, *Chrétiens d'Asie centrale*, *T'oung pao*, 1914.)]

hist, conferred many benefits upon the churches. 3rd. A recapitulation in octosyllabic stanzas of the purport of the inscription, but chiefly as regards the praises of the emperors who had favoured the progress of the church.

The record concludes with the date of erection, viz. the second year *Kienchung* of the Great T'ang [dynasty, the seventh day of T'ai Tsu, the feast of the great Yaosan. This corresponds, according to Gaubil, to 4th February 781[1]]; the name of the chief of the law, the Priest NING-CHU, charged with the instruction of the Christian population of the eastern countries (and, I presume, the same with the *Adam*, who appears as Metropolitan in the Syriac sentences); the name of a civil officer who wrote and engraved the Chinese inscription; and the official approval of the whole.

70. It is reasonably supposed that this remarkable monument, the idea of which was probably taken from a Buddhist custom[2], may have been buried about the year 845, when the Emperor Wu Tsung published an edict, still extant, denouncing the increase of Buddhist monks, nuns, and convents, and ordering the destruction of 4600 great monasteries, the 260,500 inmates of which were to return to civil life. 40,000 minor monasteries scattered about the country were also to be demolished, the lands attaching to them to be resumed by the state, and 150,000 slaves belonging to the bonzes to be admitted to civil privilege

[1] *Marco Polo*, ii, p. 28 *n*.

[2] Stone monuments and inscriptions highly analogous in character are very common in the precincts of pagodas and monasteries in Burma. Some account of a remarkable one on a marble slab, standing eight and a half feet high by six feet wide and eleven inches in thickness, is given at pp. 66, 351 of the *Mission to Ava in* 1855. This contains on each side eighty-six lines of inscription beautifully executed. It is not older than the seventeenth century, but imitates others of far greater antiquity. See the like in the old Cambodian temples described by Bastian. (*J. R. G. S.* xxxv, p. 85.)

and duties. The edict also directs that foreign bonzes who had come to China to make known the law prevailing in their countries, whether that of TA TS'IN or of MUHUPA, amounting to some 3000, should also return to secular life, and cease to corrupt the institutions of the Central Flowery Kingdom[1].

[1] Pauthier (*De l'Inde*, pp. 69–71) takes *Muhupa* for the Ma'bar of Southern India, and thinks that offshoots of the St. Thomas Christians are meant. But it may be questioned whether the name *Ma'bar* as applied to a country of Southern India occurs so early by some centuries. The opinion of Gaubil, quoted by Pauthier, that the *Mubids* or Guebers of Persia were meant, seems more probable. It will be recollected that Abu Zaid mentions among the foreigners slaughtered at Khanfu in 878 *Magians* as well as Mahomedans, Christians, and Jews (*supra*, p. 89).

["With regard to the temples of the Ta-ts'in and the Muh-hu, when Buddhism was exterminated, those heretical religions might thereupon not be left in existence; their adherents must be compelled to return in a body to the secular life, and settle down again in their original family circle, there to be enlisted as ground-rent-paying people; and the foreigners amongst them must be sent back to their native country, and there be taken under control by the authorities." And further on: "Of the 4600 and more convents that are to be pulled down within the empire, the 260,500 monks and nuns who must adopt secular life, shall be enlisted amongst the families who pay ground-tax twice a year. Of the 40 000 and more chao-t'i and lan-jok that are to be demolished, the fattest land of the best kind, measuring several thousand myriads of khing, shall be confiscated and the slaves of both sexes (employed in cultivating them?), to a number of 150,000, shall be enlisted among the families that pay ground-tax twice a year. And secular life shall be adopted by more than 3000 Ta-ts'in and Muh-hu-pat belonging to the class of the Buddhist monks and nuns, or to the Bureau for the Reception and Entertainment of Foreigners, who devote themselves to the explanation of foreign religious rescripts; with the customs of the Flowery Land of the Centre they shall no longer meddle." J. J. M. de Groot, *Sectarianism*, i, pp. 64, 66.

With regard to the relations between the Buddhists and the Nestorians we may quote this passage discovered by J. Takakusu in the *Cheng-yuen Sin-ting-Shih-kiâo-muh-luh*, The new catalogue of (the books of) the Teaching of Śâkya in the period of Chêng-yuen (A.D. 785–804), compiled by Yuen chao, a priest of Si-ngan fu regarding Adam, called King-tsing in Chinese, in the Si-ngan fu inscription: "Prajña, a Buddhist of Kapiśa, N. India, travelled through Central India, Ceylon, and the Islands of the Southern Sea (Sumatra, Java, etc.) and came to China, for he heard that Mañjuśrî was in China. He arrived at Canton and came to the upper province (North) in A.D. 782 [one year after the erection of the slab at Si-ngan]. He met a relation of his in A.D. 786, who

71. A century later, Christianity in China seems to have fallen to a very low ebb, though probably not quite to zero as the next information on the subject would imply. This is derived from a circumstance noted by an Arabian author, Mahomed, the son of Isaac, surnamed Abulfaraj, who says :—" In the year 377 (A.D. 987), behind the church in the Christian quarter (of Baghdad), I fell in with a certain monk of Najran, who seven years before had been sent to China by the Catholicos, with five other ecclesiastics, to bring the affairs of Christianity in that country into order. He was a man still young, and of a pleasant countenance, but of few words, opening his mouth only to answer questions. I asked him about his travels, and he told me that Christianity had become quite extinct in China. The Christians had perished in various ways; their Church had been destroyed; and but one Christian

came to China before him. He translated together with King-tsing (= Adam), a Persian priest of the monastery of Tâ-ts'in (Syria), the Śatpâramitâ-sûtra from a Hu text, and finished translating seven volumes. But because at that time Prajña was not familiar with the Hu language, nor understood the Chinese language, and as King-tsing (Adam) did not know the Brahma language (Sanskrit), nor was versed in the teaching of the Śâkya, so though they pretended to be translating the text, yet they could not, in reality, obtain a half of its gems (*i.e.* real meanings). They were seeking vainglory privately, and wrongly trying their luck. They presented a memorial (to the Emperor), expecting to get it propagated. The Emperor (Tê Tsung, A.D. 780–804), who was intelligent, wise and accomplished, who revered the canon of the Śâkya, examined what they had translated, and found that the principles contained in it were obscure and the wording was diffuse. Moreover, he said that, the Saṅghârâma of the Śâkya and the monastery of Tâ-ts'in (Syria) differing much in their customs, and their religious practices being entirely opposed to each other, King-tsing (Adam) ought to hand down the teaching of *Mi-shi-ho* (Messiah), and the Śakyaputriya-Śramanas should propagate the sûtras of the Buddha. It is, he said, to be wished that the boundaries of the doctrines may be made distinct, and the followers may not intermingle. Orthodoxy and heterodoxy are different things, just as the rivers King and Wei have a different course." *T'oung pao*, 1896, pp. 589–590. - King-tsing, *i.e.* Adam, who was a "master of the Law," *fapši*, was probably the translator of a great many Christian texts, and among others of a *Hymn to the Holy Trinity* found by Pelliot at Tun hwang. Pelliot, *l.c.*]

remained in the land. The monk, . ding nobody whom he could a'd with his ministry, had come back faster than he went[1]."

The capital of China at this time, according to the monk, was a city called *Taiuna* or *Thajúye*, in which Pauthier discovers a corruption of the name *Cháo* or *Chiao-fu*, by which Si-ngan fu was called under the Sung dynasty. In any case it was probably the same as that intended by the *Tájah*, which Edrisi and Abulféda speak of as the capital of China. The form is more suggestive of *T'ai yuen fu* in the province of Shan si, the Taianfu of M. Polo, which had been for a time the capital of the T'ang in the eighth century[2].

72. To the early tide of Christianity in China which here reaches its ebb, probably belong those curious relics of the ancient ecclesiastical connexion which Layard found in the valley of Jelu in the mountains of Kurdistan. Here, in visiting a very old Nestorian church, he saw among many other motley curiosities, a number of China

[1] Reinaud's *Abulféda*, i, ccccii; also *N. Annales des Voyages* for 1846, iv, 90; and Pauth., *Auth.*, p. 95; also Mosheim, p 13. The passage had previously been referred to by Golius, but it was not known whence he had derived it, till it was rediscovered by M. Reinaud in a work in the Bibl. Impériale.

[2] See Pauthier's *Polo*, p. 353. It must have been difficult to say what was the capital of China in the tenth century, when it was divided into five monarchies. That of the Sung, who acquired a predominance in 960, was first at Ch'ang-ngan or Si-ngau fu, and afterwards at K'ai fung fu. [During the period of the Five Dynasties (907–960), the capitals of China were very numerous: 1° *Leang* dynasty (907–923); in 907, the eastern capital was at K'ai-fung fu [Tung King], and the western capital [Si King] at Lo-yang.—2° *T'ang* dynasty (923–936); in 923, the eastern capital was at Ta-ming (Chi-li); the western capital at T'ai yuen (Shan si), which in the same year became the northern capital [Pe King], while the western capital was transferred to Si-ngan fu; in 925, Ta-ming received the name of Ye-tu, and the eastern capital was transferred to Lo-yang; in 929, Ye-tu was suppressed.—3° *Tsin* dynasty (936–947); in 938, the eastern capital was at K'ai-fung fu; the western at Lo-yang; Ye-tu was restored.—4° *Han* dynasty (936–951); like the Tsin.—5° *Chau* dynasty (951–960); like the Tsin and the Han, except that Ye-tu was suppressed in 954.—I owe this information to Prof. Pelliot.]

bowls, black with the dust of ages, suspended from the roof. These, he was assured, had been brought from the distant empire of Cathay by those early missionaries of the Chaldean church, who bore the tidings of the Gospel to the shores of the Yellow Sea[1].

73. No more is known, so far as I am aware, of Christianity in China till the influx of European travellers in the days of Mongol supremacy. We then again find a considerable number of Nestorian Christians in the country. It is probable that a new wave of conversion had entered during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, consequent on the christianisation of large numbers among the Turkish and Mongolian tribes, of which we have many indications, and on the influence exercised by those tribes upon Northern China, both in the time of Chinghiz and his successors, and in the revolutions which preceded the rise of that dynasty. Already in the time of the patriarch Timothy (778–820) we hear of active and successful missions in the countries adjoining the Caspian, and of the consequent conversion of a Khakan of the Turks and of several minor princes[2]. The progress of Christianity among those nations then remains obscure till the con-

[1] *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 433.

[2] There is a still older indication of the existence of Christians, however ignorant, among the Turks, in a curious story related by Theophylactus Simocatta and Theophanes. In the expedition sent by the Emperor Maurice to assist Chosroes II against Bahram near the end of the sixth century, the General Narses sent to Constantinople some Turks who had been taken prisoners. "And these bore marked on their foreheads the sign of the Lord (that which is called the *cross* by the followers of the Christian religion). The emperor therefore inquired what the meaning might be of this token being borne by the Barbarians. And they said their mothers had put it on them. For, once when a virulent pestilence prevailed among the Scythians in the east, certain of the Christians persuaded them to prick the foreheads of their children with this symbol. The Barbarians by no means despised this counsel, and the result was their preservation." (Theophyl., bk. v, ch. 10; see also *Theophanis Chronog.*, A.M. 6081. The latter says, "Some among them who were Christians.")

version of the Kerait Tartars at the beginning of the eleventh century[1], followed by those rumours of Christian potentates under the name of Prester John which continued to reach Europe during the following age[2]. Rubruquis, in the narrative of his journey to the court of Karakorum (1253–54), makes frequent mention of the Nestorians and their ecclesiastics, and speaks specifically of the Nestorians of Cathay as having a bishop in SEGIN or Si-ngan fu (p. 202)[3]. He gives an unfavourable account of the literature and morals of their clergy, which deserves more weight than such statements regarding those looked on as schismatics generally do; for the narrative of Rubruquis gives one the impression of being written by a thoroughly honest and intelligent person[4]. In the time

[1] See *infra*, II, p. 24.

[2] [The Chinese work *Neng kai chai man lu*, circa A.D. 1125, quotes a passage of the *Shu kiun ku shi* (second half of the eleventh century) in which mention is made of a "temple of Ta Ts'in" (Ta Ts'in sze), in all likelihood a Nestorian temple which had been "formerly" [no doubt under the T'ang] built at Ch'eng tu, in Sze-ch'wan by people from Central Asia (*Hou-jen*).—Note of Pelliot.]

[3] ["Living mixed among them, though of alien race (*tanquam advene*), are Nestorians and Saracens all the way to Cathay. In fifteen cities of Cathay there are Nestorians, and they have an episcopal see in a city called Segin, but for the rest they are purely idolaters." (Rockhill's *Rubruck*, p. 157.) Rockhill makes the following remarks regarding Segin: "*Segin* is usually supposed to be Si-ngan Fu, which was in the eighth and ninth centuries the centre of Nestorianism in China. This city in the thirteenth century did not bear the name of Si-ngan Fu, but was called by its older name, Ch'ang-ngan However, in popular parlance it may have retained the other name. It is strange, however, that the two famous Uigur Nestorians, Mar Jabalaha and Rabban Cauma, when on their journey from Koshang in southern Shan-si to western Asia in about 1276, while they mention 'the city of Tangut,' or Ning hia on the Yellow River,' as an important Nestorian centre, do not once refer to Si-ngan Fu or Ch'ang-ngan. Had Ch'ang-ngan been at the time the Nestorian episcopal see, one would think that these pilgrims would have visited it, or at least referred to it." (Chabot, *Mar Jabalaha*, 21.) *Segin* may represent the Chinese *Si King*, 'western capital,' a name frequently applied to Si-ngan Fu."]

[4] ["The Nestorians there know nothing. They say their offices, and have sacred books in Syrian, but they do not know the

of Marco Polo we find Nestorian Christians numerous not only at Samarkand but at Yarkand, whilst there are such also in Chichintalas (identified by Pauthier with the modern Urumtsi, north of the T'ien Shan)[1], in Su chau

language, so they chant like those monks among us who do not know grammar, and they are absolutely depraved. In the first place they are usurers and drunkards; some even among them who live with the Tartars have several wives like them. When they enter church, they wash their lower parts like Saracens; they eat meat on Friday, and have their feasts on that day in Saracen fashion. The bishop rarely visits these parts, hardly once in fifty years. When he does, they have all the male children, even those in the cradle, ordained priests, so nearly all the males among them are priests. Then they marry, which is clearly against the statutes of the fathers, and they are bigamists, for when the first wife dies these priests take another. They are all simoniacs, for they administer no sacrament gratis. They are solicitous for their wives and children, and are consequently more intent on the increase of their wealth than of the faith. And so those of them who educate some of the sons of the noble Moal, though they teach them the Gospel and the articles of the faith, through their evil lives and their cupidity estrange them from the Christian faith, for the lives that the Moal themselves and Tuins or idolaters lead are more innocent than theirs" (Rockhill's *Rubruck*, pp. 158–9).]

[1] It occurs to me as possible that the *Cyollos Kagan* (Kagan cyollos) of Marignolli (*infra*, II, p. 213) may be the same name as the *Chichintalas* of Polo. The position of the two corresponds in a general way, and both may be represented by the *Chagan Talas* ("White Plains") of some modern maps (see K. Johnston's *Royal Atlas*, Asia). [Regarding Chingintalas: "supposing that M. Polo mentions this place on his way from Sha-chow to Su-chow, it is natural to think that it is *Chi-kin-talas*, *i.e.* 'Chi-kin plain' or valley; Chi-kin was the name of a lake, called so even now, and of a defile, which received its name from the lake. The latter is on the way from Kia-yû kwan to Ansi chow." (Palladius, *Elucidations of Marco Polo's Travels*, 1876.) "*Chikin*, or more correctly *Chigin*, is a Mongol word meaning 'ear.'" (*Ibid.*) Palladius (p. 8) adds: "The Chinese accounts of Chi-kin are not in contradiction to the statements given by M. Polo regarding the same subject; but when the distances are taken into consideration, a serious difficulty arises; Chi-kin is two hundred and fifty or sixty *li* distant from Su-chow, whilst, according to M. Polo's statement, ten days are necessary to cross this distance. One of the three following explanations of this discrepancy must be admitted: either Chingintalas is not Chi-kin, or the traveller's memory failed, or, lastly, an error crept into the number of days' journey. The two last suppositions I consider the most probable; the more so that similar difficulties occur several times in Marco Polo's narrative." (*L.c.*, p. 8.)—Urumtsi has nothing to do with Chingintalas. At Chingintalas Marco Polo says (i, p. 212): "There are three different races of people in it—Idolaters, Saracens, and some Nestorian Christians."]

and Kan chau, and over all the kingdom of Tangut, in Tenduc[1] and the cities east of it, as well as in Manchuria and the countries bordering on Corea. Polo's contemporary Hayton also testifies to the number of great and noble Tartars in the Uighúr country who held firm to the faith of Christ[2]. As regards the spread of Nestorian Christianity in China Proper at this period we do not find in Polo so many definite statements, though various general allusions which he makes to Christians in the country testify to their existence. He also speaks of them specifically in the remote province of Yun nan, and at Chin kiang fu, where they had two churches, built in the traveller's own day [1278] by Mar Sergius, a Christian officer who was governor there[3]. Their number and influence in China at the end of the thirteenth century may also be gathered from the letter of John of Monte Corvino (II, pp. 46 *seqq.*) in this volume, and in the first part of the following century from the report of the Archbishop of Soltania who describes them as more than thirty thousand in number, and passing rich

[1] See II, p. 244 *infra*.

[2] V. 2nd chapter of Hayton's *Hist.* "*De Regno Tarsiæ.*"

[3] ["You see, in the year just named [1278], the Great Kaan sent a Baron of his whose name was MAR SARGHIS, a Nestorian Christian, to be governor of this city for three years. And during the three years that he abode there he caused these two Christian churches to be built, and since then there they are. But before his time there was no church, neither were there any Christians." *Marco Polo*, ii, p. 177. A Christian monastery or temple is mentioned in the *Chi shun Chin-kiang chi* quoted by the Archimandrite Palladius: "The temple *Ta-hing-kuo-sze* stands in Chin-kiang fu, in the quarter called *Kia-t'ao h'eang*. It was built in the 18th year of *Chi-yuen* (A.D. 1281) by the *Sub*-darugachi, *Sie-li-hi-sze* (Sergius) *Liang Siang*, the teacher in the Confucian school, wrote a commemorative inscription for him." From this document we see that "*Sie-mi-sze-hien* (Samarcand) is distant from China 100,000 li (probably a mistake for 10,000) to the north-west. It is a country where the religion of the *Ye-li k'o wen* dominates... The founder of the religion was called *Ma-rh Yé-li-ya*. He lived and worked miracles a thousand five hundred years ago. *Ma Sie-li-hi-sze* (Mar Sergius) is a follower of him." (*Chinese Recorder*, vi, p. 108.)]

people. Probably there was a considerable increase in their numbers about this time, for Odoric, about 1324, found three Nestorian churches in the city of Yang chau, where Marco would probably have mentioned them had they existed in his time[1]. That Christians continued to rise in influence during the short remainder of the Mongol reign appears probable from the position which we find the Christian Alans to occupy in the empire at the time of the visit of John Marignolli.

[An instance of the important part played by the Nestorians from China is given in the history of two Uighúr Nestorians: Rabban Bar Cauma, born at Khan-baliq, was tonsured by Mar Guiwarguis (George), Metropolitan of Khan-baliq; Marcos son of Bainiel, born in 1245 at Ko shang, visited Çauma and was tonsured in his turn by the Metropolitan Mar Nestorios, probably the successor of Mar George. The two friends made up their mind to visit Jerusalem (1278) and travelled via Ko shang, Tangut, Khotan, Kashgar, Talas, Khorassan, Tús, Azerbaidjan, and on their way to Baghdad met at Maragha the catholicos Mar Denha who gave them letters for Palestine; the two travellers went on to Baghdad, Arbela, Mosul, Nisibis, Mardin, Gozart; they settled at the convent of Saint Mar Micael of Tar'el near Arbela, but were soon called for by Denha, who entrusted them with a mission for the Mongol Sovereign of Persia, Abaka. Denha had been compelled to leave Baghdad in 1268, had retired to Arbela, then to Ushnej in Azerbaidjan; he wanted some favour from the king. In 1279 Denha had ordained as Metropolitan of China Bar Kaliq, bishop of Tûs in Khorassan; Bar Kaliq became arrogant and was thrown by Denha into a prison, where he died.

[1] [Speaking of the inhabitants of Yang chau, Marco Polo, ii, p. 154, says: "The people are Idolaters and use paper-money, and are subject to the Great Kaan."]

Denha chose to replace him Rabban Marcos who was elected Metropolitan of Cathay under the name of Jabalaha, in 1280, being thirty-five years of age; his friend Rabban Çauma being appointed Visiteur General. Denha died at Baghdad on the 24th February 1281 before Jabalaha had left. Jabalaha, on account of his knowledge of the Mongol language, was elected by his colleague patriarch in the place of Denha, and he was consecrated in November 1281, his nomination being approved of by Abâka. Jabalaha was the third of this name occupying the see of Seleucia and Ktesiphon with Baghdad as the place of residence. Ahmed, the successor of Abaka, who died on the 1st April 1282, was hostile to Jabalaha III, but he was murdered on the 10th of August 1284; the eldest son of Abâka, Arghún ascended the throne on the 11th August 1284, and granted great honours to the Metropolitan. Arghún, a clever and ambitious man, was desirous of conquering Palestine and Syria, and wishing to obtain the good-will of Christian Princes he sent as an ambassador to Europe Rabban Çauma, chosen for his knowledge of languages (1287). Çauma was received with honours at Constantinople by the *Basileus*, Andronicus II (1282–1328); he then went to Naples, and before he reached Rome he learnt the news of the death of the Pope Honorius IV on the 3rd April 1287; he was received at Rome by the College of Cardinals and questions were put to him by Cardinal Jerome of Ascoli, bishop of Palestrina and General of the Minor Friars, who was elected to replace Honorius IV as Pope on the 20th Feb. 1288. Çauma passed through Tuscany and Genoa, and arrived at Paris where he was well received by the King, Philip the Fair; from Paris he went to Gascony to visit the King of England, and returned to Rome where he had an audience of Nicholas IV. He went back to Arghún's

court by the same route. Çauma died at Baghdad on the 10th of January 1294. Mar Jabalaha himself died at Maragha on the 13th of November 1317, being seventy-two years of age, in the reign of Abu Said, son of Oljaïtu. (†16 Dec. 1316[1].)]

74. That the Nestorians continued to exist in China or on its frontiers during the fifteenth century we shall see hereafter from the brief records of a mission which they appear to have sent to Rome in the time of Pope Eugenius IV Even till near the end of that century a Metropolitan of China continued to be constituted, though we know not if he resided in the country. In the case of John, who was nominated Metropolitan of *Masin* (Mahachin) in 1490, the charge seems to have been united with that of India, and therefore as regards China we may conjecture that the title had ceased to have more of practical meaning than the *Sodor* of the English bishop of Sodor and Man[2].

75. When China was re-occupied by the Jesuit Missions in the end of the sixteenth century the impression of the missionaries at first was that no Christianity had ever existed in China before their own day. Ricci must in any case have modified that opinion when he arrived at the conclusion that China was the Cathay of Marco Polo; but he also met before his death with unexpected evidence of its having survived, in however degenerate a form, almost to his own time. Its professors he was informed had been numerous in the northern provinces, and had gained distinction both in arms and literature. But some sixty years before (*i.e.* about 1540) a persecution

[1] J.-B. Chabot, *Histoire de Mar Jabalaha III.* Paris, 1895, 8vo.

[2] See Assem., pp. 439, 523. [Mr. B. C. Patterson gives evidence of the existence of the old Nestorian Church in North Kiangsu in the *Journal of the North China Branch of the R. A. Soc.*, 1912, pp. 118, 119.

against them had arisen which had driven all, or nearly all, to abandon or conceal their profession. At a later date a member of the Jesuit company visited the cities in which the descendants of these people were said to exist, furnished with the names of the families. But none of them would admit any knowledge of the subject on which he spoke[1].

Some years afterwards also the Jesuit Semedo chanced on faint traces of former Christianity in the neighbourhood of the chief city of Kiang si[2].

Some material relics also bearing like evidence came in the course of the seventeenth century into the hands of the Jesuit missionaries, such as a bell with a cross and Greek inscription, and at Chang chau in Fu kien sculptures of the Virgin, marble crosses, and the like. More than one mediæval MS. of the Scriptures was also met with, but as these were Latin they must have been relics of the Franciscan missions of John Montecorvino and his brethren rather than of the Nestorians[3].

[1] Trigault, *De Exped. Christianâ apud Sinas*, bk. i, ch. 11.

[2] Semedo, *Rel. della Cina*, 1643, p. 195. It does not seem necessary to do more than allude to the story told by Ferdinand Mendez Pinto of his coming on a Christian village on the canal between Nanking and Peking, the inhabitants of which were descended from converts made one hundred and forty-two years before (*i.e.*, about 1400) by one Matthew Escandel of Buda in Hungary, a hermit of Mount Sinai; all the history of which was shown to Ferdinand in a printed book (language not specified) by the people of the village! (ch. xcvi). [We have mentioned, II, p. 214, the discovery at Lin-ts'ing of two tombs of Franciscan missionaries of the fourteenth century; one of them being named Bernard and considered as a companion of Odoric: no Bernard is mentioned in any book with Odoric; this Bernard is probably Bernardino della Chiesa, a Friar Minor sent to China in 1680 with four brethren, who had been appointed before his departure bishop of Argolis, and who became subsequently coadjutor to the vicar apostolic of Yun nan and later bishop of Peking; he died on the 21st December 1721. See H. Cordier, *Imprimerie Sino-Européenne*, pp. 65-6.—M. Romanet du Caillaud has written a notice of Escandel, after Pinto, in the *Missions Catholiques*, 29 Jan. 1886, pp. 52–3.]

[3] Trigault, *u.s.*; Martini's *Atlas Sinensis*; Baldelli Boni, Introd. to *Il Milione*. One of these relics, a Latin Bible of the

76. It is a melancholy history. For ages after the rise of Mahomedanism, Christianity, in however defective a form, had a wide and even growing influence over extensive regions of the earth, across which now for centuries past a Christian has scarcely dared to steal. Leaving out China, where possibly the Church of Rome may number as many disciples now as the Syrian Church did in its most prosperous days, how many Christians are there in what were up to the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries the metropolitan sees of Tangut, Kashgar, Samarkand, Balkh, Herat, Sejistan, and Marv? Whilst at the other end of Asia, Socotra, once also the seat of a Christian Archbishop, and we may hope of some Christian culture, is sunk into the very depths of savagery[1].

eleventh century, which was obtained by the Jesuit Philip Couplet from a Chinese in the province of Nanking, is now in the Laurentian Library at Florence. [It is not mentioned in Bandini's Catalogue.] I tried to see it but could not. "How not to do it" is, or was till lately, the principle of administration in that institution, if I may judge from my own experience on two occasions, on the second with an introduction; in this a singular contrast to those other public libraries of Florence which are *not* under clerical management. [Father Martini wrote in the *Novus Atlas Sinensis*, p. 125, with regard to *Chang chau*: "locum hunc jam tum à plurimis navibus fuisse frequentatum, ac *M. Pauli Zartem* hic alicubi fuisse, accedit quod in hac urbe multa eaque luculenta reperta sint Christianorum vestigia, intraque ipsa moenia sculpti lapides non pauci, quibus salutiferae Crucis signum visitur impositum, atque etiam sanctissimae Virginis Dei genitricis Mariae, cum caelestibus geniis in terram prostratis imagines cum duabus pendulis lucernulis, imò & in praefecti cujusdam palatio reperta est pulcherrima crux marmorea, hanc obtenta ab eo facultate inde eduxere Christiani, ac in nostro urbis hujus templo summa cum pietate atque apparatu collocavêre. Vidi etiam unà cum sociis hic apud litteratum quendam volumen vetus, Gothicis characteribus diligentissime exaratum, adhibita fuit papyri loco tenuissima membrana; maxima Scripturae sacrae pars Latine erat conscripta; tentavi librum ut consequerer: at ejus dominus tametsi gentilis, nec prece nec pretio ullo adduci potuit, ut traderet, in suâ familia per multas jam nepotum progenies tanquam rarissimum quoddam antiquitatis cimelium adservatum illud asserens."]

[1] There are one or two indications of the existence of Christians in the Indo-Chinese countries and islands which have perhaps been hitherto overlooked. One is found in Marignolli who speaks of there being a few Christians in *Saba*, which we shal see reason

VII. LITERARY INFORMATION REGARDING CHINA PREVIOUS TO THE MONGOL ERA

77. Before speaking of that great opening of the Farther East to European travel, which took place under the reign of the Mongol dynasty in Asia, it will be well to take such a view as is practicable to me of the information regarding China which is to be found in literary works

to believe to be Java (*infr.* II, p. 220), and another in the Travels of Hier. Santo Stephano, who, when his comrade Hieronimo Adorno died in the city of Pegu in 1496, buried him "in a certain ruined church, frequented by none" (*India in the Fifteenth Century*, p. 6). If the *Sornau* of Varthema's Christian fellow-travellers be Siam, this affords a third indication of the same kind. [Pinto, ch. xcv, has "Kingdom of Sournau, vulgarly called Siam." Yule adds, in a note: "Mr. Badger in his notes on Varthema (p. 213) is not inclined to accept Mendez Pinto's authority, which he supposes to stand alone, for calling Siam *Sornau*. But I have recently found that the name *Sarnau* is used several times by Varthema's contemporary, Giovanni d' Empoli, in a connexion that points to Siam. In one passage he speaks of Pedir in Sumatra as being frequented by 'Junks, which are the ships of Bengala, Pecu (*Pegu*), Martamam (*Martaban*) SARNAU, and Tanazzar' (*Tanasserim*). In another passage he couples it again with Tenasserim as a place which supplied the finest Benzoin, Lac, etc. The Italian editor interprets the name as *Sirian*, but for this I see no ground (see Letters of G. d' Empoli in *Archivio Storico Italiano, Appendice*, tom. iii, pp. 54, 80; Firenze, 1845.)" Yule referred again to the same subject in *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* SARNAU, SORNAU: "A name often given to Siam in the early part of the 16th century; from *Shahr-i-nao*, Pers. 'New-City'; the name by which Yuthia, or Ayodhya, the capital founded on the Menam about 1350, seems to have become known to the traders of the Persian Gulf. Mr. Braddell (*J. Ind. Arch.* v. 317) has suggested that the name (*Sheher-al-nawi*, as he calls it) refers to the distinction spoken of by La Loubère between the Thai-*Yai*, an older people of the race, and the Thai-*Noi*, the people known to us as Siamese. But this is less probable. We have still a city of Siam called *Lophaburī*, anciently a capital, and the name of which appears to be a Sanskrit or Pali form, *Nava-pura*, meaning the same as *Shahr-i-nao*; and this indeed may have first given rise to the latter name. The *Cernove* of Nicolo Conti (c. 1430) is generally supposed to refer to a city of Bengal, and one of the present writers has identified it with Lakhnāo or Gaur, an official name of which in the 14th century was *Shahr-i-nao*. But it is just possible that Siam was the country spoken of." Valentijn, v. 319, has: "About 1340 reigned in the kingdom of Siam (then called *Sjahar-nouw* or *Sornau*) a very powerful Prince."]

of the middle ages antecedent to that era. These are all, with one slight exception, Arabic.

The earliest of them (at least as regards one half of it) is an Arab compilation of the middle of the ninth century and beginning of the tenth, which was first made known to Europe by the Abbé Eusebius Renaudot in 1718 under the title of *Anciennes Relations de l'Inde et de la Chine de deux Voyageurs Mahometans qui y allèrent dans le IX^ième^ siècle*[1]. The original from which Renaudot had translated was lost sight of, and some of his critics both in France and England went so far as to set his work down as a forgery. But the MS was discovered some fifty years later [1764] by Deguignes in the Bibliothèque Royale[2]; and in 1845 a new translation and commentary by M. Reinaud appeared, in company with an impression of the Arabic text, which had been lying since 1811 in the stores of the Government Printing Office at Paris[3].

78. The title given by Renaudot is acknowledged to be an incorrect description of the work. It is in two parts indeed, written at different times, and by different authors, but the author of the second part, Abu Zaid Hassan of Siraf on the Persian Gulf, certainly does not profess to have himself travelled in the east. He gives the date of his predecessor's work as A.H. 237 (A.D. 851), and his own is fixed by M. Reinaud from an apparent mention of him by

[1] An English version of Renaudot's translation appeared in 1733 (see Major's Introd. to *India in the Fifteenth Century*, p. xxiii), and has been reprinted or abstracted in Harris, i, 521, and Pinkerton, vii, p. 179.

[2] *Mém. de l'Acad. des Insc.*, xxxii, 366; *Not. et Extraits*, i, 136 *seqq.* Deguignes himself had fancied the work to be a compilation of Renaudot's own.

[3] [*Relation des Voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde et la Chine dans le IX^e^ siècle de l'ère chrétienne*, texte arabe imprimé en 1811 par les soins de feu Langlès, publié avec des corrections et additions et accompagné d'une traduction française et d'éclaircissements par M. Reinaud....Paris, 1845, 2 vols. 12-mo.]

Mas'ūdī[1] to about 916. M. Reinaud says that the narrative which forms the basis of the first part of the work is derived from Suleiman a merchant, who had made voyages to India and China, but I have not been able to discover on what grounds this opinion is founded. The introductory passages of the work are missing, so that we are without explanation by the author as to his own identity or the sources of his information. The name of Suleiman is only once mentioned; nor is there any narrative, properly speaking, to be traced throughout the composition, though the first pages, amounting to about one third of the whole, contain a tolerably coherent account of the seas and islands between Oman and China, in the course of which twice, as well as once or twice again in subsequent pages of the book, passages occur in the first person. It may be observed, however, that none of these passages, if my examination may be trusted, refer to China. They relate to India, Ceylon, and the seas between those countries and Arabia. My conclusion would rather be that the book is a compilation of notes made by the author from his own experiences in a voyage to India, and from what he had collected from others who had visited China, Suleiman among them. The remainder of this first part of the book is in fact a medley of notes about India and China, including a detail of some of the chief kingdoms of the Indies of which the author had heard. It is clear from the vagueness of these accounts that the author's knowledge of India was slight and inaccurate, and that he had no distinct conception of its magnitude. An abstract of them will be found in the notes to this essay, with some remarks that it seems desirable to offer regarding this part of the subject, over which I venture to think that M. Reinaud, with all his great learning, has spread confusion rather than shed light[2]

[1] See *Prairies d'Or*, i, 322.

[2] See Note XI.

79. The names of seas and places described by this writer as encountered on the voyage to China have given rise to curious controversy. The views taken by M. Reinaud about many of them are very untenable, and the most consistent and probable interpretation yet published appears to be that of M. Alfred Maury[1].

According to this view, with trifling modifications, the seas and places passed are as follows:—The SEA OF PERSIA; the SEA OF LAR [Lārwī] (that which washes Gujarat and Malabar)[2]; the SEA OF HARKAND (the Indian Ocean from the DĪBAJAT or Maldives, and SERENDIB or Ceylon[3] to AL RĀMNĪ or Sumatra)[4]; the LANJABALUS or LANKHABALUS (the Nicobar Islands)[5]; and the two (Andāmān) Islands in the SEA OF ANDĀMĀN; KALĀH-BĀR, a dependence of Zábaj (some port on the Malacca coast, perhaps Kadáh, commonly spelt Quedda; Zábaj[6] representing some great

[1] *Examen de la route que suivaient, au IX^e siècle de notre ère, les Arabes et les Persans pour aller en Chine, d'après la relation arabe traduite successivement par* Renaudot et M. Reinaud. Published in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, 1846, pp. 203–238, and republished some years ago in a collection of essays by M. Maury.

[2] These first two are missing with the opening pages of the work, and are derived by Reinaud from a parallel passage in Mas'ūdī.

[3] Compare the *ab usque Divis et Serendivis* of Ammianus Marcellinus.

[4] See Odoric, *infra* II, p. 146, *note* 3.

[5] [Langabālūs] Probably we have in the second part of this name the Malay *Pulo* meaning *island*. I may observe that there is a considerable island belonging to Queddah, and surrounded by many smaller ones, at the northern entrance of the Straits of Malacca, which is called *Pulo Langkawi*.

[6] The Syrian bishops Thomas, Jabalaha, Jacob, and Denha, sent on a mission to India in 1503 by the Patriarch Elias, were ordained to go "to the land of the Indians and the islands of the Seas which are between *Dabag* and Sin and Masin." (Assemani, iii, Pt. i, 592.) This Dabag is probably a relic of the form *Zābaj* of the early narratives, used also by Al-Biruni. Ibn Khurdadhbah and Edrisi use *Jaba* for Zābaj. [Zābadj, ancient pronunciation *Zābag*, represents the initial form *Djāwaga* (Ferrand, p. 23).] Walckenær quoted by Mr. Major (*op. cit.*, p. xxvii) says: "The Puranas and Hindu books show that the title of Maharaja or Great

monarchy then existing on the Malay Islands, probably in Java, the king of which was known to the Arabs by the Hindu title of Maharaj); BATÚMA or TANUMAH[1] (perhaps errors for Natúma, the Natuna Islands) KADRANJ[2] (Siam or some other region on the Gulf of Siam); SANF[3] (Champa, but here used in a sense much more extensive than the modern Champa, and including Cambodia)[3]; SUNDAR FULÁT (the Sondur and Condur group of Marco Polo, the chief island of which is now called Pulo Condore)[4].

King was originally applied to the sovereign of a vast monarchy which in the second century comprised a great part of India, the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, and the neighbouring islands. This dynasty continued till 628," etc. "It is a pity that Baron Walckenær did not quote more definitely "the Puranas and Hindu books" which give this precise and interesting information, and in the absence of such quotation there must be some hesitation in accepting it. The truth appears to be that whilst the antiquities, literature, and traditions of Java and other islands show that communication with continental India in remote times must have been large and intimate, nothing distinct has yet been produced to show that any record of such communication or knowledge of those islands has been preserved on the Continent. Friedrich and Lassen certainly seem to have no knowledge of such records as Walckenær alludes to.

[1] [*Batúma* transcribed by Reinaud *Betoumah* بتومه for تيومة *Tiyūma*, island of Tiuman or Tioman on the south-eastern coast of the Malay Peninsula. Cf. Ferrand, p. 30.]

[2] [*Kadranj* for *Kundrang* (ancient pronunciation) and *Kundrandj* (modern pronunciation), near the mouth of the Mekong River. Cf. Ferrand, p. 14.—The distance between Kundrang and Champa, and Champa and Chundur-fūlāt, is ten days. *Ibn al Fakīh*, translated by Ferrand, p. 58.]

[3] [The Arabic ص gives صنو Chanf=Champa, not Sanf; cf. Ferrand, p. viii, 12.]

[4] This is not in accordance with Maury, who places Sundar Fūlāt arbitrarily on the coast of Cochin China, perhaps from confining Sanf or Champa to the tract now retaining that name (for the names are identical, the Arabs, having no *ch* and no *p*, necessarily writing *Champa* as *Sanfa*). But Crawfurd states that the name Champa with the Malays really applies to the whole of Cambodia embracing the eastern coast of the Gulf of Siam (*Dict. Ind. Islands*, p. 80), whilst actual tradition in those regions ascribes to ancient Champa sovereignty over all the neighbouring kingdoms to the frontiers of Pegu and China (Mouhot's *Travels*, i, 223). Hence Pulo Condor would properly come between a port on this coast and China, as Sundar Fūlāt does in the Arab narrative. I do not know what is the proper Malay name of Pulo Condor, but it is probably connected with the Sanskrit

80. The port of China frequented by the Arab merchants was Khanfu[1], of which we have already spoken.

Sundara beautiful. And the *Fūlāt* is probably only an Arabic plural from the Malay *Pulo* or *Pulau* an island. All that is said of the place in the *Relations* is that Sundar Fūlāt is an island, ten days from Sanf and a month's voyage from China, where the ships find fresh water. [Mr. C. O. Blagden has some objection to Sundar Fūlāt being Pulo Condor: "In connexion with Sundar-Fūlāt, some difficulties seem to arise. If it represents Pulo Condor, why should navigators on their way to China call at it *after* visiting Champà, which lies beyond it? And if *fūlāt* represents a Persian plural of the Malay *Pulau*, 'island,' why does it not precede the proper name, as generic names do in Malay and in Indonesian and Southern Indo-Chinese languages generally? Further, it *sundur* represents a native form *čundur*, whence the hard *c* (= *k*) of our modern form of the word? I am not aware that Malay changes *č* to *k* in an initial position." *J. R. A. S.*, April 1914. p. 496.] According to Alex. Hamilton the Pulo Condor group consists of four or five islands, "producing nothing but wood, water, and fish for catching." There are two harbours or anchorages, but neither of them good. Mr. Allan Ketchpole established a factory for the East India Company on Pulo Condor in 1702, which speedily came to a disastrous end, [the Europeans being massacred by their Macassar garrison.] (*N. Acc. of the East Indies*, ed. 1744, ii, 205.) [The chief island is called by the Chinese *Kun lun*.] ["L'île de Sendi Foulat est très grande; il y a de l'eau douce, des champs cultivés, du riz et des cocotiers. Le roi s'appelle Rased. Les habitants portent la fouta soit en manteau, soit en ceinture. . . . L'île de Sendi Foulat est entourée, du côté de la Chine, de montagnes d'un difficile accès, et où soufflent des vents impétueux. Cette île est une des portes de la Chine. De là à la ville de Khancou, x journées." Edrisi, i, p. 90. In Malay Pulo Condor is called Pulau Kuudur (Pumpkin Island) and in Cambodian, Koh Tralàch. See Pelliot, *Deux Itinéraires*, pp. 218–20.—Fūlāt = fūl (Malay *pulo*) + Persian plural suffix -at. *Čundur fūlāt* means Pumpkin island. Ferrand, *Textes*, pp. ix, 2.]

[1] [De l'île "de Senfy à la ville de Loukiin, 3 journées. C'est la première *échelle* de la Chine. . . . On y fabrique diverses riches étoffes de soie de la Chine qui sont exportées au dehors, et notamment le ghazar-sini dont on fait commerce dans les pays voisins aussi bien qu'au loin. On y trouve du riz, des céréales des noix de coco, des cannes à sucre. Les habitants portent la fouta; ils accueillent bien les étrangers; ils sont très magnifiques, et font un plus grand usage de parfums que les autres habitants de l'Inde. . . . De Loukin à Khancou, 4 journées de navigation, et 20 par terre. Cette dernière échelle est la plus considérable de la Chine." Edrisi, i, p. 84.]

[Khancou خانقو or Khanfou خانفو.]

["Ce pays est gouverné par un roi puissant et glorieux, qui a beaucoup de sujets, de troupes et d'armes. On s'y nourrit de riz, de noix de coco, de lait, de sucre et de mokl. La ville est située sur un golfe (ou à l'embouchure d'un fleuve) qu'on remonte durant deux mois de marche jusqu'à la ville de Badja, qui appar-

Here there was a Musulman Kazi and public worship. The houses were for the most part built of wood and bamboo matting, which led to frequent fires. When a foreign ship arrived, the officials took charge of the cargo and locked it up. When all the ships of the season had entered, a duty of 30 per cent. was exacted before placing the goods at the disposal of the owners. If the king wanted anything for himself, the highest price was paid for it in ready money.

Many particulars mentioned by this author regarding China are silly enough, but much also that is stated is perfectly correct. He notices the ancient Chinese customs of issuing food from public granaries in times of dearth, as well as of dispensing medicines to the poor; the support of schools by the government; the generally methodical and just character of the administration; the elaborate classification of official titles; the custom of doing all business by written documents, and the strict censure

tient au bagh bough, lequel est le roi de toute la Chine. Cette ville est le terme des voyages des Occidentaux; on y trouve toute espèce de fruits et de légumes, du blé, de l'orge et du riz." On ne trouve ni raisin ni figues dans la totalité de la Chine et des Indes, "mais bien le fruit d'un arbre qu'on nomme el-cheki et el-berki. Cet arbre croît particulièrement dans le pays du poivre. C'est un arbre dont les fruits sont durs, et dont les feuilles, d'un vert éclatant, ressemblent à celle du chou; il porte un fruit de la longueur de quatre palmes, rond, semblable à une conque marine, couvert d'une écorce rouge, et dans l'intérieur duquel est une graine ou un gland qui ressemble à celui du chêne; bouilli au feu, on le mange comme la châtaigne, dont il a exactement le goût. La pulpe de ce fruit forme un aliment très-doux et très-agréable, qui réunit au goût de la pomme celui de la poire, et quelque chose même de la saveur de la banane et du mokl. C'est un fruit appétissant, admirable, et le plus recherché de tous ceux qu'on mange dans l'Inde. On trouve également dans ce pays un arbre qu'on appelle el-i ba; il est grand comme le noyer, ses feuilles ressemblent aux feuilles de cet arbre, et son fruit à celui du palmier doum. Lorsque ce fruit est noué, il est tendre; alors on le met dans du vinaigre, et son goût ressemble exactement à celui des olives. C'est chez les Indiens un hors d'œuvre destiné à exciter l'appétit."

"De la ville de Khancou à la ville de Djankou, on compte 3 journées." Edrisi, i, pp. 84–5.]

exercised on the style and tone of papers submitted to public departments[1]; the use of a copper currency instead of gold and silver; the custom of delaying the burial of the dead for years sometimes; the systematic protection afforded to travellers; the manufacture of porcelain; the use of rice-wine and of tea (*sákh* or *sáhh* for *chá*[2]). There is scarcely anything of Chinese Geography in this first part beyond the mention of Tibet and the Taghazghaz as the western neighbours of China, and of the Isles of SILA in the east, which appear to be Japan[3].

One custom he mentions with great apparent admiration. It is, that the governor of every city slept with a bell at his head communicating with a handle at the gate, which anyone claiming justice was at liberty to ring. And we learn from Abu Zaid that even the king had such a bell; only he who dared to use it must have a case justifying so strong an appeal from the ordinary course of justice, or he suffered for it[4].

[1] See III, p. 122 *infra* and note.

[2] See Reinaud, *Relation*, i, pp. 39, 46, 47, 43–4, 37, 33, 36, 42, 34, 40. None of the mediæval European travellers in China mention tea. The first notice of it so far as I know is in Ramusio's notes of Hajji Mahomed's information (see Note XVIII at the end of the essay). [Envoys from T'ien fang (Mecca) under the Ming dynasty in presenting tribute solicit silk, *tea-leaves*, and porcelain.—Bretschneider, *Med. Res.*, ii, p. 300.]

[3] Edrisi also speaks of the Isles of Silah, of which the chief city was ANKUAH, and where gold was so abundant that the people made dog-chains of it. The low value of gold in Japan up to the opening of the trade the other day is a familiar fact. M. Polo says of it: "*et je vous dy qu'ils ont tant d'or que c'est sans fin; car ils le treuvent en leurs isles.*" (Pauth., *Polo*, 538.) Possibly Ankúah may really represent *Miyako*. [Sila is not Japan but Corea. Ankúah has nothing to do with Miyako. Corea is sometimes called *Tung Kwo*, the Eastern Empire, in Chinese books, but I have not heard of *Ngan Kwo*, the equivalent of Ankúah.]

[4] Edrisi also speaks of this [i, p. 100]. It is a kind of story having a strong attraction for eastern people. Ibn Batuta heard that the same custom was adopted by Shamsuddin Altamsh, Sultan of Delhi (1211–1236). See Ibn Bat., iii, 158. The custom was a genuine Chinese one, but the summons seems to have been by a drum rather than by a bell. Thus in the Romance of "The Fortunate Union," the hero Teichungyu exclaims, "My lord,

The anonymous author was aware that the principles of the Chinese religion (here meaning Buddhism) came from India. Both countries, he says, accept the doctrine of metempsychosis, but with certain differences.

81. ABU ZAID, the author of the second part of the *Relation*, begins by remarking the great change that had taken place in the interval (some sixty years) since the first part of the book was composed. Events had happened which had entirely stopped the Arab trade with China, had thrown that country into anarchy, and had destroyed its power. He then proceeds to relate this revolution, which was due to a rebel whom he calls *Banshoa*, who, after sacking many cities of the empire, including Khanfu, which he took in A.H. 264 (A.D. 878), at length marched against the capital. The emperor fled to the frontiers of Tibet; but, after obtaining the aid of the King of the Taghazghaz (a great Turkish tribe), was enabled to renew the struggle and to regain his throne. His capital, however, was in ruins; his power and treasure had vanished; his generals had perished, and the best of his soldiers. The provinces had been seized by rapacious adventurers who scarcely made a pretence of allegiance. Foreign merchants and shipmasters were bullied, insulted, and plundered; the staple industries of the country were destroyed; trade could not go on; and thus the misfortunes and anarchy of China carried ruin to many families in distant Siraf and Oman.

Klaproth[1] has pointed out the correspondence of this

you are mistaken! The emperor himself suspends the drum at his palace gate, and admits all to state their hardships without reserve." (Davis's *Chinese Miscellanies*, p. 109.) This institution of the drum was adopted by a late king of Siam, according to Pallegoix, but the pages who had to answer it succeeded in extinguishing the practice. A curious Chinese drawing engraved in *Chine Ancienne* (*L'Univers Pittoresque*), pl. 3, represents this institution of the drum.

[1] *Tab. Historiques*, pp. 223–230.

statement with the account in the Chinese Annals of the rebellion of *Hwang-chao*, here called *Banshoa*, at the time mentioned by Abu Zaid; one of those tremendous insurrections which seem to recur in China almost periodically. The chief cities of the empire, including (880) Lo yang and Ch'ang ngan, the two imperial capitals, really fell into the hands of this chief, who declared himself emperor, but was eventually beaten from them by the aid of Turki auxiliaries. The Chinese account of the insubordination continuing to prevail in the provinces after the emperor's restoration also corresponds almost in so many words with that of the Arab writer[1]

82 Abu Zaid adds to the notes of his predecessor many interesting particulars regarding India and the Islands, as well as regarding China. In reference to the latter country he gives a curious account of a visit which an acquaintance of his own, Ibn Wahab of Basra, paid to KHUMDAN, the capital of China (see *ante*, pp. 31, 108), and of the interview which he had there with the emperor, who must have been Hi Tsung of the T'ang, very shortly before the great rebellion broke out. The story of the interview is too long to extract; but there does not seem to be any sufficient reason to doubt its correctness, and we may gather from it further proof that the knowledge of the Chinese in the days of the T'ang was by no means confined to that circle of oblique-eyed humanity which we are accustomed to regard as the limit of Chinese ideas. Ibn Wahab describes Khumdan or Ch'ang ngan, which was two months' journey from Khanfu, as divided in two by a long and wide street. The city eastward of this was entirely devoted to the residences of the emperor and officers of Government. On the west side were the shops, places of business, and the miscellaneous population. The streets were

[1] Reinaud, i, 66–7; *Chine Ancienne*, p. 330.

traversed with channels of running water and bordered with trees.

Abu Zaid, like his predecessor, dwells upon the orderly and upright administration of China whilst in its normal state. This indeed seems to have made a strong impression at all times on the other nations of Asia, and we trace this impression in almost every account that has reached us from Theophylactus downwards[1], whilst it is also probably the kernel of those praises of the justice of the Seres which extend back some centuries further into antiquity.

He is acquainted with the general character of the overland communication between Sogdiana and China Proper. The frontier of the latter was a two months' journey distant, over a country which was almost a waterless desert, though the frontier of the *empire* was not far from Khorasan. The difficulty of passing this desert had alone prevented the Musulman warriors of Khorasan from attempting the invasion of China. A friend of the author told him, however, that he had seen at Khanfu a man with a bagful of musk on his back whom he found to have come on foot all the way from Samarkand[2].

He mentions that three of the chief officers of state were called the Master of the Right, the Master of the Left, and the Master of the Centre. I do not know if traces of these appellations still exist in the Chinese administration; but we find that under Kúblái Khan the two chief ministers of state bore the titles of "Minister of the Right, and Minister of the Left[3]."

[1] The Jesuit historian Du Jarric thinks that "if Plato were to rise from Hades he would declare that his imagined Republic was realised in China." (ii, 676.)

[2] i, p. 114.

[3] See Pauthier's *Polo*, p. 329, and Yule-Cordier's *M. Polo*, i, p. 432. In the case of Lord Amherst's Embassy the three members of the Legation were distinguished by the Chinese as *the Middle* or Principal, the *Left Hand* (which is the more honour-

83. We have some account of China from an Arab geographer who was contemporary with the earlier of the two compilers of the *Relation*, and wrote perhaps a few years later than the date assigned by Abu Zaid to the work of his predecessor. This was Abu'l-Kasim 'Ubaid-Allah called Ibn Khurdádhbah, born about 820–830, and who served under the Khalif Mutammid (869–885) as director of the posts in Jibal or the ancient Media. His work, "The Book of Routes and Provinces," in great part consists only of lists of stages and distances, but there are occasionally some descriptive details introduced. The following lines contain nearly all that he says of China[1]:

"From SANF (Champa) to AL-WAKÍN[2], which is the first port of China, is one hundred farsangs either by sea or by land. Here you find excellent Chinese iron, porcelain, and rice[3]. You can go from Al-Wakín, which is a great port, to KHANFU[4] in four days by sea, or in twenty days by land. Khanfu produces all sorts of fruits and vegetables,

able side), and the *Right Hand* Envoys. (Davis's *Chinese*, Supp. vol., p. 40.) In our Mission to Ava in 1855 the Envoy's secretary was termed by the Burmese "the Right Hand Officer." [In Corea there was a prime or middle minister, *seng-ei-tsieng*, a minister of the left, *tsoa-ei-tsieng*, and a minister of the right, *wu-ei-tsieng*. Also in Annam, the left is the place of honour. In the province of Nghê-an there were two sub-governors, he *Dao of the right*, Quan Hu'u Dao, and the *Dao of the left*, Quan Ta Dao.]

[1] From a translation by Barbier de Meynard in the *Journal Asiatique*, sér. vi, tom. v (see pp. 292–4).

[2] The *Lúkin* of Edrisi (v, § 85 and p. 129 *n.*, *supra*), who has derived several passages from Ibn Khurdádhbah. One would suppose it to be Canton, had not Ibn Batuta identified Canton with Sin-ul-Sin, which Edrisi describes quite distinctly from Lukin. Edrisi, however, had no distinct ideas about Eastern Asia, and this is not conclusive. This Lukin cannot of course be the *Lukinfu* of Rashid (III, p. 126 *infra*), but it may have something to do with the alternative name (apparently corrupt) of *Lumkali* applied in the same page to Canton.

[3] ["On trouve à Loukyn la pierre chinoise, la soie chinoise, de la porcelaine d'excellente qualité et du riz."—De Goeje.]

[4] ["On va de Loukyn à Khânfou, qui est l'échelle la plus considérable (de la Chine)."—De Goeje.] Khânfu is also pronounced Khâncu. De Goeje, p. 49, writes: "C'est le port de Canton (Hongkong)." Fancy Hongkong in the ninth century!

wheat, barley, rice, and sugar-cane. From Khanfu you arrive in eight days at JANFU[1], which has the same productions. Thence to KANTU, six days, also having the same productions[2]. In all the ports of China you find a great navigable river affected by the tide[3]. In that of Kantu there are geese, ducks, and other wild fowl. The greatest length of coast from AL MAÏD[4] to the other extremity of China is two months voyage. China includes three hundred prosperous and famous cities[5]. It is bounded by the sea, by Tibet, and by the country of the Turk[6]

[1] Janfu is probably the Janku of others, and to be identified with Yang chau (*infra*, II, p. 209). *Kantu*, from the mountains of Sila or Japan opposite to it, as mentioned below, should be either Shang Haï or about the mouth of the Yellow River, if there was ever a port there. [The mouth of the Yellow River is out of the question; Shang Haï is possible, as it was the seat of one of the inspectors of foreign trade (*shi-po-shi*). Chau Ju-kwa held the office in Fu-kien. At the end of the eleventh century, "at the seaport of Hwa-ting, an officer was appointed to take account of the merchant-vessels, and to levy a toll on the goods; in this way was constituted the town of Shang Haï"; this is the first mention made of the name of Shang Haï in history; in 1156 the office of superintendent of the trading vessels at Shang Haï was abolished. (*Desc. of Shanghae, Chinese Miscel.*, iv, 1850.)—However, we may remark that it is impossible to see the mountains of Sila (Corea) from Shang Haï and indeed from any port of China proper; Prof. Pelliot writes to me that the organization of the commissaries of foreign trade (*shi po*) was due to the Sung and continued by the Mongols. It varied during the Yuen Dynasty, but according to the edict of 1293 there were seven commissaries: Ts'iuan chau, Shang haï, K'an p'u, Wen chau, Kwang Tung, Hang chau and K'in yuen. It will be noted that all these places are south of the Yangtze and that four out of the seven are situated in Che kiang.]

[2] [Khândjou, DeGoeje, who identifies this place with Hang chau. "De là [Khândjou] à Kânçou, où l'on trouve aussi les mêmes productions, 20 journées."—De Goeje, who identifies Kânçou with Kian chau.]

[3] ["Chacune des échelles de la Chine est située à l'embouchure d'un grand fleuve navigable qui est soumis à l'influence de la marée."—De Goeje.]

[4] [Armâbyl.—De Goeje.]

[5] ["La Chine renferme 300 villes, toutes prospères, dont 90 célèbres."—De Goeje.]

[6] ["Ce pays est borné par la mer, le Tibet, le pays des Turcs, et, à l'occident, l'Inde."—De Goeje.

Mas'ûdî says also: "Au delà de la Chine il n'y a plus, du côté

Strangers from India are established in the eastern provinces.....

"What is beyond China is unknown. But in front of Kantu rise high mountains. These are in the country of SILA[1], which abounds in gold. Musulmans who visit this country are often induced to settle for good because of the advantages of the place. The products exported are *ghorraib* (a kind of plant), gum kino, aloes, camphor, sails, saddles, porcelain, satin, cinnamon, and galanga[2] [3]"

[Ibn Rosteh wrote his *Al-A'lāk al-Nafisa* about 903; he is not so well informed as Mas'ūdī; he says that there is but one sea from Basrah to China, and that the same water bathes the coasts of India and China: but that it was said that, properly speaking, there were seven seas having each its special characteristics, winds, taste, colour, fauna[4].]

83* Mas'ūdī is our next writer; who in the *Meadows of Gold*[5] treats of all things in Nature and History, and of all at once rather than all in succession; of China among

de la mer, ni royaume connu ni contrée qui ait été décrite, excepté le territoire d'es-Silâ et les îles qui en dépendent." 4, p. 346.]

[1] [Corea.]

[2] ["Quant à ce que la mer orientale fournit à l'exportation, on tire de la Chine la soie blanche (*haryr*), la soie de couleur (*firand*) et la soie damassée (*Kymkhâw*), le musc, le bois d'aloès, des selles, des fourrures de martre (*Sammour*), de la porcelaine, le *cylbandj*, la cinnamome et le galanga."—De Goeje.]

[3] [I have revised this abstract of Ibn Khurdádhbáh with the translation of the great Arabic scholar of Leyden, De Goeje, in the volume: Kitâb-al-Masâlik Wa'l-Mamâlik (*Liber Viarum et Regnorum*) auctore Abu'l-Kâsim Obaidallah ibn Abdallah Ibn Khordâdhbeh et excerpta e Kitâb al-Kharâdj auctore Kodâma ibn Dja'far quae cum versione gallica edidit, indicibus et glossario instruxit M. J. de Goeje.—Lugduni-Batavorum, E. J. Brill, 1889, 8vo.]

[4] [See Hartmann, p. 861, *Chine*, *Encycl. Islam*.]

[5] *Les Prairies d'Or*—translated by MM. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, Paris, 1861–77. [Published in nine octavo volumes in the *Collection d'Ouvrages Orientaux publiée par la Société Asiatique*. From Vol. iv. the name of Barbier de Meynard is the only one printed on the title-page.]

the rest. He travelled far and wide, and from a very early age, visiting Sind in 912 when quite a youth, and afterwards, according to his own account, Zanzibar and the Island of Kanbalu[1], Champa, China, and the country of Zabaj (*supra*, p. 127), besides travelling a long way into Turkestan. If he really visited China it must have been in a very cursory manner. I can find nothing of any interest respecting it that does not also appear in the *Relation*, chiefly in that part of it of which Abu Zaid is the professed author. M. Reinaud has treated of these coincidences, but has not I think quite satisfactorily accounted for them[2].

84. In the course of the tenth century we have another Arab traveller who professes to have visited China. This is Abū Dulaf Mis'ar Ibn Muhalhil who being, according to his own account, at the Court of Nasri Bin Ahmed Bin Ismail of the Samanidæ at Bokhara when ambassadors arrived from "the King of China Kalatin-bin-ul-Shakhir[3]," to negotiate a marriage between his own daughter and Noah the son of Nasri (who afterwards succeeded to the throne of Bokhara), took advantage of the opportunity of accompanying the ambassadors on their return, about the year 941. The whole narrative of this traveller is not extant, but much of it has been preserved in citations by Yākūt (A.H. 617, A.D. 1220), and Qazwini (A.H. 667, A.D. 1268–9), and a German editor has collected these passages

[1] The French translators take this for Madagascar. Ma'sūdī describes it as an island in the sea of Zanj, well cultivated and inhabited by Musulmans speaking the Zanj language. The Mahomedans got possession of it about the beginning of the Abasside dynasty, capturing the whole Zanj population (this never could be true of Madagascar). Sailors reckoned it roughly about five hundred farsangs to Oman. I should think it must be the Island of Zanzibar, or perhaps the Great *Comoro*, which has some resemblance in name, and is occupied by people of Arab descent.

[2] *Discours Préliminaire* to *Relation*, etc., pp. viii and xviii *seqq*.

[3] Or *Kalín bin-Shakhbar*. [*Qālin b. aš Sachīr*.—Marquart.]

into a tolerably continuous narrative, and translated them into Latin[1].

It is very difficult to say whether the narrative is genuine or not, or to guess how much it may have suffered from the manner in which it has been thus coopered out of loose fragments[2] If the author really accompanied Chinese ambassadors from Bokhara back to their native country, it is not easy to understand why they should have made a grand tour of all the Turk and Tartar nations from the shores of the Black Sea to the banks of the Amur. The name which he attributes to the capital of China is SINDABIL, which is more like an Indian than a Chinese name, or rather like the Arabic perversion of an Indian name (compare *Kandábíl*, *Sandábúr*). The nearest Chinese name is that of CH'ENG TU FU[3], or as Marco Polo calls it SINDIFU, the chief city of the province of Sze ch'wan, and which was during parts of the tenth century the capital of the kingdom of SHU[4]. Neither would it be easy to discover

[1] *Abu Dolif Misaris Ben Mohalhel de Itinere Asiatico commentarius—Studio Kurd de Schloezer*, Berolini, 1845. [A better commentary has been given by J. Marquart, in his *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig, 1903, 8vo. pp. 74–95: *Das Itinerar des Mi'sar b. al Muhalhil nach der chinesischen Hauptstadt.*— See also the French translation by G. Ferrand, pp. 208 *seq.* in *Relat. de Voyages... arabes, persans et turks*, i, Paris, 1913.]

[2] ["Jeder der es versuch, auf der Karte des Itinerar des Reisenden zu verfolgen, wird alsbald mit steigendem Kopfschütteln die sonderbaren Kreuz- und Querzüge betrachten, die uns bald nach Tibet und an die Grenze von China, bald wieder nach dem Irtischgebiet oder dem Tarimbecken führen." Marquart, p. 75.]

[3] [Marquart, *l.c.*, pp. 86–7, shows that it is impossible that Sindabil be Ch'eng tu; he identifies it with Kanchau. The great temple of Sindabil mentioned by Abū Dulaf is no doubt the idol temple of Kanchau, 500 cubits square, of Shah Rukh's ambassadors; the identity of Kanchau with Sindabil is confirmed by Qasvini. See *Marco Polo*, i, pp. 220–1.]

[4] [The first Shu Dynasty was the Minor Han Dynasty which lasted from A.D. 221 to A.D. 263; its capital was Ch'eng tu in modern Sze ch'wan; this Shu Dynasty was one of the Three Kingdoms (*San kwo chi*); the two others being Wei (A.D. 220–264) reigning at Lo Yang, and Wu (A.D. 222–277) reigning at Kier

in a list of Chinese sovereigns any name resembling Kalatin son of Shakhbar or Shakhir. In one of the notes appended to this paper will be given an abstract of the chief points of this journey, real or pretended[1].

84 *bis*. ["Now we should meiltion the relation of the land-route between Transoxiana and China to be found in a work of Abū Sa'īd 'Abd al-Haiy Ibn Duḥāk Gardēzi (Marquart, *Streifzüge*, writes Gūrdezī, but see Rieu, *Cat. Pers. Brit. Mus.* 1071 a, and Ravertyy *Tabakāt-i Nāṣiri*, p. 901) of whom Bartold had the insight to recognize the value and to edit a fragment from his important *Zain al-Akhbār* (written in 1050) (*Otčet o po'ezdki e v Sredniuiu Aziiu*, 1893–4, Pet., 1897). Gardēzi describes China pp. 92^{17}–4^{5}. The most important passage is the itinerary Turfān-Khamdān 92^{9-16}: Cinandjket (*i.e.* Turfān-Kara Khodjo) in the country of the Toghuzghuz to Kumul eight days; at Bagh Shūrā (one might see in *bagh* the Persian *bāgh* 'garden'; the word *shūrā* would answer to *čura* of Turkish names; thus one of the most considerable of the Volga Turks: Akčura Oghli) one must cross a river in a boat; then seven days in the steppe, with wells and pasturage, to Sha chau, with the remark that the town was called Dun chuan [Tun hwang] until the beginning of the seventh century; to-day the road passes through Ngan-si fu, to the N.W. of Sha chau: then three days' travelling to a stone desert (*senglākh*) then seven days to Sukhchau (*Sukh* reproduces an ancient pronunciation which Abulfeda renders by *sūkdjū*); then

Kang (Nan king). The second was the Ts'ien Shu Dynasty, founded in 907 by Wang Kien, governor of Sze chw'an since 891; it lasted till 925 when it submitted to the Hau T'ang; in 933 the Hau T'ang were compelled to grant the title of King of Shu (Hau Shu) to Mong Chi-siang, governor of Sze chw'an, who was succeeded by Mong Ch'ang, dethroned in 965; the capital was also Ch'eng tu under these two dynasties.] The names of the kings as given in Deguignes have no possibility of assimilation to those in the text (Deg., i, 124^{a-o}).

[1] See Note XII.

three days to Khamčau (= Kuanchau); then eight days to Kuča (?); then in 15 days to a river called Kiyān (= Hwang ?), which is navigable. From Baghshūrā to Khamdān, the capital of China, the voyage lasts one month (which does not tally with the total of the days of the journey = 43). Relays are to be found on the road." Mr. Hartmann, from whom we borrow these particulars (*Encyclop. de l'Islam, s.v. Chine*), remarks that it was always the main route between China and the West.]

85. The account of China in the Geography of Edrisi, written under the patronage of King Roger II of Sicily, and completed in 1153–4, is, like the whole of his account of South-eastern Asia, including India, very meagre and confused. Professing to give the distances between places, he generally under-estimates these enormously, insomuch that in a map compiled from his distances Asia would, I apprehend, assume very contracted dimensions. Owing to his manner of dealing with the world in successive climates or zones of latitude the passages in his work treating of China are scattered over nearly all parts of the book; but the general result is something like the following:

China is a great and populous empire whose supreme king is called the *Baghbugh*[1]. This sovereign is just,

[1] This word in various forms, *Baghbúgh*, *Baghbúr*, *Faghfúr*, is applied as a generic title to the emperors of China by old Arabian and Persian writers, and appears in Marco Polo as applied to the dethroned Sung emperor in the form *Facfur* (ii, p. 148). [*Baghbúr* بغبور, *Faghfúr* فغفور, are the Arabic forms of the Persian *Baghpúr*, Son of God, translation of *T'ien tze*, in Chinese Son of Heaven. Cf. Ferrand, *Textes*, p. 2.] It is, according to Neumann, a translation of the Chinese title *T'ien tze* or "Son of Heaven" into old Persian, in which *Bak* is Divinity (Sansk. *Bhaga*, Hindi *Bhagwán*), and *Fur* is "Son" (Sansk. *putra*). The elements of the name are still to be found in the modern Persian dictionaries: "*Bagh*, The name of an Idol," and "*Púr*, A Son." So *Sháh Púr*, the Sapor of the Romans, is "King's Son" (see Bürck's *Polo*, p. 629; Pauthier's *Polo*, 453, F. Johnson's *Dict.*). ["The last of the Sung Emperors (1276) '*Facfur*' (*i.e.* the Arabic for *T'ien tze*) was freed by Kúblái from the (ancient Khotan) indignity of surrendering with a rope round his neck, leading a

powerful, sage, and provident, easy and gentle in h administration, generous in his gifts, attentive to wha goes on in foreign countries, but much occupied with the interests of his own subjects, who are admitted to his presence readily, and without having to apply for the intervention of subordinates. In religion he follows an idolatrous faith differing but little from that of India; but he follows it devoutly, and is liberal to the poor.

The people are dark like those of Hind and Sind. Iney live upon rice, coco-nut, milk, sugar, and *mokl* (said to be the fruit of the dúm-palm of Upper Egypt). No arts are more valued among them than those of design and pottery.

Under the Baghbugh there are some three hundred flourishing cities and many fine seaports. The latter generally stand upon river-estuaries, up which ships ascend some distance from the sea. They are full of life and business, and the security of property in them is perfect. The greatest of the ports is KHANFU[1], which is the terminus of the western trade. It stands on (or near) the *Khumdan*, the great river of China, one of the greatest and most famous of all rivers; the Ganges itself is said to be an affluent of it[2]. Its banks are crowded with population, and many great cities stand upon them. Such are SUSAH[3], a very famous city whether for its buildings or its trade, or for the wealth of its citizens. Its commercial credit extends over the world. Here are made an unequalled

sheep, and he received the title of Duke: in 1288 he went to Tibet to study Buddhism, and in 1296 he and his mother, Ts'iuen T'aï How, became a bonze and a nun, and were allowed to hold 360 *k'ing* (say, 5000 acres) of land free of taxes under the then existing laws." (E. H. Parker, *China Review*, Feb., March 1901, p. 195.)]

[1] Jaubert has *Khanku*, but no doubt the right reading is Khan fu. It involves but the difference of a dot.

[2] So thought Fra Mauro, as his map shows

[3] Qu. *Su chau* in Kiang nan, the celebrated rival of Hang chau ?

kind of porcelain, the *Ghazár* of China, and silk-stuffs famous for their solidity and elegance. JANKU is also on the Khumdan about three days from Khanfu. This also is a city where there are manufactures of glass and silk stuffs. Two months' journey up the river is BAJAH[1], the capital of the Baghbugh, where is his palace with his guards, treasures, harem, and slaves. He is bound to keep always one hundred dowered wives and one thousand elephants. Another city is SÍNIA-UL-SÍN which Ibn Batuta enables us to identify with Canton (see *infra*, Vol. IV). And the first port of China coming from Sanfi or Champa is LUKIN (see *supra*, p. 135), where also are made rich silks, and among others a kind called *Ghazár-Sini*[2], which are exported far and near.

Many places besides these are named which it seems impossible to identify. Such are, on the borders of Indo-China, TARIGHURGHAN and KATIGHORA, the last a name which seems simply borrowed from the Cattigara of Ptolemy [see note on Kattigara, Note II], KHAIGHUN, ASFIRIA[3], BURA, KARNABUL, ASKHRA, SHARKHU or SADCHU, BASHIAR, TAUGHA (recalling the Taugas of Theophylactus), etc. KASGHARA, apparently Kashgar, is put only four days distant from Katighora upon the China Sea.

Exterior China, apparently corresponding in a general way to the Tangut of later days, is also mentioned by Edrisi. It is bounded by the Taghazghaz on the west, by Tibet on the south, and by the country of the Khizilj Turks on the north.

[1] The copies used by Jaubert read *Bájah* or *Nájah*. But probably the right reading is *Tájah*. Compare with Abulfeda quoted hereafter, and with the Taiuna or Th juye at p. 114 *supra*.

[2] I do not find this word in the Arabic dictionaries. May it be the origin of our word *Gauze*, which has been referred to *Gaza* in Palestine?

[3] It is very possible that this *Asfiria* also represents the Ptolemæan *Aspithra*, and perhaps some of the other names have a like origin, though too much corrupted to identify with the Greek.

86. To a date only a few years later than Edrisi belongs Benjamin of Tudela, who travelled between 1159 and 1173, and of whom some account has been given by Mr. Major in his Introduction to *India in the Fifteenth Century*, which need not be repeated. After speaking of the Island KHANDY, supposed to be Ceylon, this traveller says :—

"From hence the passage to CHINA is effected in forty days. This country lies eastward, and some say that the star Orion predominates in the sea which bounds it, and which is called the sea of Nikpha. Sometimes the sea is so stormy, that no mariner can conduct his vessel ; and, whenever a storm throws a ship into this sea, it is impossible to govern it ; the crew and the passengers consume their provisions and then die miserably, but people have learned how to save themselves from this fate by the following contrivance" ; and so he proceeds to tell how the sailors sew themselves in bulls' hides, and being found floating in the sea are carried ashore by great eagles, and so forth. This stuff (literally a cock and a bull story) is all that Benjamin relates in connexion with China[1].

It is remarked by the English editor of Benjamin that this author is the first European who mentions China by that name. But Edrisi at least precedes him, and a Sicilian Arab writing of *Sin* in Arabic at Palermo, has at least as good a title to be considered a European author writing of China, as a Spanish Jew writing of *Tsin* in Hebrew at Tudela. Benjamin appears to have heard these tales of the voyage to China at the island of Kish, which would seem to have been the limit of his travels[2] ; what he relates

[1] Bohn's ed. (in *Early Travellers in Palestine*), pp. 116–117.

[2] *Kais* or *Kish* was the real terminus of Indian trade for several ages, and the seat of a principality, *Quisci* of Polo. Marco, I see, shows the true approximate position of Quisci as two hundred miles further up the Gulf than Hormuz. Kish, in the map before me (*Stieler's Hand-Atlas*), is termed *Guase* or *Kena*. [The island and city of Kish or Kais is about 200 miles from the mouth of

of India likewise being to all appearance mere hearsay. Indeed the eleventh and twelfth centuries are more bare of notices of communication between China and western nations than almost any others since the beginning of our era.

87. ABULFEDA (1273–1331) belongs to a date subsequent to the rise of the Mongol power, which we have fixed as a dividing mark in the treatment of this subject; but it will be more convenient to dispose of his notices of China now, in connexion with those of the other Arab writers who have been already cited. Notwithstanding the facilities which his age afforded for obtaining correct information about China, he does not seem to have been in the way of profiting greatly by them. His knowledge of those regions is, as he himself complains, very much restricted, and his accounts are chiefly derived from books long antecedent to his own time and to that of the Mongol sovereigns, though they are not altogether devoid of recent information. Some extracts of the essential part of his information on China will be found in the supplementary notes, and will show this curious mixture of the obsolete statements of the geographers of the tenth or eleventh centuries with items of modern knowledge[1]; affording an analogy to the maps of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which in remoter Asia sometimes present a strange jumble of Ptolemy, Marco Polo, and recent discoveries.

the Gulf, and for a long time was one of the chief ports of trade with India and the East. The island, the *Cataea* of Arrian, now called Ghes or Kenn, is singular among the islands of the Gulf as being wooded and well supplied with fresh water. The ruins of a city [called Harira, according to Lord Curzon] exist on the north side. See Yule-Cordier's *Marco Polo*, I, p. 64 *n.*—See p. 85 and *n.* 1, *supra*.]

[1] See Note XIII.

VIII. CHINA UNDER THE MONGOL DYNASTY, KNOWN AS CATHAY.

88. We now arrive at the epoch of the Mongols, during whose predominance the communication of China with the western nations was less impeded by artificial obstacles than it has been at any other period of history. For even now, though our war-steamers have ascended the Kiang to Han kau, and a post runs from Peking to Petersburg, every land frontier excepting that towards Russia remains as impervious as in the darkest age of the past[1].

It was in the days of the Mongols also that China first became really known to Europe, and that by a name which, though especially applied to the northern provinces, also came to bear a more general application, CATHAY[2].

89. This name, KHITAI [or K'ITAI], is that by which China is styled to this day by all, or nearly all, the nations which know it from an inland point of view including the Russians Китáй, [the Greeks, Κιταΐα] the Persians, and the nations of Turkestan [Khitaï]; and yet it originally belonged to a people who were not Chinese at all. The K'ITANS were a people of Manchu race who inhabited for centuries a country to the north-east of China, lying east of the Khingan mountains and north of the river Sira, and whose allegiance was rendered alternately to the Khakans of the Turks and the Emperors of China. In the beginning of the tenth

[1] [It must be borne in mind that these last lines were written nearly half a century ago.]

[2] Several names strongly resembling *Cathay* appear in ancient geographers; but, of course, none of them have any connexion with the name as applied to China. The Χαῖται Scythians of Ptolemy probably represent *Khotan* (vi, 15). The Καθέα of Strabo is in the Punjab, apparently, from what he says, including the Salt Range (Bk. xv). The *Kataia* of Arrian is the island of Kish in the Persian Gulf. [The Northern Chinese of Cathay were called by the Southern Chinese, *Pe tai*, the fools of the North; in retaliation the Cathayans named the Southerners *Man tze*, Barbarians: hence the *Manzi* or *Mangi* of mediaeval travellers.]

century the chief of one of their tribes made himself supreme first over his own entire race, and then successively over the adjoining nations of Asia from the sea of Corea to the Altai. The son of this conqueror having assisted to place on the throne Kao Tsu of the brief dynasty of the later Tsin, this prince in return not only transferred to the Tartar a large tract of Northern China, but agreed to pay him yearly tribute, and to acknowledge his supremacy. The next Chinese sovereign kicking against these degradations, the K'itan overran all the provinces north of the Yellow River, and established his own empire within them, under the name of *Leao* or the Iron Dynasty. This K'itan empire subsisted for two centuries, in Northern China[1] and the adjoining regions of Tartary. The same curious process then took place which seems always to have followed the intrusion of Tartar conquerors into China, and singularly analogous to that which followed the establishment of the Roman emperors in Byzantium. The intruders themselves adopted Chinese manners, ceremonies, literature, and civilisation, and gradually lost their energy and warlike character. It must have been during this period, ending with the overthrow of the dynasty in 1125, and whilst this northern monarchy was the face which the Celestial

[1] [The Eastern Tartars, K'itans of Tungusic origin, founded an empire in Northern China; nine sovereigns belonged to their dynasty:

1. Ye-liu A-pao-ki = T'ai tsu, 907
2. Ye-liu Te Kwang = T'ai tsung, 927
3. Ye-liu Yuen = Shi tsung, 947
4. Ye-liu King = Mo tsung, 951
5. Ye-liu H'ien = King tsung, 968
6. Ye-liu Lung-siu = Sheng tsung, 983
7. Ye-liu Tsung-chin = Hing tsung, 1031
8. Ye-liu H'ung-ki = Tao tsung, 1055
9. Ye-liu Yen-hi = T'ien tso, 1101–1125.

In 937 Te Kwang, T'ai tsung, took the *nien hao* of Hwei T'ung and gave to his dynasty the name of *Leao*. The capital of the Leao was Leao yang in Leao tung, and was transferred by A-pao-ki to Yen king (Peking). They were replaced by the Niu che (Kin).]

Empire turned to Inner Asia, that the name of Khitan, Khitat, or Khitaï, became indissolubly associated with China[1].

90. In the year just named the last prince of the dynasty was captured by the leader of the revolted *Churchés*, who had proclaimed himself emperor, and founder of a dynasty under the name of the *Golden*, the *Kin* of the Chinese.

This dynasty, like its predecessor, adopted the Chinese civilisation, and for a brief period prospered. Their empire, the chief capital of which was established at the city which they called Chung tu, the modern Peking, embraced in China itself the provinces of Pe Che-li, Shan si, Shan tung, Ho nan, and the south of Shen si whilst beyond the wall all Tartary acknowledged their influence. Their power, however, soon passed its climax, and their influence over Mongolia had already declined before the middle of the twelfth century[2].

91. Temuchin, afterwards known as Chinghiz, was born of a Mongol tribe on the banks of the Onon in 1162.

[1] [When the Leao were expelled by the Kin, they retired westward into Kashgaria, took the place of the Kara-Khanids (Ilcks, or Al-i-Afrasyab), and founded the new dynasty of Kara K'itaï, Si Leao or Western Leao; five sovereigns belong to this dynasty:

1. Te tsung, 1125 = Ye-liu Ta Shi.
2. Kan T'ien Hau, 1136 = Ta Pu-yen, Princess Regent, Hien Tsing.
3. Jin tsung, 1142 = Ye-liu I-lie.
4. Cheng t'ien, 1154 = Ye-liu Shi (Princess Regent).
5. Mo Chu, 1168 = Ye-liu Che-lu-ku.

Che-lu-ku, second son of Jin tsung, was dethroned by his son-in-law Kuchluk, chief of the Naïmans, a Turkish tribe, subjugated later by the Mongols of Chinghiz Khan; see *Notice of the Kara Khitai or Si Liao* in *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*, by E. Bretschneider, i.]

[2] [The *Niu che* or *Niu chen* Tartars, another Tungusic tribe, expelled the Leao in 1125 and lasted until the Mongol conquest (1234). At first tributary of Corea, Hien-phu became independent; however the first real chief was Ukunaï his sixth successor (1021); Aguda (O-ko-ta), fifth successor of Ukunaï, is the founder of the *Kin* dynasty (1113) with the *miao hao* (temple name) of T'ai Tsu.]

It is not needful to follow the details of his rise and of his successes against the nations of Tartary which led to his being saluted in 1206 by the diet of his nation as Chinghiz Khan[1].

The conquest of China was commenced by Chinghiz,

[1] Chinghiz, according to Quatremère, did not use the higher appellation of *Káan* (or rather Qáan), which was adopted by his son Okkodai and his successors as their distinctive title, identical with *Kháqán*, the Χαγάνος of the Byzantine historians. Properly a distinction should therefore be preserved between *Khan*, the ordinary title of Tartar chiefs, and which has since spread to Persian gentlemen and come to be a common affix to the name of Hindustanis of all classes, and *Qáan*, as the peculiar title of the Supreme Chief of the Mongols. The Mongol princes of the subordinate empires of Chagatai, Persia, and Kipchak, were entitled only to the former affix, though the other is sometimes applied to them in adulation, whilst the successors of Chinghiz, viz., Okkodai, Kuyuk, Mangu, Kúblái, and those who followed him on the throne of Khanbalíq, the *Magni Canes* of our ecclesiastical travellers, should properly be designated as *Qáan*. But I have not ventured on such a refinement. (See Quatremère on Rashid. pp. 10 *et seqq.*) [Soe note in Yule-Cordier's *Marco Polo*, i, p. 10.]

[Mr. Rockhill, *Rubruck*, p. 108 *n.* writes: "The title *Knan*, Rubruck's *Cham*, though of very great antiquity, was only used by the Turks after A.D. 560, at which time the use of the word *Khatun* came in use for the wives of the Khan, who himself was termed *Iikhan*. The older title of *Shan-yü* did not, however, completely disappear among them, for Albiruni says that in his time the chief of the Ghuz Turks, or Turkomans, still bore the title of *Jenuyeh*, which Sir Henry Rawlinson (*Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc.*, v, 15) takes to be the same word as that transcribed *Shan-yü* by the Chinese (see *Ch'ien Han shu*, bk. 94, and *Chou shu*, bk. 50, 2). Although the word *Khakhan* occurs in Menander's account of the embassy of Zemarchus, the earliest mention I have found of it in a western writer is in the *Chronicon* of Albericus Trium Fontium, where (571), under the year 1230, he uses it in the form *Cacanus*." Albericus has: "cepit unum Regem eorum nomine Cacanum (Cutanum)." (*Chronicon*, 1608, p. 571.)—Terrien de Lacouperie (*Khan, Khakan, and other Tartar Titles, Bab. and Orient. Record*: Nov. 1888) says, p. 272, that the "Kha Kan or Khagan, خاقان, the supreme title of authority among the Tartars, makes its first appearance in history in 402 A.D. It was assumed by Tulun, the Khan of the Jöujen, after he had established his supremacy all over Tartary. He disdained the old title of Shen-yu, which hitherto had been always assumed by the supreme rulers of these regions, and he struck out for himself and his successors in power the new title of *Khakan*....stated to be the same as Hwang Ti, *i.e.* Supreme Ruler....the ruler of the Karákhitai started the title of *Gurkhan*." With regard to Temujin, Terrien adds, p. 274, that he received in 1206 the title of Chinghiz Khan or the "Very Mighty Khan" because he had conquered so many Gurkhans he could not adopt that humbled title.]

although it was not completed for several generations. Already in 1205 he had invaded TANGUT, a kingdom occupying the extreme north-west of China, and extending beyond Chinese limits in the same direction, held by a dynasty of Tibetan race, which was or had been vassal to the Kin. This invasion was repeated in succeeding years; and in 1211 his attacks extended to the empire of the Kin itself. In 1214 he ravaged their provinces to the Yellow River, and in the following year took Chung tu or Peking. In 1219 he turned his arms against Western Asia, and conquered all the countries between the Bolor and the Caspian and southward to the Indus, whilst his generals penetrated to Russia, Armenia, and Georgia; but a lieutenant whom he had left behind him in the East continued to prosecute the subjection of Northern China. Chinghiz himself on his return from his western conquests renewed his attack on Tangut, and died on that enterprise 18th August, 1227.

92. Okkodai, the son and successor of Chinghiz, followed up the subjugation of China, extinguished the Kin finally in 1234, and consolidated with his empire all the provinces north of the Great Kiang. The southern provinces remained for the present subject to the Chinese dynasty of the Sung, reigning now at King sze or Hang chau. This kingdom was known to the Tartars as NANG-KIASS, and also by the quasi-Chinese title of MANGI or MANZI, made so famous by Marco Polo and the travellers of the following age, a title which the Western Mahomedans not unnaturally confounded and identified with MACHÍN, a term of another origin and properly of a larger application[1].

[1] *Máchin* is merely a contraction of Mahachina, "Great China," the name by which the Hindus anciently styled the Great Empire (see *supra*, p. 68), and in this application I have heard it still vernacularly used by them. In this sense, also, it would appear

93. After establishing his power over so much of China as we have said, Okkodai raised a vast army and set it in motion towards the west. One portion was directed against Armenia, Georgia, and Asia Minor, whilst another

to have been understood in old times by the more intelligent Mahomedans, as when Al Biruni, speaking of the Himalayas, says that beyond those mountains is *Mahachin*. That geographer's contemporary, Firdusi, also uses the name (see *Journ. As.*, sér. iv, tom. iv, 259; Klaproth, *Mém.*, iii. 257, *seqq.*). But the majority, not knowing the meaning of the expression, seem to have used it pleonastically coupled with *Chín* to denote the same thing, "*Chín* and *Máchín*"; a phrase having some analogy to the way *Sind* and *Hind* was used to express all India, but a stronger one to *Gog* and *Magog*, as applied to the northern nations of Asia; for Sind and Hind are capable of divorce. And eventually Chin was discovered to be the eldest son of Japhet, and Machin his grandson, which is much the same as saying that Britain was the eldest son of Brut the Trojan, and Great Britain his grandson. In the Mongol days, when Chinese affairs were for a time more distinctly known in Western Asia, and the name of *Mánzi* as the southern portion of the Empire was current in men's mouths, it would appear that this name was confounded with *Máchín*, and the latter word thus acquired a speeific application, though an erroneous one. For though accident thus gave a specific meaning to *Machin*, I cannot find that *Chin* ever had a similar specific meaning given to it. One author of the sixteenth century, indeed, quoted by Klaproth, distinguishes North and South China as the Chin and Machin of the Hindus (*Journ. As.*, sér. ii, tom. i, 115). But there is no proof that the Hindus ever made this distinction, nor has anyone that I know of quoted an instance of *Chin* being applied peculiarly to Northern China. Ibn Batuta, on the contrary, sometimes distinguishes *Sín* as South China from *Khitai* as North China.

In times after the Mongol *régime*, when intercourse with China had ceased, the double name seems to have recovered its old vagueness as a rotund way of saying *China*. Thus Barbaro speaks of *Cini* and *Macini*, Nikitin of *Chin* and *Machin*, the commission of Syrian bishops to India (*supra*, p. 127) of *Sin* and *Masin*, all apparently with no more plurality of sense than there is in Thurn and Taxis. And yet, at the same time, there are indications of a new application of *Máchín* to the Indo-Chinese countries. Thus Conti applies it to Ava or Siam, in which Fra Mauro follows him, and the *Ayin Akbari*, if I remember rightly, applies it to Pegu.

The use of a double assonant name, sometimes to express a dual idea but often a single one, is a favourite Oriental practice. As far back as Herodotus we have Crophi and Mophi, Thyni and Bithyni; the Arabs have converted Cain and Abel into Kabil and Habil, Saul and Goliah into Taiut and Jalut, Pharaoh's magicians into Risam and Rejam, of whom the Jewish traditions had made Jannes and Jambres; whilst Christian legends gave the names of Dismas and Jesmas to the penitent and impenitent thieves in the Gospel. Jarga and Nargah was the name given to the great circle

great host under Batu, the nephew of the Great Khan, conquered the countries north of Caucasus, overran Russia making it tributary, and still continued to carry fire and slaughter westward. One great detachment under a lieutenant of Batu's entered Poland, burned Cracow, found Breslau in ashes and abandoned by its people, and defeated with great slaughter at Wahlstatt near Liegnitz (April 9th, 1241) the troops of Poland, Moravia, and Silesia, who had gathered under Duke Henry II of the latter province to make head against this astounding flood of heathen. Batu himself with the main body of his army was ravaging Hungary. The king had been very slack in his preparations, and when eventually he made a stand against the enemy his army was defeated with great loss, and he escaped with difficulty. Pesth was now taken and burnt, and all its people put to the sword.

The rumours of the Tartars and their frightful devastations had scattered fear through Europe, which the defeat at Liegnitz raised to a climax. Indeed weak and disunited Christendom seemed to lie at the foot of the barbarians. The Pope to be sure proclaimed a crusade, and wrote circular letters, but the enmity between him and the Emperor Frederic II was allowed to prevent any co-operation, and

of beaters in the Mongol hunting matches. In geography we have numerous instances of the same thing, *e.g.*, Zabulistan and Kabulistan, Koli Akoli, Longa Solanga, Ibir Sibir, Kessair and Owair, Kuria Muria, Ghuz and Maghuz, Mastra and Castra (*Edrisi*), Arrag and Kartag (*Abulghazi*), Khanzi and Manzi (*Rashid*), Iran and Turan, Crit and Mecrit (*Rubruquis*), Sondor and Condor (*Marco Polo*), etc. (See Quatremère's *Rashid*, pp. 243–6; D'Avezac, p. 534: *Prairies d'Or*, i, p. 399.)

The name of *Achin* in Sumatra appears to have been twisted in this spirit by the Mahomedan mariners as a rhyme to *Machin*; the real name is *Atcheh*.

In India, such rhyming doublets are not confined to proper names; to a certain extent they may be made colloquially at will upon a variety of substantives. The *chauki-auki* means "chairs" simply (*chauki*), or, at most, "chairs and tables"; *lakri-akri*, "sticks and stakes." In some such sense probably grew up the use of *Chin Machin* China and all its appurtenances.

neither of them responded by anything better than words to the earnest calls for help which came from the King of Hungary. No human aid merited thanks when Europe was relieved by hearing that the Tartar host had suddenly retreated eastward. The Great Khan Okkodai was dead in the depths of Asia, and a courier had come to recall the army from Europe.

94. In 1255 a new wave of conquest rolled westward from Mongolia, this time directed against the Ismaelians or "Assassins[1]" on the south of the Caspian, and then successively against the Khalif of Baghdad[2] and Syria. The conclusion of this expedition under Húlaku may be considered to mark the climax of the Mongol power. Mangu Khan, the emperor then reigning, and who died on a campaign in [Sze-ch'wan] China in 1259, was the last who exercised a sovereignty so nearly universal. His successor Kúblái extended indeed largely the frontiers of the Mongol power in China, which he brought entirely under the yoke, besides gaining conquests rather nominal than real on its southern and south-eastern borders, but he ruled effectively only in the eastern regions of the great empire, which had now broken up into four. (1) The immediate Empire of the Great Khan, seated eventually at Khanbaliq or Peking, embraced China, Corea, Mongolia, and Manchuria, Tibet, and claims at least over Tong King and countries on the Ava frontier; (2), the Chagatai Khanate, or Middle Empire of the Tartars, with its

[1] [The Assassins were defeated at the end of 1256 by Húlakú, and the eighth Prince of Alamut, Rocn uddin Khurshah, was put to death. Cf. *Marco Polo*, i, pp. 145 *seqq.*; and the French edition of *Odoric*, pp. 473–483.]

[2] [Mostas'im Billah was the last of the Abbasid Khalifs: of. *Marco Polo*, i, pp. 63–4, 67 *n.*—Rashiduddín says: "The evening of Wednesday, the 14th of Safar, 656 (20th February, 1258), the Khalif was put to death in the village of Wakf, with his eldest son and five eunuchs who had never quitted him."]

capital at Almaliq, included the modern Dzungaria, part of Chinese Turkestan, Transoxiana, and Afghanistan; (3), the Empire of Kipchak, or the Northern Tartars, founded on the conquests of Batu, and with its chief seat at Sarai on the Volga, covered a large part of Russia, the country north of Caucasus, Khwarizm, and a part of the modern Siberia; (4), Persia, with its capital eventually at Tabriz, embraced Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan and part of Asia Minor, all Persia, Arabian Irak, and Khorasan.

95. Though the Tartar host had retired spontaneously when Europe seemed to lie at its mercy, the fears of renewed invasion hung over the west for years. Pope Innocent IV. who had succeeded Gregory IX, summoned a council at Lyons in 1245, the chief alleged object of which was to devise measures for the protection of Christendom against this enemy. But even before the meeting of the Council the Pope had taken one of the steps which was to stand instead of a hearty union to resist the common foe, by sending missions to the Tartar chiefs which should call upon them to shed no more Christian blood, but to adopt the Christian faith. There seems indeed, even when the early panic caused by the vast scale of the Tartar atrocities had scarcely passed away, (and the feeling for many years grew rather than diminished), an undercurrent of anticipation to have run through Europe that these barbarians were in some way ripe for conversion; and this sentiment is traceable, more or less, in most of the missions that from this time forth were sent to them by Christian Pontiffs and Princes. At its maximum, as we have seen, the power of the Grand Khan extended from the Gulf of Tong King almost to the Baltic. None, or next to none, of the Mongol princes were at this time Mahomedans, and the power of Islam over the length of Asia was for a time prostrated.

The heavy blows thus dealt at the Mahomedan enemy; then the old stories of Prester John with whom early rumour had confounded Chinghiz; the vagueness of religious profession in the Khans and their captains, facilitating the ascription to them of that Christianity which was no doubt really professed by some of the tribal chiefs under them: the tolerance and patronage in some cases extended to Christians in the conquered countries; all these circumstances perhaps contributed to create or to augment in Europe the impression of which we have spoken.

And the accomplishment of the missions to which allusion has been made was facilitated by the very extent of the Tartar flood which had thus washed down all artificial barriers from the Yellow River to the Danube. Nor only to those missionaries and ambassadors, or to the crowned kings who bore their own homage to the footstool of the Great Khan, was the way thus thrown open; the circulation of the tide extended far lower, and the accidents of war, commerce, and opportunity carried a great variety of persons in various classes of European life to remote regions of Asia.

96. "'Tis worthy of the grateful remembrance of all Christian people," says Ricold of Montecroce, "that just at the time when God sent forth into the eastern parts of the world the Tartars to slay and to be slain, He also sent forth in the west his faithful and blessed servants Dominic and Francis, to enlighten, instruct, and build up in the Faith." Whatever we may think on the whole of the world's obligations to Dominic, it is to the friars, but more especially indeed to the Franciscans, that we owe much interesting information about the Tartars and Cathay. Thus, besides the many wanderers dumb to posterity who found their way to the Great Khan's camp in the depths

of Mongolia, there went also John of Plano Carpini, and William [of Rubruck or] Ruysbroek or Rubruquis, both Franciscan monks of superior intelligence, who have left behind them narratives of what they saw and learned. And these were the first, so far as I know, to bring to Western Europe the revived knowledge of a great and civilised nation lying in the extreme east upon the shores of the ocean. To this kingdom they give the name, now first heard in Europe, of CATHAY

JOHN OF PLANO CARPINI, deriving his name from a place in the territory of Perugia[1], and an immediate disciple of the founder of his order, was the head of one of the missions dispatched by Pope Innocent to call the chief and people of the Tartars to a better mind. He set out from Lyons on the 16th of April 1245, accompanied by Friar Stephen, a Bohemian, who speedily broke down and had to be left behind, was joined at Breslau by Friar Benedict, the Pole, who was intended to act as interpreter, and in February 1246 reached the head-quarters of Batu on the Volga. After some stay here, they were sent on to the camp of the Great Khan near Karakorum, (a fatiguing journey of three months and a half, which must have sorely tried an elderly and corpulent man like Friar John), arriving on the 22nd July. We shall not go into any further details on the mission or narrative of Plano Carpini which has been so ably reviewed and edited by M. D'Avezac[2],

[1] ["The editors of the *Analecta Franciscana* (iii, 266) remark that it would be more correct to write his Latin names *Plano Carpinis* or *de Carpine*, Planum Carpinis or Planum Carpi being the Latin form of the Italian Pian di Carpina, the modern Pian la Magione or Magione, about fourteen miles from Perugia." Rockhill, p. xxii, *n.*]

[2] See that able and admirable essay "Notice sur les Anciens Voyageurs en Tartarie en général, et sur celui de Jean du Plan de Carpin en particulier," *Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires*, IV, 399.

[The best editions are: *The Journey of William of Rubruck to the Eastern Parts of the World, 1253-5, as narrated by himself, with two accounts of the earlier journey of John of Pian de Carpine*,

but be content to say that he obtained his dismissal from Kuyuk Khan on the 13th November, with a brief and haughty reply to the Pope's address, and returned safely, reporting his mission to the Pope apparently some time in the autumn of 1247[1].

97. After mentioning the wars of Chinghiz against the Cathayans (*Kitai*), he goes on to speak of that people as follows:

"But one part of the country of the Cathayans which lies upon the sea-shore has not been conquered by the Tartars to this day. Now these Cathayans of whom we have been speaking are heathen men, and have a written character of their own. Moreover 'tis said they have an Old and New Testament and Lives of the Fathers, and religious recluses, and buildings which are used for churches as it were, in which they pray at their own times: and they say that they have also some saints of their own. They worship the one God, honour the Lord Jesus Christ, and believe in eternal life, but are entirely without baptism. They pay honour and reverence to our Scriptures, are well disposed towards Christians, and do many alms deeds. They seem indeed to be kindly and polished folks enough. They have no beard, and in character of countenance have a considerable resemblance to the Mongols, but are not so broad in the face. They have a language of their own. Their betters as craftsmen in every art practised by man are not to be found in the whole world. Their country is

Translated from the Latin, and Edited, with an Introductory Notice, by William Woodville Rockhill...London, Hakluyt Society, M.DCCCC.—*The Texts and Versions of John de Plano Carpini and William de Rubruquis as printed for the first time by Hakluyt in* 1598 *together with some shorter pieces. Edited by* C. Raymond Beazley, London, Hakluyt Society, 1903. See also: G. Pullé.—*Historia Mongalorum. Viaggio di F. Giovanni da Pian del Carpine ai Tartari nel* 1245–7. Firenze, 1913, 8vo.]

[1] The last date is that of his arrival at Kiev a fortnight before St. John Baptist's day (*i.e.*, 9th June 1247).

very rich in corn, in wine, gold, silver, silk, and in every kind of produce that tends to the support of mankind."

98. William of RUBRUQUIS, a Fleming [from Ruysbroek, in French Flanders], was sent by St. Lewis on a mission to the Tartar chiefs, the object of which is not to be very clearly gathered. It was suggested, however, by the report that Sartach, the son of Batu, who was in command near the Don, was a Christian, and probably partook of the character of a religious as well as a political reconnaissance. The friar, though carrying letters from the king, was evidently under orders to deny all pretension to the character of an envoy, and to put forward his duty as a preacher of the Gospel as the motive of his journey. His narrative is a remarkably interesting one, showing that the author had a great deal of sagacity and observation; and his remarks, in reference to language in particular, show much acumen. There are difficulties in connexion with the indications of his route across Tartary, which it would be interesting to discuss, but scarcely appropriate here[1]. Suffice it, therefore, to say, that he entered the Black Sea on the 7th May, 1253, and after visiting successively Sartach, Batu, and the court of the Great Khan Mangu near Kara Korum, got back to Antioch about the end of June 1255.

99. After describing several of the nations of Further Asia, he says: "Further on is Great Cathay which I take to be the country which was anciently called the Land of the Seres. For the best silk stuffs are still got from them, and the people themselves call such stuffs *Seric*[2]; the

[1] Some remarks on the subject will, however, be found at the end of Supp. Note XVII.

[See RUBRUQUIS, by Sir H. Yule, *Encycl. Britannica*, xxi, pp. 46–7.–*Über Rubruk's Reise von* 1253–5...*von* Franz Max Schmidt, Berlin, 1885. (*Zeit. Ges. Erdk.*, xx.)]

[2] This is probably a reference to the Mongol word *Sirkek* (*supra*, p. 20), and Rubruquis thus anticipated Klaproth in tracing an

nation getting the name of Seres from a certain town of theirs. I was really given to understand that there is a town in that country which has silver walls and golden battlements[1]. The land in question is divided into many provinces, several of which have not yet been subdued by the Mongols, and the sea lies between it and India. Those Cathayans are little fellows, speaking much through the nose, and as is general with all those eastern people their eyes are very narrow. They are first-rate artists in every kind of craft, and their physicians have a thorough knowledge of the virtues of herbs, and an admirable skill in diagnosis by the pulse[2]. But they don't examine the urine or know anything on that subject; this I know from my own observation. There are a great many of these people at Karakorum: and it has always been their custom that all the sons must follow their father's craft whatever it be. Hence it is that they are obliged to pay so heavy a tribute; for they pay the Mongols daily 1500 *iascot* or *cosmi*[3]; the *iascot* is a piece of silver weighing ten marks, so that the daily sum amounts to 15,000 marks without counting the silk stuffs and food in kind which is taken from them, and the other services which they are obliged

eastern etymology of the term SERICA. I do not know what town he can allude to, but see the *Siurhia* of Moses the Armenian, and the *Saragh* of the Si-ngan fu inscription (*supra*, pp. 93, 108, 110).

[1] Martini alludes to a popular Chinese saying about the golden walls of Si-ngan fu (*Atlas Sinensis*). And these passages are remarkable with reference to the remark of Ptolemy about the metropolis *Thinæ*, that there was no truth in the stories of its brazen walls.

[2] Martini speaks of the great skill of the physicians in diagnosis by the pulse, and Duhalde is very prolix on that matter.

[A number of Chinese treatises has been written on the Art of feeling the Pulse.—See H. Cordier's *Bib. Sinica*, col. 1470–3.]

[3] I do not know what the word *iascot* is; but *cosmi* is possibly intended for the same word as the *sommi* of Pegolotti (*infra*, III, p. 148), though the value here assigned would be about ten times that of the *sommo*, taking the mark as ⅔ of a pound. [See Rockhill's *Rubruck*, pp. 156–7 *n.*]

to render[1]. . . . And in answer to my inquiries of the priests who came from Cathay I was told that from the place where I found Mangu-Chan to Cathay was twenty days journey going south-east. . . . One day there sat with me a certain priest from Cathay clothed in a crimson stuff of a splendid colour[2], so I asked him whence that colour was got. In reply he told me that in the eastern parts of Cathay there are lofty rocks inhabited by certain creatures which have the human form in every respect except that they can't bend their knees, but get along by some kind of a jumping motion. They are only a cubit high, and are hairy all over, and dwell in inaccessible holes in the rock. So the huntsmen bring beer with them, which they know how to brew very strong, and make holes in the rocks like cups which they fill with beer. (For they have no wine in Cathay, but make their drink of rice, though now they are beginning to plant vines[3].) So the huntsmen hide themselves, and then the creatures come out of their holes and taste the drink that has been set for them and call out 'Chin chin!' and from this call they get their name: for they are called *Chinchin*. Then they gather in great numbers and drink up the beer and get tipsy and fall asleep. So the huntsmen come and catch them sleeping and bind them hand and foot, and open a vein in the neck of the creatures, and after taking three or four drops of blood let them go. And 'tis that blood, he told me, that

[1] Pp. 291–2.

[2] [Rockhill remarks, *l.c.*, p. 199 *n.*: "This priest must have been a Tibetan lama who had visited China. Chinese priests (whether Buddhist or Taoist) have never worn red gowns, and Friar William has told us that all the *Tuin* among the Mongols dressed in yellow."]

[3] [Rockhill remarks, *l.c.*, p. 199 *n.*: "Though the Chinese have never made wine from the grape, the vine has been cultivated in China since the second century B.C., when it was brought there from Turkestan by the great traveller, Chang-k'ien."]

gives this most precious purple dye[1]. And they also used to tell as a fact, though I don't believe a word of it, that there is a certain province on the other side of Cathay, and whatever a man's age be when he enters that province he never gets any older. Cathay lies on the Ocean.... The common money of Cathay consists of pieces of cotton paper about a palm in length and breadth, upon which certain lines are printed resembling the seal of Mangu Chan. They do their writing with a brush such as painters paint with, and a single character of theirs comprehends several letters so as to form a whole word[2]."

100. Another traveller, of whose journey some account has come down to us, visited the Court of Mangu Khan immediately after Rubruquis. This was Hethum or HAYTON I, King of Little Armenia, [residing in the city of Sis, in Cilicia] who at an early date saw the irresistible power of the Tartars and made terms with them; *i.e.*, acknowledged himself the Khan's vassal. On the accession of Kuyuk Khan (1246) the king sent his brother Sempad or Sinibald, Constable of Armenia, to secure the continuance

[1] This is a genuine Chinese story.

["The story here told is found in a Chinese work, entitled, *Chu ch'uan* or *Records of Notes* by Wang-kang of T'ai-yuan, in Chu, but I have been unable to ascertain the date at which it was written.... The other details of Friar William's story are supplied by another Chinese work, entitled *Hua-yang kuo chih*, or 'Topographical description of the state of Hua-yang.' Hua-yang included part of the present province of Ssŭ-ch'uan. This work says: 'The *hsing-hsing* is found in the Shan (*Ai-lao*) country, in the province of Yung-chan. It can speak. A red dye can be made with its blood.' The above quotations are taken from Ma Tuan-lin, bk. 329,8." (Rockhill, *l.c.*, p. 200 *n.*) Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 154, with regard to the story of Rubruck, writes: "And it is equally remarkable to find the same story related with singular closeness of correspondence out of 'the Chinese books of geography' by Francesco Carletti, 350 years later (in 1600). He calls the creatures *Zinzin* (*Ragionamenti di F. C.*, pp. 138–9)."]

[2] Pp. 327–329. Neither Marco Polo, nor, I believe, any other traveller previous to the sixteenth century, had the acumen to discern the great characteristic of the Chinese writing as Rubruquis has done here.

of good understanding. This prince was four years absent and we possess a letter from him written on the journey in which some allusions are made to Tangut and Cathay, with reference to the general delusion as to the Christianity of those countries[1].

[1] The letter is addressed to the King and Queen of Cyprus and others at their court, and was written apparently from Samarkand (printed *Saurequant*, probably for *Samrequant*). Here is an extract: "We understand it to be the fact that it is five years past since the death of the present Chan's father [Okkodai]; but the Tartar barons and soldiers had been so scattered over the face of the earth that it was scarcely possible in the five years to get them together in one place to enthrone the Chan aforesaid. For some of them were in India, and others in the land of CHATA, and others in the land of CASCHAR and of TANCHAT. This last is the land from which came the Three Kings to Bethlem to worship the Lord Jesus which was born. And know that the power of Christ has been, and is, so great, that the people of that land are Christians; and the whole land of Chata believes in those Three Kings. I have myself been in their churches and have seen pictures of Jesus Christ and the Three Kings, one offering gold, the second frankincense, and the third myrrh. And it is through those Three Kings that they believe in Christ, and that the Chan and his people have now become Christians. And they have their churches before his gates where they ring their bells and beat upon pieces of timber. .....And I tell you that we have found many Christians scattered all over the East, and many fine churches, lofty, ancient, and of good architecture, which have been spoiled by the Turks. Hence the Christians of the land came before the present Khan's grandfather; and he received them most honourably, and granted them liberty of worship, and issued orders to forbid their having any just cause of complaint by word or deed. And so the Saracens who used to treat them with contumely have now like treatment in double measure.....And let me tell you that those who set up for preachers (among these Christians), in my opinion, deserve to be well chastised. Let me tell you, moreover, that in the land of India, which St. Thomas the Apostle converted, there is a certain Christian king who stood in sore tribulation among the other kings who were Saracens. They used to harass him on every side, until the Tartars reached that country, and he became their liegeman. Then, with his own army and that of the Tartars, he attacked the Saracens; and he made such booty in India that the whole East is full of Indian slaves; I have seen more than 50,000 whom this king took and sent for sale" (Mosheim, App., p. 49).

[I have given in the Supplementary Notes the full text of this letter from the old French translation in the *Vie de Saint Louis par Guillaume de Nangis*, pp. 361–3 of vol. xx of the *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, 1840.]

The motive in the letter is perhaps the justification of his brother Hayton for having, like this questionable Indian king, become the Tartar's liegeman. The writer [died aged 68, at Sis, in 1276, from a wound to his foot received during his pursuit of

Hayton himself went to the court of Mangu Khan soon after the latter's accession, to assure his position with that potentate, and to obtain certain advantages for himself and his states. He set out apparently in the beginning of 1254, first visiting Bachu Noian, the general of the Tartar army at Kars, and then passing through Armenia Proper and by the Pass of Derbend to the Volga, where he saw Batu and his son Sartach, whom this narrative alleges to have been a Christian, in opposition to Rubruquis, who says such stories were all nonsense[1]. The chiefs received Hayton well, and sent him on to Kara Korum by a route far to the north of that followed by Plano Carpini and Rubruquis. Leaving the court of Batu on the 13th May, the party arrived at the royal camp before the 13th September; they saw the Great Khan in state on the 14th and offered their gifts. King Hayton was treated with honour and hospitality, and on the 1st November set out on his homeward journey, passing by Bishbaliq, [Almaliq, Ili baliq] and through the modern Dzungaria to Otrar, Samarkand, and Bokhara; thence through Khorasan and Mazanderan to Tabriz, and so to his own territories [where he arrived at the end of July 1255].

King Hayton related many wonderful things that he had seen and heard of the nations of barbarians, and among others of the *Ghotaians* or Cathayans. In their country there were many idolaters who worshipped a clay image called *Shakemonia*. This personage had been

the Turkmen who had invaded Cilicia near Marasch. See *Historiens des Croisades,—Documents Arméniens*, i, 1869, p. 606.]

[1] See III, p. 19: "When Friar William was leaving the camp of Sartach, one of the Tartar officers said to him: "Don't you be saying that our master is a Christian; he is no Christian, but a Mongol!" (p. 107). Just as Sir Walter Scott tells somewhere of a belated southron traveller in the old days, who, seeking vainly for shelter in some town on the border, exclaimed in despair: "Would no good Christian take him in?" To which an old woman who heard him, made answer: "Christian? Na, na! we're a' Jardines and Johnstones here."

Deity for the last 3040 years, and had still to rule the World for 35 tumans or 350,000 years, when he was to be deprived of his divinity. They had also another god (who should then reign?) called *Madri*, of whom they had made a clay image of incredible size. In these statements we have a rough indication of Buddhism with its last Buddha or deified sage, SAKYA-MUNI, and its coming Buddha, Maitreya or MAIDARI, awaiting his time in the development of the ages. The king heard, too, of a people beyond Cathay whose women had the use of reason *like men*, whilst the males were great hairy dogs, a story which Plano Carpini had also heard, and which Klaproth has found in the Chinese books of the period[1]. The information regarding Cathay and other countries of the far East, contained in the history written half a century later by the king's namesake and relative, Hayton the Younger, was also probably derived in part from the former and his companions

101. We do not mean here to enter into any details regarding that illustrious Venetian family whose travels occupy a large space in the interval between the journeys of Rubruquis and King Hayton and the end of the thir-

[1] See *Pl. Carpini*, pp. 12, 36. King Hayton, in his later years, abdicated and became a monk; as did at a later date his son Hayton II, and again, their kinsman, Hayton the historian.

[The account of Hethum's journey was originally written in Armenian by Kirakos Gandsaketsi who belonged to the suite of the King. It has been translated into Russian by Argutinsky and from Russian by Klaproth. (*Nouv. Journ. Asiatique*, 2 Sér., xii, pp. 273 *seq.*) In 1870, it was again translated into French by Brosset (*Mém. Acad. des Sciences St. Pétersb.*, July 1870) and into Russian by K. P. Patkanov in 1874. See H. Cordier's *Bib. Sinica*, col. 1998–9.—An English translation was given in 1876 by E. Bretschneider. (*Journ. North China B. As. Soc.*, x, 1876, pp. 297 *seq.*; reprint. in *Mediaeval Researches*, i, 1883, pp. 164 *seq.*) It is interesting to note that "it seems to be the only instance that any mediaeval author mentions a city of this name [Ili baliq]. The city was evidently situated on the Ili river, perhaps near the place where now the post-road from Kuldja to Tashkend crosses the river. There is on the left the borough *Ilishove*." (Bretschneider, *Med. Res.*, II, p. 44.)]

teenth century, those travels which more than all other narratives together familiarised Europe with the name and wonders of Cathay. Indeed, all other travellers to that region are but stars of a low magnitude beside the full orb of MARCO POLO. There was a time when he fell into discredit[1]; but that is long past, and his veracity and justness of observation still shine brighter under every recovery of lost or forgotten knowledge. Nearly fifty years ago a Quarterly Reviewer received with disparaging anticipations the announcement of a new Italian edition of Polo[2], as if deeming that little could be added in illustration of the Traveller to what Marsden had effected. Much as Marsden really did in his splendid edition, it would be no exaggeration to say that the light thrown on Marco's narrative has since that day been more than doubled from the stores of Chinese, Mongol, and Persian history which have been rendered accessible to European readers, or brought directly to bear on the elucidation of the Traveller, by Klaproth, Rémusat, Quatremère, and many other scholars, chiefly Frenchmen. And within the last year Paris has sent out an edition of the Traveller, by M. Pauthier, which leaves far behind everything previously attempted, concentrating in the notes not only many of the best suggestions of previous commentators, but a vast mass of entirely new matter from the editor's own Chinese studies[3].

[1] The editors of the *Histoire Générale des Voyages* (I am afraid this is a translation from the English) express doubts whether Polo ever was really in China or Tartary, because he says nothing of the great Wall, of tea, of the compressed feet of the ladies, etc. (Baldelli Boni, *Il Milione*, p. lxxv). [See *Marco Polo*, i, p. 202 *n.*]

[2] Baldelli Boni's: see that work, i, p. civ. Perhaps, however, the terms quoted may refer only to the improbability of fresh light from Italian archives.

[3] [We need not remind the reader that Yule's *Book of Ser Marco Polo* had not yet been published; the first edition appeared in 1871, the second in 1875, and the third revised by the present writer, in 1903.]

102. During a period including the last thirty years of the thirteenth century and the first few years of the fourteenth many diplomatic communications took place between the Mongol Khans of Persia and the sovereigns of Christendom; and in these we find a tone on the part of the Tartar princes very different from the curt insolence of the previous age. They no longer held the same domineering supremacy, and their great object now was to obtain Christian alliances against their bitter rivals, the Sultans of Egypt. These communications do not, however, bear upon our subject, except in one curious incidental aspect. The Khans of Persia, as liegemen of the Great Khan, still received from him their seals of state, and two of their letters preserved in the French archives exhibit the impressions of these seals bearing inscriptions in ancient Chinese characters, in the case of the earlier letter perhaps the first specimens of such characters that reached Europe[1].

[1] See Rémusat's Memoir in *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript.*, vii, 367, 391, etc. The earlier letter is from Arghún Khan, and is dated 1289. It is written in Uighûr characters in the Mongol language on a roll of cotton paper six feet and a half long by ten inches wide. The seal is thrice impressed on the face of the letter in red. It is five inches and a half square, containing six characters; "Seal of the Minister of State, Pacificator of Nations." The second letter is from Khodabandah, otherwise called Oljaitu, and written in May, 1305. The seal in this case contains the words, "By a supreme decree the Seal of the Descendant of the Emperor charged to reduce to obedience the 10,000 barbarous nations." A duplicate of this perhaps went to Edward II, as his reply, dated Northampton, 16th October, 1307, is in Rymer's *Fœdera* (Rémusat, *u.s.*)

[These two documents addressed to the King of France, Philip the Fair, are kept in the National Archives in Paris; a facsimile has been given of both in Pl. xiv of *Documents de l'époque mongole*, edited by Prince Roland Bonaparte.]

[It is quite possible that a first embassy was sent to Honorius IV by Arghún in the first year of his reign (1285), according to a letter sent by this prince to the Pope in the month of May of the first year of his reign. (See *Annales Ecclesiat.*, 1285, p. 619. Chabot, *Mar Jabalaha*, pp. 188 *seq.*) Then the second embassy would be Bar Cauma's (1287–8; see *supra*, p. 120). The answer of Nicholas IV to Jabalaha is printed by Chabot, *l.c.*, pp. 195 *seq.*,

This peculiar relation, which the Mongol conquests produced between China and Western Asia, not only introduced strangers from the remote West to China and its borders, but also carried Chinese to vast distances from the Middle Kingdom. Not only were corps of Alans and Kipchaks seen fighting in Tong King, but Chinese engineers were employed on the banks of the Tigris, and Chinese astronomers, physicians, and theologians could be consulted at Tabriz[1]. The missions of Kúblái himself extended to Madagascar.

103. There must have been other Frank travellers to Cathay contemporary with the Polos. such as the German engineer, whom Marco mentions as employed under his father, his uncle, and himself, in the construction of mechanical artillery to aid Kúblái Khán in his attack on the city of Saianfu or Siang yang fu in Hu kwang, but no other narrative from the time of their sojourn in China has come down to us[2].

as well as his letters to Arghún, pp. 200 *seq.* A third embassy was sent by Arghún (1289–90) with the Genoese Christian Buscarel at its head; the original letter which he took to Philip the Fair, king of France, is in the Archives Nationales in Paris; it is written in Uighúr character, and a facsimile of it has been given in the *Documents mongols* edited by Prince Roland Bonaparte; he also visited Edward I, King of England; he arrived in London on the 5th January, 1290; see *Unpublished Notices of the times of Edward I, especially of his relations with the Moghul Sovereigns of Persia*, by T. Hudson Turner. (*Archæological Journal*, viii, 1851, pp. 45–51.) A fourth embassy was sent to Rome by Arghún (1290–1) with Chagan or Zagan as its chief. (See Chabot, pp. 235 *seq.*)]

[1] See *Polo*, iii, 35; D'Ohsson, ii, 611; iii, 265; Quatremère's *Rashid*, pp. 195, 417; and Rashid's own grandiloquence, p. 39. Marco Polo's will bequeaths liberty and a legacy to a Tartar servant, thirty years after his return home.

["Also I release PETER the Tartar, my servant, from all bondage, as completely as I pray God to release mine own soul from all sin and guilt. And I also remit him whatever he may have gained by work at his own house; and over and above I bequeath him 100 *lire* of Venice denari." (*Marco Polo*, i, p. 72.)]

[2] [Cf. *Marco Polo*, ii, pp. 158–169.]

[*Marco Polo*, ii, p. 159, says: "The Khan bade them with all his heart have such mangonels made as speedily as possible.

An interesting chapter on Cathay is found in the geographical part of the work of Hayton, Prince of Gorigos, already alluded to. This prince, after long experience of eastern war and politics, [was exiled from Little Armenia in 1305, went to Cyprus and became, at the abbey of Lapaïs, in Cyprus, a monk of the Order of Praemonstrants. He arrived in France probably at the end of 1306, and by order of Clement V he dictated his history in French in August 1307 in the city of Poitiers to Nicholas Faulcon of Toul, who translated it afterwards into Latin[1]]. It contains in sixty chapters a geography of Asia, the history of the Mongol Khans, and notices of the Holy Land and the Eastern Christians.

The first fifteen chapters contain short successive accounts of the chief kingdoms of Asia, and form altogether probably the best geographical summary of that continent which had yet been compiled. In the Supplementary

Now Messer Nicolo and his brother and his son immediately caused timber to be brought, as much as they desired, and fit for the work in hand. And they had two men among their followers, a German and a Nestorian Christian, who were masters of that business and these they directed to construct two or three mangonels capable of casting stones of 300 lbs. weight." Yule says rightly, *l.c.*, p. 167, "this chapter is one of the most perplexing in the whole book, owing to the chronological difficulties involved." The siege of Siang yang was undertaken in the latter part of 1268, and it fell with Fan ch'eng only in March of 1273. Marco Polo had not yet arrived in China. Cf. *Marco Polo*, ii, pp. 167–9.]

[1] [The history ends thus, in French: "Lequel livre je, Nicole Falcon de Toul, escris primierement en françois, si come le dit freire Hayton me disoit de sa bouche, sanz note ne exemplaire, e de romanz le translatei en latin. Et celui livre ont nostre signor le Pape, en l'an Nostre Seignor MCCCVII, en mois d'aost. *Deo gracias. Amen.*"]

[In Latin: Explicit liber Hystoriarum parcium Orientis, a religioso viro fratre Haytono, ordinis Beati Augustini, domino Churchi, consanguineo regis Armenie, compilatus, ex mandato summi pontificis domini Clementis pape quinti, in civitate Pictavensi, regni Franchie, quem ego, Nicolaus Falconi, primo scripsi in galico ydiomate, sicut idem frater H. michi ore suo ditabat, absque nota sive aliquo exemplari, et de galico transtuli in latinum, anno Domini M° IIIc septimo, mense augusti. Deo dicamus gratias."]

Notes to this Essay will be found the chapter on Cathay [with the French and Latin texts[1]].

[Hayton arrived at Cyprus on the 6th May, 1308, with a letter of the Pope to the Prince of Tyre concerning the Templars. He then returned to his native land, was appointed constable, and died probably after 1314 in Armenia, not at Poitiers.]

104. Just as the three Poli were reaching their native city, the forerunner of a new band of travellers was entering Southern China. This was JOHN OF MONTE CORVINO, a Franciscan monk, who, already nearly fifty years of age, was plunging alone into that great ocean of Paganism, and of what he deemed little better, Nestorianism, to preach the Gospel. After years of uphill work and solitary labour others joined him; the Papal See woke up to what was going on; it made him Archbishop in Khanbaliq or Peking, with patriarchal authority, and sent him spasmodically batches of suffragan bishops and friars of his order; the Roman Church spread; churches and Minorite Houses were established at Khanbaliq; at Zaytún or Chin chau, at Yang chau and elsewhere; and the missions flourished under the immediate patronage of the Great Khan himself. Among the friars whose duty carried them to Cathay during the interval between the beginning of the century and the year 1328, when Archbishop John was followed to the grave by mourning multitudes, Pagan as well as Christian, several have left letters or more extended accounts of their experiences in Cathay. Among these may be mentioned ANDREW OF PERUGIA, Bishop of Zaytún; JOHN DE CORA, Archbishop of Sultania (though it is not quite certain that his account was derived from personal knowledge), and above all FRIAR ODORIC OF PORDENONE. A short though interesting notice of China belonging to

[1] See Note XIV.

this period, but derived from the information of others, is also contained in the *Mirabilia* of FRIAR JORDANUS[1].

The only ecclesiastical narrative subsequent to the time of Archbishop John is that contained in the reminiscences of JOHN MARIGNOLLI, who spent four years at the court of Peking (1342–6) as Legate from the Pope.

105. But the Exchange had its emissaries at this time as well as the Church. The record is a very fragmentary and imperfect one, but many circumstances and incidental notices show how frequently the far East was reached by European traders in the first half of the fourteenth century; a state of things which it is very difficult to realise, when we see how all those regions, when reopened only two centuries later, seemed almost as absolutely new discoveries as the empires which about the same time Cortes and Pizarro were annexing in the West.

This frequency of commercial intercourse, at least with China, probably did not commence till some years after the beginning of the fourteenth century. For Montecorvino, writing in 1305, says it was then twelve years since he had heard any news of the Court of Rome or European politics, the only western stranger who had arrived in that time being a certain Lombard chirurgeon who had spread awful blasphemies about the Pope. Yet, even on his first entrance into Cathay, Friar John had been accompanied [from Tabriz] by one Master Peter of Lucalongo, whom he describes as a faithful Christian man and a great merchant [at whose expense ground was purchased at Khanbaliq to build a Christian Church]. The letter of Andrew, Bishop of Zaytun, lately referred to, quotes

[1] The journey of Ricold of Montecroce, one of the most learned of the monk travellers of the age (d. 1309), did not apparently extend beyond Baghdad. He mentions Cathay only once in noticing the conquests of Chinghiz. (*Pereg. Quat.*, 120.)

the opinion of the Genoese merchants of his acquaintance at that great seaport touching a question of exchanges. Marino Sanuto, the Venetian, writing about 1306 to propound a great scheme for the subversion of the Mahomedan power, alludes to the many merchants who had already gone to India to make their purchases and come back safely. About 1322 Friar Jordanus, the Dominican, when in sore trouble at Tana near Bombay, where four of his brethren had been murdered by the Mahomedans, falls in with a young Genoese who gives him aid; and in one of his letters from Gujarat, he speaks of information received from "Latin merchants." In the stories connected with the same martyred friars, we find mention of a merchant of Pisa owning a ship in the Indian seas. Mandeville, too, speaks of the merchants of Venice and Genoa coming habitually to Hormuz to buy goods[1]. Odoric, dictating his travels in 1330, refers for confirmation of the wonders related of the great city of Cansay or Hang chau, to the many persons whom he had met at Venice since his return, who had themselves been witnesses of all that he asserted. A few years later (1339) we find William of Modena, a merchant, dying for the Faith with certain friars at Almaliq on the banks of the Ili. John Marignolli mentions that when he was in Malabar about 1347–8, his interpreter was a youth who had been rescued from pirates in the Indian seas by a merchant of Genoa. And from the same authority we find that there was a *fondaco* or factory, and warehouse for the use of the Christian merchants, attached to one of the Franciscan convents at Zaytún.

106. But the most distinct and notable evidence of the importance and frequency of the European trade from

[1] [We need only refer the reader to our note, pp. 598–605 of *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, Vol. ii, with regard to the value or rather lack of value of the Travels written by the so-called Mandeville.]

Cathay, of which silk and silk goods were the staple, is to be found in the work of F. BALDUCCI PEGOLOTTI, of which an account and extracts are given in the present collection. That the ventures on this trade were not insignificant is plain from the example taken by the author to illustrate the question of expenses on the journey to Cathay, which is that of a merchant carrying goods to the amount of some £12,000[1].

107. To the same period of the Mongol domination and active commerce with the west, belongs the voyage, about 1347, of the Moor, IBN BATUTA, to China, which forms a part of this work.

But, as regards Christian intercourse, missions and merchants alike disappear from the field soon after the middle of the fourteenth century, as the Mongol dynasty totters and comes down. We hear, indeed, once and again of friars and bishops despatched from Avignon; but they go forth into the darkness and are heard of no more. For the new rulers of China revert to the old indigenous policy and hold foreigners at arm's length; whilst Islam has recovered its ground and extended its grasp over Middle Asia, and the Nestorian Christianity which once prevailed there is rapidly vanishing and leaving its traces only in some strange parodies of church ritual which are found twined into the worship of the Tibetan Lamas, like the cabin gildings and mirrors of a wrecked vessel adorning the hut of a Polynesian chief. A dark mist has descended upon the farther east, covering MANGI and CATHAY with those cities of which the old travellers told such wonders, CAMBALEC and CANSAY and ZAYTŪN and CHINKALAN.

[1] [The following work has come to hand since Vol. III of *Cathay* was printed; *Der Mittelalterliche Welthandel von Florenz in seiner Geographischen Ausdehnung* (*nach der* Pratica della Mercatura *des* Balducci Pegolotti) *von* Dr. Eduard Friedmann. (*Abh. K. K. Geog. Ges. in Wien*, X Bd., 1912.)]

And when the veil rises before the Portuguese and Spanish explorers a century and a half later, those names are heard of no more. In their stead we have CHINA and PEKING, HANG CHAU and CHIN CHAU and CANTON. Not only are the old names forgotten, but the fact that those places had been known before, is utterly forgotten also. Gradually Jesuit missionaries went forth again from Rome. New converts were made and new vicariats constituted; but the old Franciscan churches and the Nestorianism with which they had battled had been alike swallowed up in the ocean of Paganism. In time, as we have seen, slight traces of the former existence of Christian churches came to the surface, and when Marco Polo was recalled to mind, one and another began to suspect that China and Cathay were one.

IX. CATHAY PASSING INTO CHINA.—CONCLUSION.

108. But we have been going too fast over the ground, and we must return to that dark interval of which we have spoken, between the fall of the Yuen dynasty and the first appearance of the Portuguese in the Bocca Tigris. The *name* of Cathay was not forgotten; the poets and romancers kept it in memory[1], and the geographers gave it a prominent place on their maps. But this was not all; some flickering gleams of light came now and then from behind the veil that now hung over Eastern Asia. Such are the cursory notices of Cathay which reached Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo on his embassy to the court of

[1] E.g., the story of Mithridanes and Nathan in Boccaccio is laid in Cathay. And in the *Orlando Innamorato* the father of Angelica is King Galafron:

"Il qual nell' India estrema signoreggia
Una gran terra ch' ha nome il CATTAJO." x, 18.

Timur at Samarkand (A.D. 1403–5)[1], and John Schiltberger the Bavarian who served for many years in the armies of Bajazet and Timur, and returned to his native land in 1427[2].

109. More detail is found in the narrative of Nicolo Conti, as taken down in Latin by Poggio Bracciolini about 1440, of which a version has been given in *India in the*

[1] Clavijo speaks of an ambassador whom the Lord of Cathay had sent to Timur Beg, to demand the yearly tribute which was formerly paid. When Timur saw the Spaniards seated below this Cathayan ambassador, he sent orders that they should sit above him; those who came from the King of Spain, his son and friend, were not to sit below the envoy of a thief and scoundrel who was Timur's enemy. Timur was at this time meditating the expedition against China, in entering on which he died at Otrar (17th Feb. 1405).

The Emperor of Cathay, Clavijo tells us, was called *Chuyscan*, which means "Nine Empires." But the Zagatays (Timur's people) called him Tangus, which means *Pig Emperor* (*supra*, p. 33). The best of all merchandise coming to Samarkand was from China (it is not quite clear whether Clavijo understands Cathay and China to be the same); especially silk, satins, musk, rubies, diamonds, pearls, and rhubarb. The Chinese were said to be the most skilful workmen in the world. They said themselves that they had two eyes, the Franks one, and the Moors (Mahomedans) none (an expression which we find repeatedly quoted by different authors). Cambalu, the chief city of Cathay, was six months from Samarkand, two of which were over steppes. In the year of the embassy 800 laden camels came from Cambalu to Samarkand. The people with them related that the city was near the sea and twenty times as big as Tabriz. Now Tabriz is a good league in length, so Cambalu must be twenty leagues in length (bad geometry Don Ruy!). The emperor used to be a Pagan but was converted to Christianity. (Markham's *Trans.*, pp. 133 *seq.*, 171, 173 *seq.*)

[2] Schiltberger seems to have been at Samarkand at the same time with Clavijo. All that he says of China is with reference to the embassy spoken of by the latter, and Timur's scheme of invasion: "Now at this time had the Great Chan, the King of CHETEY, sent an envoy to Thämerlin with four hundred horses, and demanded tribute of him, seeing that he had neglected to pay it and kept it back for five years past. So Thämerlin took the envoy with him to his capital aforesaid. Then sent he the envoy away and bid him tell his master he would be no tributary nor vassal of his, nay he trusted to make the emperor *his* tributary and vassal. And he would come to him in person. And then he sent off despatches throughout his dominions to make ready, for he would march against Cetey. And so when he had gathered 1,800,000 men he marched for a whole month," etc. (*Reisen des Johannes Schiltberger*, etc., München, 1859, p. 81).

Fifteenth Century. The narrative does not distinctly assert that Nicolo himself had been in Cathay[1]; but I think there is internal evidence that he must have been. He briefly notices Cambalec (CAMBALESCHIA) and another city of great size which had been established by the emperor, to which he gives the name of NEMPTAI, and which was the most populous of all[2]. He speaks of the great wealth of the country and of the politeness and civilisation of the people, as quite on a par with those of Italy. Their merchants were immensely wealthy, and had great ships much larger than those of Europe, with triple sides and divided into water-tight compartments for security. "Us," he says, "they call Franks, and say that whilst other nations are blind, we see with one eye, whilst they are the only people who see with both." Alone of all eastern nations they use tables at dinner, and silver

[1] [I do not believe that Conti actually visited China. Had he done so, he would not have used the obsolete geographical words of Marco Polo's nomenclature, *i.e.* words used by foreigners, but the real Chinese names of places, as the Portuguese did when they arrived in China in the first half of the XVIth century.]

[2] I suppose this to be Nan King. The "ab imperatore condita" appears to imply recent construction or reconstruction, which would justly apply to Nan King, established as the capital of the Ming dynasty at the time the Mongols were expelled (1367–8). Indeed Ramusio's Italian version of Conti has "*la quale da poco tempo in qua è stata fatta di novo di questo rè.*" Thirty miles, the circuit ascribed by Conti to Nemptai, though above the truth, is less than more recent travellers have named (see p. 205 *infra*). I am not able to explain the name, though I have little doubt that it was a Mongol appellation of Nan King, perhaps connected with *Ingtien*, a name given to that city by the Ming when they made it their capital (*Martini*), and that it is the same which occurs in Sharifuddín's life of Timur, where it is mentioned that from *Tetcaul* (qu. Karaúl of Shah Rukh's ambassadors? *infra*), the fortified gate of the Great Wall on the Shen si frontier, it was fifty-one days' journey to KENJANFU (i.e., Si-ngan fu, *vide infra*, p. 246), and from that city forty days alike to Canbalec and NEMNAI. The reading should probably be *Nemtai* as in Conti. One dot missing makes the difference (Pétis de la Croix, iii, 218). [The city meant is possibly Nan King, not Hang chau, as suggested in a note of Poggio's ed. and of Winter Jones' translation; but Nemptai or Nemtaï is a transcription of Nam tai, the island in the Min River, on which the foreign settlement of Fu chau was built after the treaty of 1842.]

dishes. The women paint their faces. Their tombs are caves dug in the side of a hill, arched over, and revetted on the exterior with a handsome wall. All these particulars are perfectly accurate, and can scarcely have been acquired except from personal knowledge[1].

110. The information brought home by Nicolo was eagerly caught at by the cosmographers of the period, and much of it is embodied both in the *Cosmographia* in the Palatine Library at Florence[2], and in the more important map of FRA MAURO, now in the Ducal Palace at Venice. The latter map indeed embraces so much more than is noticed in Poggio's narrative, especially in the valleys of the Ganges and the Irawadi, that there can be little doubt that Conti, when at Venice, was subjected to

[1] See *India in the XVth cent.*, pp. 14, 21, 23, 27. The passage about the tombs is, indeed, in the printed edition given as of *Anterior India*; but I have no doubt that this is a mistake for *Interior India*, a term which Conti uses for China, as where he quotes the proverb about the one eye of the Franks, etc., as used by the *Inieriores Indi*. This is inexactly translated by Mr. Winter Jones as "The natives of *Central* India"; but the word is used for *remoter*, as by Cosmas, when he says that Ceylon receives silk "from the parts further in (ἀπὸ τῶν ἐνδοτέρων), I speak of Chinista and the other marts in that quarter," and again of China, "ἧς ἐνδοτέρω ('further *ben*,' as they say in Scotland), there is no other country." Ptolemy uses a like expression for *remoter* (see ext. *infra*). The description of the tombs applies accurately to those of the Chinese and of no other people.

Poggio has evidently not followed Conti's Geography with any insight, and thus has mixed up features belonging to very different eastern nations. Thus the passage which is given as applicable to all the nations of India, of writing *vertically*, was probably meant only to apply to the Chinese.

[2] This map is described by Zurla (*Dissert.*, ii, 397) as of 1417, and, if I am not mistaken, it is so entered in the Palatine Catalogue. But the coincidences with Conti, *e.g.*, his Java Major and Minor, his islands of Sandai and Bandan, his lake in Ceylon, etc., are too many and too minute to admit question of their origin. The third figure of the date is half obliterated, and can just as well be read 4 as 1. The date is certainly 1447 at the earliest.

I had noted these remarks from examination of the original before I became aware, from a passage in Professor Kunstmann's *Die Kenntniss Indiens im 15ten Jahrhunderte* (p. 33), that Neigebauer, an author whom I do not know, had already made the correction.

a more effectual cross-examination by the cosmographic friar[1].

III. Poggio helps us to another very ill-focussed glimpse of Cathay in the notices which he adds at the end of Conti's narrative. Here he states that whilst he was preparing that story for publication a person had arrived "from Upper India towards the north," who had been deputed to visit the Pope and to collect information about Western Christians, by the Patriarch of his own country, which was a Nestorian kingdom, twenty days' journey from Cathay. The imperfections of interpretation made it difficult to acquire information of interest from this personage. He spoke, however, of the Great Khan, and of his having dominion over nine potent kings[2]. This seems to be the same envoy who is spoken of by the Italian philosopher and mathematician, Paolo del Pozzo Toscanelli,

[1] Thus in Burmah we have not only, as in the narrative by Poggio, AVA and PAIGU (Pegu, transmuted by Poggio into *Pancovia*, and printed *Panconia* in Winter Jones' ed.), but also CHESMI (Cosmin, the port representing the modern Bassein till the beginning of last century, but the exact site of which seems lost), MARTABAN; and up the river PERHÉ (Prome, in the true Burmese form *Pyé*), POCHANG (Pagán, the ancient capital), CAPELANG (the Ruby country north of Ava, a name preserved to a much later date, but not now traceable), MOQUAN (Mogoung). And near the head of the Irawadi, *i.e.*, at Bhamó, is the rubric, "Here goods are transferred from river to river, and so go on into Cathay." In Bengal, again, we have ORIÇA, BENGALLA (see Ibn Batuta, *infra*), SONARGAUAM (*ibid.*), SATGAUAM (Satganw, or perhaps Chittagong), and in the interior SCIERNO (*Cernoue* in Poggio; *i.e.*, Gaur under the name of *Shahr-i-Nau*, see *ibid.*), ZUANAPUR (Jaunpur), CHANDAR (Chunar?). But there are enormous fundamental confusions in Fra Mauro's ideas of the rivers of India. Thus, the Indus takes in a great measure the place of the Ganges, whilst the Ganges is confounded with the Kiang. And some of the towns of Bengal named are placed on the Indus and some are transported eastward.

[2] See the extract from Clavijo above. This notion may be taken from some traditional title bearing reference to the oldest division of China under Yu (B.C. 2286) into *Nine* Provinces (*Chine Moderne*, p. 37); also in the division of the empire under the Mongols into 12 sings (*infra*, III, p. 128): three of these, Solangka, Corea, and Yun nan, were considered exterior, the other *nine to constitute China Proper* (D'OHSSON, ii, 478). *Nine Provinces* was anciently a name applied to China Proper. (*Chine Moderne*, 211; and *Vie de Hiouen Thsang*, p. 298.)

in a letter addressed in 1474 to his friend Fernando Martinez, canon of Lisbon, of which the writer afterwards sent a copy to Columbus, when replying to a communication from the latter on the great object of his life. The statement of Poggio that the envoy came from a Christian ecclesiastic seems much more probable than that he came, as Toscanelli thought, from the Great Khan himself. But it remains a difficult problem to say whence he did really come. It would seem as if some tribe of the Kerait or the Uighúrs had maintained their Christianity till near the middle of the fifteenth century[1].

112. To this period also belong the notices of Cathay which were collected by JOSAFAT BARBARO, and are recounted in the history of his Embassy to Persia. Whilst he was on this mission, the Lord Assambei (*i.e.*, Uzun Hassan, a Turcoman chief, who in the civil strifes that accompanied the decay of Timur's dynasty, acquired the whole of Western Persia), being one day greatly pleased with the acumen shown by Barbaro in judging of a Balass ruby, called out "O, Cathayers, Cathayers! (said you not well that) three years have been allowed mankind, and you have got two of them, and the Franks the third!" Barbaro understood what he meant, for he had already heard the proverb (as we have now three times before[2]) from a certain ambassador in the service of the Khan of

[1] See the letter in Note XV. The curious statements in Varthema about Christians of *Sarnau* [Siam], a country towards Cathay, with whom he travelled in the Archipelago, are here brought to mind. I think Mr. Badger has referred to this passage of Poggio; but I cannot turn to his edition now. The letter of Toscanelli is extracted from "*Del Vecchio e Nuovo Gnomone Fiorentino, etc., di Lionardo Ximenes della Comp. di Gesù, Geografo di sua Maestà Imp.* Firenze, 1757," pp. lxxxi–xcviii.

Another traveller, who returned from the Indies in 1424 after wandering there for twenty-four years, by name Bartolomeo Fiorentino, related what he had seen to Pope Eugenius at Venice; but, unfortunately, nothing of this narrative seems to have been preserved. (See Humboldt, *Examen Critique*, etc., i. 260.)

[2] From Hayton (in Note XIV), Clavijo, and Conti.

the Tartars of the Volga, who had come from Cathay in 1436, and whom Barbaro had entertained in his house at Tana (or Azov) "hoping to get some jewel out of him." From this ambassador he gathered a good deal of detail about Cathay, which he gives in a later part of his work[1].

113. Somewhat earlier in the century occurred the mission sent by Shah Rukh, the son of Timur, to the court of Ch'eng Tsu, the third Emperor of the Ming dynasty. Of this embassy a narrative written by Khwája Ghaiassuddín, surnamed Nakkásh or the Painter, a member of the mission, has been preserved in Abdur Razzak's History of Shah Rukh, and has been translated by M. Quatremère[2]. The embassy took place in A.H. 823–5 (A.D. 1420–2), and was one out of several such interchanged between the courts, of which mention is made in the same history[3]. It is amusing to find the Emperor of China, in a letter carried by one of his embassies, speaking of the steadfastness with which his correspondent's father, Timur, had maintained his loyalty to the Court of China[4]. An abstract of the narrative, with notes, will be found in the sequel[5].

114. Except the brief and fabulous stories of Chin and Machin, which ATHANASIUS NIKITIN picked up in the ports of Western India (1468–74) I am not aware of any other European notices of China previous to the voyages of Columbus and De Gama. The former, it is scarcely

[1] Ramusio, ii, ff. 106*v*. and 107. See the extracts in Note XVI.

[2] *Notices et Extraits*, xiv, pt. i, pp. 387 *seqq*. There is a slightly abridged translation in *Astley's Voyages*. Quatremère is mistaken in supposing that the narrative of the Embassy is translated in *Chambers's Asiatic Miscellany*. There is only an extract containing some account of the preceding intercourse between the courts.

[3] See *op. cit.*, pp. 213 *seqq*., 216 *seqq*., 304–6. There seems to be some variation as to the correct date. It is not worth going into here, but a comparison of the passage where Abdur Razzak speaks of the embassy in the ordinary course of his history (p. 306) with that where he introduces the special narrative (p. 387) will show the inconsistency.

[4] P. 214.

[5] See Note XLII.

needful to say, in his great enterprise was seeking no new continent but a shorter route to the Cathay and Cipangu of Marco Polo, and died believing that the countries which he had discovered were the eastern skirts of Asia, a belief which was not extinct for some twenty years and more after his death[1].

115. The Portuguese first visited a port of China in 1514, and the adventurers on this occasion sold their goods to great profit though they were not allowed to land. In 1517 took place the trading expedition to Canton under Andrade, carrying the unfortunate ambassador Pirez, who died in fetters in China[2].

116. With this event, perhaps, our sketch ought to conclude. But it was a good many years longer before China was familiarly known from the seaward access, and with the revived interest in discovery and in the perusal

[1] In a letter, *De Orbis Situ ac Descriptione*, from a certain Franciscan Friar Francis, addressed to the Archbishop of Palermo, which is attached to some copies of the *Peregrinatio Joannis Hesei* (Antwerp. 1565), the city of "Themistetan" or Mexico is identified with the Quinsai of Marco Polo, Hispaniola with Cipangu, and so forth.

[2] This last is generally stated as the first Portuguese expedition to China. But the former one is noticed by Andrew Corsalis in his letter to Duke Lorenzo de' Medici, dated 6th January, 1515 (Ramusio, i, ff., 180, 181): "The merchants of the land of China also make voyages to Malacca across the Great Gulf to get cargoes of spices, and bring from their own country musk, rhubarb, pearls, tin, porcelain, and silk and wrought stuffs of all kinds, such as damasks, satins, and brocades of extraordinary richness. For they are people of great skill, and on a par with ourselves (*di nostra qualità*), but of uglier aspect, with little bits of eyes. They dress very much after our fashion, and wear shoes and stockings (*? scarpe e calciamenti*) like ourselves. I believe them to be pagans, though many allege that they hold our faith or some part of it During this last year some of our Portuguese made a voyage to China. They were not permitted to land; for they say 'tis against their custom to let foreigners enter their dwellings. But they sold their goods at a great gain, and they say there is as great profit in taking spices to China as in taking them to Portugal; for 'tis a cold country and they make great use of them. 'It will be five hundred leagues from Malacca to China, sailing north." [See *L'Arrivée des Portugais en Chine*, par Henri Cordier; ext. from the *T'oung pao*, xii, 1911.]

of the old travellers, attention became again directed to CATHAY, as a region distinct from these new found Indies, so that it might be considered yet to hold an independent place in geographical history. Cathay had been the aim of the first voyage to the north-west of the Cabots in 1496, and it continued to be the object of many adventurous English voyages to the north-west and the north-east till far on in the succeeding century, though in the later of these expeditions China no doubt had assumed its place. At least one memorable land journey too was made by Englishmen, of which the investigation of the trade with Cathay was a chief object; I mean of course that in which Anthony Jenkinson and the two Johnsons reached Bokhara from Russia in 1558–9. The country regarding which they gathered information at that city is still known to them only as Cathay, and its great capital is still as in the days of Polo Cambalu and not Peking[1].

117. Other narratives of Asiatic journeys to Cathay are preserved by RAMUSIO, and by AUGER GISLEN DE BUSBECK. The first was taken down by the Venetian geographer from the lips of HAJJI MAHOMED, an intelligent Persian merchant whom he fell in with at Venice[2]; the second was noted by Busbeck, when ambassador from the Emperor Charles V to the Porte (1555–62), from the narrative of a wandering Turkish dervish[3]. Large extracts from these last words about Cathay will be found in the notes to this essay[4].

118. We arrive now at the term of our subject in the journey of BENEDICT GOËS, undertaken in 1603 with the

[1] Such is the case also in the narrative of the Russian Embassy of Feodor Isakovich Baïkov in 1653 (*Voyages au Nord*, iv, 150).

[2] Preface to the 2nd vol. of the *Navigationi*.

[3] *Busbequii Epistolæ*, Amsterd., 1660, pp. 326–330. The letter containing this narrative was written at Frankfort, 16th December, 1562, after the ambassador's return.

[4] See Notes XVIII and XIX.

specific object of determining whether the Cathay of old European travellers and modern Mahomedans was or was not a distinct region from that China of which parallel marvels had now for years been recited. Benedict, "seeking Cathay found Heaven," as one of his brethren has pronounced his epitaph; but not before he had ascertained that China and Cathay were one. His journey we have chosen as a fitting close to our collection. After the publication of that narrative inexcusable ignorance alone could continue to distinguish between Cathay and China, and though such ignorance lingered for many years longer, here we may fairly consider our task at an end[1].

[1] Ricci and his companions, as we have seen, were before the journey of Goës satisfied of the identity of Cathay and China. So appears to have been, at an earlier date, the Italian Geographer Magini. Purchas perceived the same, and the Jesuit Martini, in his *Atlas Sinensis*, expounded the identity in detail. Yet the Geographical Lexicon of Baudrand, in a revised edition of 1677, distinguishes between them, remarking that "some confound Cathay with China." I have not had access to Müller's *Disquisitio de Chataja*, which probably contains interesting matter on the subject.

[The full title of Müller's book published at Berlin in 1670 is: Andreae Mülleri, Greiffenhagii, Disquisitio Geographica & Historica, De Chataja, In Quâ 1. Praecipuè Geographorum nobilis illa Controversia: Quaenam *Chataja* sit, & an sit idem ille terrarum tractus, quem *Sinas*, & vulgò *Chinam* vocant, aut pars ejus aliqua? latissimè tractatur; 2. Eâdem verò operâ pleraque rerum, quae unquam de *Chataja*, déque Sinis *memorabilia* fuerunt, atque etiam nunc sunt, compendiosè narrantur. The opinion of all the authors is given, but I do not see that it has much interest now.]

A faint attempt to repeat the journey of Goës, but apparently in ignorance of that enterprise, was made a good many years later by the Jesuit Aimé Chesaud starting from Ispahan. He does not seem to have got further than Balkh, if so far. He still speaks of "getting to Chatao and *thence* to China." There is no date given. (See his letter in Kircher's *China Illustrata*, 1667, p. 86.)

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES TO PRELIMINARY ESSAY

NOTE I.

EXTRACT FROM THE PERIPLUS OF THE ERYTHRÆAN SEA.

(Circa A.D. 80–9.)[1]

"BEHIND this country[2] the sea comes to a termination somewhere in THIN; and in the interior of that country, quite to the north, there is a very great city called THINA, from which raw silk and silk thread and silk stuffs are brought overland through Bactria to Barygaza[3], as they are on the other hand by the Ganges River to Limyrice[4]. It is not easy, however, to get to this Thin, and few and far between are those who come from it. The place lies quite under the Little Bear; and it is said that its territories adjoin the remoter frontiers of Pontus and the Caspian Sea, beside which you find the Lagoon Mæotis which has a communication with the ocean.

"Every year there come to the frontier of Thin certain people of dwarfish stature and very broad in the face, scarcely superior to wild creatures, but harmless, who are said to be called SESADÆ[5].

[1] This is Müller's view; see his *Prolegomena* to *Geog. Græci Minores*, i, xcvi–vii.

[2] *Viz. Chryse*, "The Golden Land," apparently Pegu and thereabouts, the *Suwarna Bhumi* or Golden Land of the old Indian Buddhists. *Sonaparanta*, a term of like meaning, is still the sacred or classical term for the central territories of Ava. [On the Golden Island, see p. 201, abstracts from Dionysius Periergetes, Rufus Festus Avienus and Priscianus.]

[3] ["Ex qua lana (*lanugo arooris laniferae*) et filum et othonium Sericum Barygaza per Bactriam terrestri itinere." C. Müller, i, p. 303.]

[4] The meaning is probably the same as that of Ptolemy's statement, extracted in the next note, that there was not only one road from the Sinæ or Seres to Bactriana by the Stone Tower, but also another direct to Palibothra on the Ganges.

[5] In the work styled *Palladius on the Brahmans*, embodied in the Pseudo-Callisthenes published by Müller (*Script. de Alex. Magno*, pp. 103–4) there is an account apparently of the same people under the name of *Bisades*, the gatherers of pepper. They are described as "a dwarfish and imbecile race who dwell in rocky caves, and from the nature of their country are expert at climbing cliffs, and thus able to gather the pepper from the thickets.... These Bisades are pygmies, with big

They come accompanied by their wives and children, and bring with them great loads in creels[1] that look as if they were made of green vines. These people halt at some place on the frontier between their own country and Thin, and hold a feast for several days, during which they strew [the materials of] their baskets about on the ground, and then they depart to their own homes in the interior. When the other people are aware of their departure they come to the spot and gather those withes[2] that had been strewn about. To these they give the name of *Petri*[3]. Getting rid of the [stalks and] fibrous parts they take the leaves and double them up into little balls which they stitch through with the fibres of the withes. And these they divide into three classes, forming from the largest leaves what is called *Big-ball* Malabathrum, from the next size *Middle-ball*, and from the smallest leaves *Little-ball*. And thus originate the three qualities of Malabathrum, which the people who have prepared them carry to India for sale[4].

heads and long straight unclipt hair." Sir J. E. Tennent applies this to the Veddahs of Ceylon. But there is nothing, I think, in the passage to fix it to Ceylon. It is given on the authority of a certain Scholasticus of Thebes, who finding an Indian vessel in a port of the Axum country took the opportunity it offered of visiting distant parts. The story is probably not genuine. For as Müller points out, the *Besidæ* are mentioned by Ptolemy (vii. 1) as a people, otherwise called Tiladæ, who live north of Mæandrus (a mountain chain on the east of Bengal), "dwarfish and stumpy and platter-faced, but white in complexion." Lassen locates them as a Bhotiya race in the Himalaya near Darjiling; his map (by Kiepert) in the Garo and Kasia Hills north of Silhet.

[1] The word is ταρτόνας, the meaning of which is doubtful. ["Magnas portantes sarcinas et sirpeas viridis vitis foliis comparand.s." Müller, p. 304.]

[2] The word is καλάμοι, and would usually mean reeds or canes. But it seems absurd so to term what had been described as like green vine-twigs.

[3] Not the withes but the *leaves*, as Lassen (iii, 38) has pointed out, must have been called thus; Sanskt. *Patra*, a leaf; mod. Hindust. *Patti*.

[4] The same terms (*hadrospherum*, *mesospherum*, *microspherum*) are applied by Pliny to varieties of *Nard*; perhaps a mistake of his, as Dioscorides observes that some people made the mistake of regarding *malabathrum* as the leaf of Indian Nard.

Some of the early writers after the Portuguese discoveries took the *pān* or betel leaf for the *malabathrum* of the ancients, but the physician Garcia Da Horta, in his work on the aromatics of India (first published at Goa in 1563) pointed out that malabathrum was the *Tamālapattra*, the leaf of a species of cassia, still valued in India though in a greatly inferior degree (see ch. xix; I quote an Ital. transl., Venice, 1589). Curiously enough Ramusio gives as a representation of the "Beteile" a cut which really represents with fair accuracy the Tamālapattra, commonly called (at least in Bengal) *Tejpāt*. Linschoten describes it accurately, noticing its pleasant clove-like smell, and says it was in great repute among the Hindus as a diuretic, etc., and to preserve clothes from moths, two of the uses expressly assigned to malabathrum by Dioscorides and Pliny. He also observes that the natives considered it to rival spikenard in all its qualities. Linschoten's commentator Paludanus says much was imported to Venice in his time; and that it

"But as for the regions beyond those places that we have mentioned, whether it be that the wintry climate and excessive cold renders it hard to penetrate them, or whether it be the result of some supernatural influence from the gods, it is the fact that they never have been explored." From Müller's *Geogr. Gr. Minores*, i, pp. 303–5.

NOTE I BIS.

EXTRACTS FROM THE LATIN POETS.

(A.D. First Century.)

Publius VIRGILIUS MARO.

Georg., lib. II, v. 120–1.:

Quid nemora Æthiopum, molli canentia lana?
Vellerague ut foliis depectant tenuia Seres?

was called by the Arabs *Cadegi Indi* (Read *çadegi*). I see that in F. Johnson's *Persian Dictionary*, *Sádaj* is defined "Indian spikenard," and *Sádhaji Hindi*, "Indian leaf," which seems to show the persistence of the confusion between the two articles. This leaf was abundant in the forests of the Kasia Hills, where I passed a part of my earliest service in India, and so was a cassia producing a coarse cinnamon, of which there was a considerable export to the plains. The trees were distinct, if I be not mistaken, though evidently of the same genus. The *Tejpāt* was narrow, like that of the Portugal laurel, that of the other tree much broader, both noticeable for their partition by *three* main longitudinal nerves, like the lines of longitude on a map of the hemisphere. The Kasias in features would answer well to the *Besadæ* or *Sesadæ*, but they are no dwarfs, whilst some of the Tibetan tribes of the Himalaya are very short. Domestically among Anglo-Indians this once prized malabathrum, some qualities of which the Romans purchased at three hundred denarii per pound, is, as far as I know, used only to flavour tarts, custards, and curries. But (besides what Linschoten says) Rheede mentions that, in his time in Malabar, oils in high medical estimation were made from both the root and the leaves of the *Karua* or wild cinnamon of that coast, a plant no doubt closely allied. And from the former a *camphor* was extracted, having several of the properties of real camphor and more fragrant.

Mr. Crawfurd has suggested that the finer malabathrum was *benzoin*, but I believe all the authorities on the subject speak of it as derived from a *leaf*; indeed Dioscorides, like our author here, speaks of the *stitching* up of the leaves. Some part of what Dioscorides says seems indeed to apply to a solid extract, but it may have been of the nature of Rheede's camphor. (See Pliny, xii, 25, 26, 59; xiii, 2: xxxiii, 48; Dioscorides, *loc. cit.*; Linschoten, Latin version, Hague, 1599, p. 84; Rheede, *Hortus Malabaricus*, i, 107; Crawf. *Dict. Indian Islands*, p. 50; on Malabathrum, see also Lassen, i, 283; iii, 37, 154 *seq.*) [Yule in *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. *Malabathrum*: "There can be little doubt that this classical export from India was the dried leaf of various species of *Cinnamomum*, which leaf was known in Sanskrit as *tamāla-pattra*." Garcia writes, ff. 95v, 96: "the *folium indu* is called by the Indians *Tamalapatra*, which the Greeks and Latins corrupted into *malabathrum*," etc.]

Quintus Horatius Flaccus.

Lib. I. *Carmen* XII: *Ad Caesarem Augustum.*

Ille, seu Parthos Latio imminentes
Egerit justo domitos triumpho,
Sive subjectos Orientis orae
Seras et Indos,
Te minor latum reget aequus orbem.

Lib. I. *Carmen* XXIX: *Ad Iccium.*

Puer quis ex aula capillis
Ad cyathum statuetur unctis,
Doctus sagittas tendere Sericas
Arcu paterno?...

Lib. III. *Carmen* XXIX: *Ad Maecenatem.*

Tu, civitatem quis deceat status,
Curas, Urbi sollicitus times,
Quid Seres, et regnata Cyro
Bactra parent, Tanaisque discors.

Lib. IV. *Carmen* XV: *Caesaris Augusti laudes.*

Non, qui profundum Danubium bibunt,
Edicta rumpent Julia, non Getae,
Non Seres, infidive Persae,
Non Tanaïn prope flumen orti.

Epod. VIII:

Quid? quod libelli Stoici inter Sericos
Jacere pulvillos amant.

Sextus Aurelius Propertius.

Elegiae, lib. I. XIV, 22:

Quid relevant variis serica textilibus?

Lib. IV, VIII:

Serica nam taceo vulsi carpenta nepotis.

Publius Ovidius Naso.

Amores, Lib. I. XIV, 5–6:

Quid, quod erant tenues, et quos ornare timeres,
Vela colorati qualia Seres habent.

Silius Italicus.

Punicorum Lib. VI, 1–4:

Iam, Tartessiaco quos solverat aequore, Titan,
In noctem diffusus, equos iungebat Eois
Litoribus, primique novo Phaethonte retecti
Seres lanigeris repetebant vellera lucis.

Lib. XV, 79–81:

...Quid cui, post Seras et Indos
Captivo Liber cum signa referret ab Euro,
Caucaseae currum duxere per oppida tigres

Lib. XVII, 595–6:

Videre Eoi, monstrum admirabile, Seres
Lanigeros cinere Ausonio canescere lucos.

A complete list of quotations will be found in the valuable book of G. Coedès, *Textes d'auteurs grecs et latins relatifs à l'Extrême Orient*, Paris, 1910, 8vo.

NOTE II.

EXTRACTS FROM THE GEOGRAPHY OF PTOLEMY

(Circa A.D. 150.)

"The inhabited part of our earth is bounded on the east by the Unknown Land which lies along the region occupied by the easternmost nations of Asia Major, the SINÆ and the nations of SERICE; and on the south likewise by the Unknown Land which shuts round the Indian Sea, and encompasses that Ethiopia to the south of Libya which is called the land of Agisymba; to the west by the Unknown Land which embraces the Ethiopic Gulf of Libya, and then by the Western Ocean which lies along the most westerly parts of Libya and of Europe; and on the north by that continuation of the same ocean which encircles the Britannic Isles and the most northerly parts of Europe, and which goes by the names of Duecalydonian and Sarmatic, and by an Unknown Land which stretches along the most northerly parts of Asia Major, viz., Sarmatia, Scythia, and Serice....

"The Hyrcanian Sea, called also Caspian, is everywhere shut in by the land, so as to be just the converse of an island encompassed by the water. Such also is the case with that sea which embraces the Indian Sea with its gulfs, the Arabian Gulf, the Persian Gulf, the Gangetic Gulf, and the one which is called distinctively the Great Gulf, this sea being encompassed on all sides by the land. So we see that of the three Continents Asia is joined to Libya both by that Arabian Isthmus which separates Our Sea from the Arabian Gulf, and by the Unknown Land which encompasses the Indian Sea....

"The eastern extremity of the known earth is limited by the meridian drawn through the metropolis of the Sinæ, at a distance from Alexandria of 119½°, reckoned upon the equator, or about eight equinoctial hours...." (Book vii, ch. 5.)

In his first book Ptolemy speaks of Marinus as the latest Greek writer who had devoted himself to geography. Editions of his revision of the geographical tables had been very numerous. But his statements required much correction, and he forms too great an estimate of the extent of the inhabited world both in length and breadth. As regards latitude Ptolemy illustrates this by criticising the position which Marinus had assigned, on the basis of certain journeys and voyages, to the extreme southern region of Ethiopia called Agisymba. The calculation of distance in the rough from those routes would have placed this region 24,680 stadia south of the equator, or as Ptolemy says almost among the antarctic frosts[1]. Marinus had summarily cut this down to 12,000

[1] Bk. i. ch. 8

stadia, bringing it nearly to the southern tropic, and Ptolemy again on general reasoning as to the nature of the animals met with, etc., reduces the distance to 8,000 stadia. So also, he says, Marinus had exaggerated the longitude, giving an interval of 15 hours between the Fortunate Islands in the west and the most easterly regions of Sera, of the Sinæ, and of Cattigara in the east, which should not be more than 12 hours. In determining the position of Sera, etc., Marinus had made use of the route of certain mercantile agents who had travelled thither, and this Ptolemy proceeds to criticise. He assents to the longitude assigned by Marinus between the Fortunate Isles and the Euphrates Ferry at Hierapolis[1], and then proceeds (Bk i, ch. 11):

"But as regards the distance between the said Euphrates Ferry and the Stone Tower, which he deduces to be 876 *schœni*, or 26,280 stadia, and the distance from the Stone Tower to Sera, the capital of the Seres[2], a journey of seven months, which he calculates at 36,200 stadia running on one parallel (*i.e.* due east) we shall apply a correction in reduction of each of these. For in neither section has he made any diminution on account of the exaggeration caused by deviations from a straight course, whilst in the second portion of the route he has fallen into the same errors as in regard to the itinerary from the country of the Garamantes to that of Agisymba. In that case it was found necessary to cut down more than the half on the distance as caloulated from a journey of four months and fourteen days, for it was not to be supposed that travelling should have gone on without intermission all that time. And as regards this seven months' journey the same consideration will apply even more forcibly than on the route from the Garamantes. For in the latter case the business was carried out by the king of the country, and as we may suppose with more than ordinary forethought, and they had fine weather all along. But on the journey from the Stone Tower to Sera bad weather was to be looked for, seeing that it ran (according to Marinus's own hypothesis) in the latitudes of Hellespont and Byzantium. And on this account there must have been many halts on the journey. Moreover it must be remembered that it was on a trading expedition that the information about this road was acquired.

"For he tells us that the distances were taken down by one Maës called also Titianus, a Macedonian, and a merchant like his father before him; not that he made the journey himself, but he had sent agents to the Seres. Now Marinus himself (on other occasions) has shown little faith in traders' stories, as (for example)

[1] N.E. of Aleppo.

[2] Most editions I believe read "capital of the *Sinæ*," which, however, with Ptolemy's views, as clearly enough shown in these extracts, *cannot* be the genuine reading.

when he refuses to believe the statement of Philemon (founded on the talk of some traders), that the island of Iuvernia was 20 days' journey in length from east to west. A or such people, he observes, don't take any trouble to search into the truth of things, being constantly taken up with their business and often exaggerating distances through a spirit of brag. Just so, as there seems to have been nothing else that they thought worth remembering or telling about this seven months' journey, they made a wonder about the length of time it had occupied.

Chapter XII.

"For these reasons, and because the journey was not really upon one parallel (the Stone Tower being in the latitude of Byzantium, whilst Sera is further south than Hellespont) it might have seemed advisable to reduce the distance of 36,200 stadia ascribed to this seven months' journey by more, rather than by less, than a half. But let us keep the reduction *within* the half, so as to calculate the distance on a round estimate at 22,625 stadia or 45¼°... And the first distance (I speak of that from Euphrates to the Stone Tower) should be reduced from 876 schœni to 800 only, *i.e.* 24,000 stadia, on account of deviations from the straight line.... For the road from the ferry of the Euphrates at Hierapolis through Mesopotamia to the Tigris, and thence through the territory of the Garamæans of Assyria[1], and Media, to Ecbatana and the Caspian Gates[2], and through Parthia to Hecatompylos[3], is

[1] In the country S.E. of Mosul; see the *Beth-Garma* of the list at III, p. 22.

[2] Pass in the Elburz, east of Demawend.

[2] Somewhere near Damghan. ["We are indebted to Quintus Curtius and Diodorus for indicating Hecatompylus as the place where Alexander made this prolonged halt. The name is not mentioned by Arrian. The site of the city, though undoubtedly one of considerable importance, has unfortunately not been determined; it was clearly situated south of the mountain chain which forms the prolongation of Mt. Elburz, on the line of road leading from the Caspian Gates towards Meshed and Herat." (Bunbury, *Ancient Geog.*, i, p. 479.)

"Urbs erat ea tempestate clara Hecatompylos, condita a Graecis ibi stativa rex habuit commeatibus undique advectis." (Curtius, vi, 2.

Τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ Ἱεράπολιν τοῦ Εὐφράτου διαβάσεως διὰ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας ἐπὶ τὸν Τίγριν ὁδὸν καὶ τὴν ἐντεῦθεν διὰ Γαραμαίων τῆς Ἀσσυρίας καὶ Μηδίας εἰς Ἐκβάτανα καὶ Κασπίας Πύλας καὶ τῆς Παρθίας εἰς Ἑκατόμπυλον ἐνδέχεται περὶ τὸν διὰ τῆς Ῥωδίας πίπτειν παράλληλον, οὗτος γὰρ καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν γράφεται διὰ τῶν εἰρημένων χωρῶν. (Ptolem., i, c. 12)

εἰσὶ δ' ἀπὸ Κασπίων πυλῶν...εἰς δ' Ἑκατόμπυλον, τὴν τῶν Παρθυαίων βασίλειον, χίλιοι διακόσιοι ἑξήκοντα." (Strabo, xi, c. 9.)

"Damghan is too near the Pylae Caspiae: on the whole, it is probable that any remains of Hecatompylos ought to be sought in the neighbourhood of a place now called Jah Jirm." (W. Smith, *Dict. Greek and Roman Geog.*)

"What I wish to establish is that the position of Hecatompylos cannot be reasonably assigned to any other spot than the one now occupied by

assumed to lie in the parallel of Rhodes, for Marinus himself draws that parallel through all those places. But the road from Hecatompylos to Hyrcania[1] must decline to the north, for the city of Hyrcania lies somewhere between the latitudes of Smyrna and of the Hellespont....Then the route runs on through Aria[2] to Margiana Antiochia[3], first declining to the south (for Aria lies in the same latitude as the Caspian Gates), and then to the north, Antiochia being somewhere near the parallel of the Hellespont. Thence the road proceeds eastward to Bactra[4], and from that northward up the ascent of the hill country of the Comedi, and then inclining somewhat south through the hill country itself as far as the gorge in which the plains terminate For the *western* end of the hill country is more to the *north* also, being (as Marinus puts it) under the latitude of Byzantium, the *eastern* end more to the *south*, being under the latitude of Hellespont. Hence [the hills running thus from south of east to north of west] the road runs as he describes in the opposite direction, *i.e.* towards the east with an inclination south; and then a distance of 50 schœni extending to the Stone Tower would seem to tend northward. This Stone Tower stands in the way of those who ascend the gorge, and from it the mountains extend eastward to join the chain of Imaus which runs north to this from (the territory of) Palimbothra.[5]"...

Shah-rood and Bostam, as being one of the extremities of the capital of the ancient Parthians." (Ferrier, *Caravan Journeys*, p. 70.)

Curzon is in favour of Damghan and writes: "Ferrier, I think erroneously, endeavours to combat this theory by the argument that the City of Hundred Gates must mean a city in which many roads met, whereas at Damghan there are only two. He, therefore, prefers the Shahrud-Bostam site for that Hekatompylos. Apart, however from the fact that more roads meet at Damghan than two, it is by no means certain that the Greeks, when they used this descriptive epithet, referred to city gates at all. The title was equally applied by them to Egyptian Thebes, where it has been conjectured to refer to the *pylons*, or gateways, of the many splendid temples by which the capital of the Rameses was adorned; and it may have had some similar application in the case of the Parthian city." (*Persia*, i, p. 287.) One may well hesitate between Damghan and Shah-rud, but I think Ferrier is right.]

[1] Jorján, N.W. of Astrabad.

[2] The territory of Harah, Heri or HERAT.

[3] Supposed to be MARV [4] BALKH.

[5] I have not perhaps succeeded in rendering this description very intelligible. The old Latin versions and the Abbé Halma's French translation seem simply to shirk the difficulties of the passage. I have not access to any others or to Humboldt's *Asie Centrale*, which I believe contains a dissertation on this route.

The account would perhaps be easier to understand if we knew more of the geography of the country towards Karategin, in which I suppose the hill country of the Comedi must lie. [In a note in *Ancient Khotan*, p. 54, Stein writes: "The discussion of the Ptolemy passage in *Cathay*, i, p. cxlix, is still of value, as showing how Sir H. Yule, by a chain of sound critical reasoning, had been led to Karategin as the probable

And so on, bringing out the whole distance from the Fortunate Isles to the city of Sera to be 177¼°. In chapters 13 and 14 he tries to estimate the longitude run by sea from Cape Cory in Southern India to Cattigara the port of the Sinæ, determining the latter to lie in 177°; and as all were agréed that the metropolis

position of the Komedi, even before information became available as to the survival of the local name into Mohammedan times."] The chief difficulties arise in connexion with the expression "as far as the gorge in which the plains terminate" (*μέχρι τῆς ἐκδεχομένης τὰ πεδία φάραγγος*), and the statement that fifty schœni (one hundred and fifty miles?) before reaching the Stone Tower the route lay northward. The former expression is intelligible if with Ritter we understand the passage of Imaus to have been that running from Kokand up the Jaxartes Valley to Andijan and across the Terek Dawan to Kashgar, but in that case how could the route approaching the Stone Tower which he places at Ush (where there are said to be ancient remains of importance) by any possibility run northward? (see Ritter, vii, 483, 563; viii, 693.) In the time of the Sui dynasty, or beginning of the seventh century, the Chinése knew three roads from Eastern into Western Turkestan, among which we naturally seek that of Maës Titianus. Of these three the first or north road seems from the description to have run north of the T'ien Shan, and is out of the question; a second or middle road passed from Kashgar to Farghânah, and is no doubt that of the Terek Dawan; the third or south road passed through Khotan, and then through *Chukiupo* (said to be Yangihissar) [cf. Yule's *Notes on Hwen Thsang's Account of Tokhâristân*, pp. 119 and 120], and *Kopantho* (said to be Selekur or Sarikul; see *N. Ann. des Voy.*, 1846, iii, 47) Ritter takes the second for the route of Titianus, supposing the third route to be that by the Sirikul [General Cunningham has identified Sirikol with the kingdom of *Khia pwan to*, *Khavanda* (Hiuan Tsang). Tash Kurghan is reputed the old capital. Cf. Yule, *Notes on Hwen Thsang's Account of Tokhâristân*, p. 119] into Badakhshan, which is certainly inconsistent with Ptolemy's data. But it is certain that there was no route in former use *intermediate* between the pass to Farghânah and that to Badakhshan, *e.g.* passing from Tashbaliq towards Karategin? *Kiumi*, which is probably the country of Ptolemy's Comedi, is mentioned in Rémusat's list of states tributary to China under the T'ang. He says indeed it lay "among the mountains of Tokharestan south of the Oxus, towards Balkh and Termedh," but *north of the Oxus* would be more consistent with the data, and it is north of the Oxus that the kingdom of *Keumitho* mentioned by Hiuan-Tsang appears to lie, which is doubtless the same (see *Mém. de l'Acad. R. des Inscr.*, viii, 92–3; *Vie de Hiouen Thsang*, p. 464; and Chino-Japanese ancient Map, in Klaproth's *Mémoires*, tom. ii). I see that Kiepert in his map of Asia (1864) inserts *Kumid* above Karategin with a query (?). It seems possible, however, that we have the name of the Comedi in *Kawadián* or *Kabadián*, which Edrisi applies to the country between Termedh and Hissar, and which still survives as the name of a town or village. [Yule, in his *Notes on Hwen Thsang's Account of the Principalities of Tokhâristân* (*Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, N.S., vi, 1873, pp. 97–8), has the following on the Comedi: "*Kiu-mi-tho*, Kumidha. This kingdom was some 20 days' journey (2000 *li*) from east to west, and two days from north to south, lying among the Thsungling mountains. On the S.W. it adjoined the Oxus; on the south it was in contact with the kingdom of *Shikhini* or Shighnán. The state of Kiumi is also mentioned along with *Shikhini* and *Humi* in the historical extracts of Abel Rémusat [*Extension de l'Empire chinois du côté de l'Occident*; *Mém. Acad. Insc.*, viii, p. 93] as sending tribute to China in the seventh

of the Sinæ lay still further to the east, he puts that in 180°. The whole calculation is based on the loosest possible data, and made to bring out a foregone conclusion. The following is a specimen of the data:

"Marinus does not exhibit the mileage from the Golden

century. Major General Cunningham, though not giving any specific modern identification of this State, most happily connects it with the Comedae of Ptolemy, who inhabited the hill country east of Bactriana, and up whose valley lay the route of the caravans from Bactra, bound for Serica across Imaus or the Thsungling. The proportions of length and breadth ascribed to the territory of *Kiumitho*, 20 by 2, show that a valley is in question. The passage in Ptolemy just alluded to is one of the most notable in regard to the geography of Inner Asia of all that have come down to us from classic times. There can be little doubt that Gen. Cunningham's identification of *Kiumitho* with the Comedae is well founded, and we could scarcely desire a more precise definition of their position than Hwen Thsang has here given us. 'They lay to the eastward of Khotl, among the roots of Pamir, to the northward of Shighnán, and had the Oxus on their south-west.'" Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, p. 54, writes: "It is the joint merit of Sir H. Yule and Sir H. Rawlinson to have demonstrated beyond all doubt the identity of the mountain tract of the Komedi with the Chü-mi-t'o of Hsüan-tsang on the one hand and the 'land of the Kumēdh' of early Mohammedan writers on the other. It thus became possible to locate with certainty 'the valley of the Komedi' in the mountains which divide the Yakhshāb river and the adjacent alpine tracts of Karategin from the course of the Oxus. From Karategin a direct and comparatively easy line of communication leads along the Wakhshāb up to the rich grazing grounds of the wide Alai plateau. Ascending the latter to its eastern end, it then crosses the watershed range between the Oxus and the Tārīm at its lowest point, the Taun-murun Pass; and a short distance below, near the headwaters of the Kāshgar river, it joins the great route which connects Kashgar with Farghânah over the Terek Dawan."]

Beyond the Stone Tower, and in Imaus itself, there was a ὁρμητήριον or station for the traders to the Seres (bk. vi, ch. 13). This may have been about Tashbaliq. Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Roman Geography*, article *Serica*, states as a fact that in the ancient conduct of the silk trade the Seres deposited their bales of silk in the Stone Tower with the prices marked, and then retired, whilst the western merchants came forward to inspect. Where is the authority? And if it were so, why did Maës send his agents seven months' journey further? Or did the writer of the article find the dumb trade in Pliny and the Stone Tower in Ptolemy, and like a celebrated character of Dickens's "combine the information"? ["An exact location of the famous 'Stone Tower' (λίθινος πύργος) is not possible at present and can be hoped for only from antiquarian investigations effected on the spot. In regard, however, to the traders' station which Maës' account mentions to the east of the Stone Tower and on the road starting for Sera, I think that unchanging geographical conditions afford us some guidance. Baron Richthofen has justly pointed out that this station must be looked for close to the watershed crossed by the above route, since Ptolemy places it in the line of the Imaus, which undoubtedly corresponds to the range buttressing the Pāmir region on the east, and dividing the drainage areas of the Oxus and the Tarim. He has also rightly observed that the point where the much-frequented route coming from Farghânah over the Terek Dawān is joined by the route from the Wakhshāb valley was the most likely position for such a station." Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 54–5. Ptolemy's Stone Tower must not be confounded with Tāsh Kurghān.]

Chersonese to Cattigara. But he says that Alexander has described the land beyond (that Chersonese) to lie facing the south, and that after sailing by this for 20 days you reach the city of Zaba[1], and still sailing on for some days southward but rather to the left you reach Cattigara[2]. He exaggerates the distance, for the expression is *some days* not *many days*. He says indeed that no numerical statement of the days was made because they were so many: but this I take to be ridiculous," etc., etc.

In chapter 17, speaking of persons who had made the voyage to India and spent much time in those parts, he proceeds:

"From these persons also we have got more exact information about India and its kingdoms, as well as about the remoter[3] parts of the region extending to the Golden Chersonese and thence to Cattigara. For example they all agree in stating that in going thither your course is to the east, and in coming back again it is to the west, and they agree also in saying that no determinate time can be named for the accomplishment of the voyage, which varies with circumstances. They also agree that the land of the Seres with their metropolis lies to the north of the land of the Sinæ, and that all that is further east than these is a Terra Incognita full of marshy lagoons in which great canes grow, and that so densely that people are able to cross the marshes by means of them. They tell also that there is not only a road from those

[1] ["The locality of the ancient port of Zabai [Ζάβα or Ζάβαι] or Champa is probably to be sought on the west coast of Kamboja, near the Campot, or the Kang Kao, of our maps." Yule, *Notes on the Oldest Records of the Sea-Route to China, Proc. R. Geog. Soc.*, 1882 p. 657.]

[2] ["To myself, the arguments adduced by my friend Baron F. von Richthofen in favour of the location of Kattigara in the Gulf of Tongking, are absolutely convincing. This position seems to satisfy every condition. For:

1. Tongking was for some centuries at that period (B.C. 111 to A.D. 263), and that period only, actually *incorporated* as part of the Chinese Empire.

2. The only port mentioned in the Chinese annals as at that period open to foreign traffic was Kiau-chi, substantially identical with the modern capital of Tongking, Kesho, or Hanoi. Whilst there are no notices of foreign arrivals by any other approach, there are repeated notices of such arrivals by this province, including that famous embassy from Antun, King of Ta-ts'in, *i.e.* M. Aurelius Antoninus (A.D. 161–180), in A.D. 166.

3. The province in question was then known as Ji-nan (or Zhi-nan, French *J*); whence possibly the name *Sinae*, which has travelled so far and spread over such libraries of literature. The Chinese annalyst who mentions the Roman embassy, adds: 'The people of that kingdom (*Ta-ts'in*, or the Roman Empire) come in numbers for trading purposes to *Fu-nan*, *Ji-nan*, and Kiau-chi.' Fu-nan, we have seen, was Champa or Zabai. In Ji-nan, with its chief port Kiau-chi, we may recognise with assurance '*Kattigara, portus Sinarum.*'" Yule, *Notes on the Oldest Records of the Sea-Route to China, Proc. R. Geog. Soc.*, 1882, pp. 658–9.]

[3] *Lit.* "Interior."

countries to Bactriana by the Stone Tower, but also a road to India which goes through Palimbothra. And the road from the metropolis of the Sinæ to the port of Cattigara runs towards the south-west; so the former city would appear not to fall on the meridian of Sera and Cattigaras, as Marinus will have it, but to lie further east."

Serice.

"Serice is bounded on the west by Scythia beyond Imaus, according to the line already defined (*i.e.*, a line whose northern extremity is in *long.* 150°, *N. lat.* 63° and its southern extremity in *long.* 160°, *N. lat* 35°); on the north, by the Terra Incognita, in the latitude of the Island of Thule; on the east, by the Eastern Terra Incognita in the meridian of 180° from lat. 63° down to 3°o: on the south, by the remaining part of India beyond the Ganges along the parallel of 35° to the termination of that country in *long.* 173°, and then by the Sinæ along the same line till you reach the frontier of the Terra incognita, as it has just been defined[1].

"Serice is girdled round by the mountains named Anniba[2], by the easternmost part of the Auxacian Mountains, by the mountains called Asmiræan, the easternmost part of the Kasian Mountains, by Mount Thagurus, by the most easterly part of the ranges called Hemodus and Sericus, and by the chain of Ottorocorrhas. Two rivers of especial note flow through the greater part of Serice; the river Œchordas is one of these, one source of which is that set forth as flowing from the Auxacian range, and the other from the Asmiræan range. . . . And the other is the river called Bautes, which has one source in the Kasian Mountains and another in the mountains of Ottorocorrhas[3].

"The most northern parts of Serice are inhabited by tribes

[1] One might be reading the legislative definitions of the boundaries of an American state or an Australian colony. We see here how Ptolemy's Asiatic Geography was compiled. It is evident that he first drew his maps embodying all the information that he had procured, however vague and rough it might be. From these maps he then educed his tables of latitudes and longitudes and his systematic topography. The result is that everything assumes an appearance of exact definition; and indications on the map which meant no more than "somewhere hereabouts is said to be such a country," become translated into a precision fit for an Act of Parliament.

[2] I omit the latitudes and longitudes of the mountains, rivers, and cities named in this chapter.

[3] There is, I suppose, no question that the Serice described here is mainly the basin of Chinese Turkestan, encompassed on three sides by lofty mountains. In *Auxacia* we probably trace the name of Aqsu (Deguignes and D'Anville), in Kasia perhaps Kashgar (D'Anv.). The *Oikhardai*, on the river of that name, which is probably the Tarim, may represent the *Uighúrs*. [This is no doubt an error; the Uighúrs did not exist then.]

of cannibals[1]. Below these the nation of the Annibi dwells to the north of the mountains bearing the same name. Between these last and the Auxacian Mountains is the nation of the Sizyges[2]; next to them the Damnæ; and then the Piaddæ, extending to the river Œchardus. Adjoining it are a people bearing the same name, the Œchardæ.

"And again, east of the Annibi are the Garenæi and the Nabannæ[3]. There is the Asmiræan country lying north of the mountains of the same name, and south of this extending to the Kasian Mountains the great nation Issedones; and beyond them to the east the Throani. Below them come the Ethaguri to the east of the mountains of the same name, and south of the Issedones the Aspacaræ, and then the Batæ, and furthest to the south, near the mountain chains Hemodus and Sericus, are the Ottorocorrhæ[4]."

The names of the following cities of Serice are given: "Damna, Piada, Asmiræa, Tharrhana, Issedon Serica, Aspacara, Drosache, Paliana, Abragana, Thogara, Daxata, Orosana, Ottorocorrha, Solana, Sera Metropolis" (book vi, ch. 16).

The Land of the Sinæ.

"The Sinæ are bounded on the north by part of Serice, as has been defined already; on the east and the south, by the Terra Incognita; on the west, by India beyond the Ganges, according to the boundary already defined extending to the Great Gulf, and then by the Great Gulf itself, and those gulfs that follow it in succession, by the gulf called *Theriodes*, and by part of the gulf of the Sinæ, on which dwell the fish-eating Ethiopians[5], according to the detail which follows."

He then gives the longitude and latitude of various points on the coast; viz., River Aspithra, city of Bramma, River Ambastes, Rhabana, R. Senus, Cape Notion, Satyr's Cape, R. Cottiaris, and Cattigara, to the Port of the Sinæ. Of inland cities are named

[1] As late as the middle of the thirteenth century King Hethum of Armenia in the deserts near Bishbaliq speaks of wild men with no covering but the hair of their heads; "They are real brutes," it is added. I do not know any other reference to tribes in Tartary in so low a state. (*Journ. Asiat.*, sér. ii, tom. xii, pp. 273 *seqq.*)

[2] The name *Sizyges* in its probable etymology appears to refer to the chariot- or waggon-driving habits of the people. A tribe of the Uighúrs hereabouts were called by the Chinese *Chhessé* or "The Car Drivers." (Rémusat in *Acad.*, viii, 112.)

[3] Possibly the *Naiman* horde so notable in the Mongol history.

[4] *Utara Kuru* of the Hindus, see Lassen, i, 846.

[5] Marcianus of Heraclea in the corresponding passage has the "Ichthyophagi *Sinae*," which is, perhaps, an indication that *his* Ptolemy did not contain the perplexing appellation *Æthiopes*. As this appellation (Ichthyophagi Æthiopes) occurs more appropriately (Bk. iv, chap. 9) as that of a tribe on the remote west coast of Africa, it is not improbable that its introduction here is due to officious, or perhaps unconscious, interpolation by a transcriber.

Akadra, Aspithra, Cocco- or Coccora-Nagara, Saraga, and Thinæ the Metropolis.

"But this last, they say, hath in reality neither brazen walls nor anything else worth mentioning[1]" (book vii, ch. 3)

NOTE III.

FROM POMPONIUS MELA *DE SITU ORBIS*.

(Supposed about A.D. 50.)

"In the furthest east of Asia are the Indians, Seres, and Scythians. The Indians and Scythians occupy the two extremities, the Seres are in the middle" (i, 2)[2]

In another passage, after speaking of certain islands in the Caspian, and on the Scythian coast, he proceeds:

"From these the course (of the shore) makes a bend and trends to the coast line which faces the east. That part which adjoins the Scythian promontory is first all impassable from snow; then an uncultivated tract occupied by savages. These tribes are the Cannibal Scythians and the Sagæ, severed from one another by a region where none can dwell because of the number of wild animals. Another vast wilderness follows, occupied also by wild beasts, reaching to a mountain called Thabis which overhangs the sea. A long way from that the ridge of Taurus rises. The Seres come between the two; a race eminent for integrity, and well known for the trade which they allow to be transacted behind their backs, leaving their wares in a desert spot" (iii, 7)[3].

NOTE IV.

EXTRACTS FROM PLINY'S NATURAL HISTORY.

(Born A.D. 23, Died A.D. 79.)

"From the Caspian Sea and the Scythian Ocean the course (of the coast) makes a bend till the shore faces the east. The first part of that tract of country, beginning from the Scythian Pro-

[1] See note at p. 159.

[2] ["In ea primos hominum ab oriente accipimus Indos, et Seres et Scythas. Seres media ferme eoæ partis incolunt, Indi et Scythæ ultima: ambo late patentes, neque in hoc tantum pelagus effusi." Pomponius Mela, Lib. I, c. 2.]

[3] ["Ab iis in Eoum mare cursus inflectitur, inque oram terræ spectantis orientem. Pertinet hæc a Scythico promontorio ad Colida: primumque omnis est invia; deinde ob immanitatem habitantium inculta. Scythæ sunt androphagi et Sacæ, distincti regione, quia feris scatet, inhabitabili. Vasta deinde iterum loca belluæ infestant, usque ad montem mari imminentem, nomine Tabim. Longe ab eo Taurus attollitur. Seres intersunt; genus plenum justitiæ, et commercio, quod rebus in solitudine relictis absens peragit, notissimum." Pomponius Mela, Lib. III, c. 7.]

montory, is uninhabitable from eternal winter; the next portion is uncultivated and occupied by savage tribes, among whom are the Cannibal Scythians who feed on human flesh; and alongside of these are vast wildernesses tenanted by multitudes of wild beasts hemming in those human creatures almost as brutal as themselves. Then, we again find tribes of Scythians, and again desert tracts occupied only by wild animals, till we come to that mountain chain overhanging the sea, which is called Tabis. Not till nearly half the length of the coast which looks north-east has been passed, do you find inhabited country[1].

"The first race then encountered are the SERES, so famous for the fleecy product of their forests. This pale floss, which they find growing on the leaves, they wet with water, and then comb out, furnishing thus a double task to our womenkind in first dressing the threads, and then again of weaving them into silk fabrics. So has toil to be multiplied; so have the ends of the earth to be traversed: and all that a Roman dame may exhibit her charms in transparent gauze[2].

[1] It is evident from a comparison of this with the passage of Mela quoted in the preceding note, that both authors are drawing from some common source.

[2] Seneca is still stronger in expressions to like purport: "Video sericas vestes, si vestes vocandæ sunt, in quibus nihil est quo defendi aut corpus, aut denique pudor possit; quibus sumptis, mulier parum liquido, nudam se non esse jurabit. Hæc ingenti summâ, ab ignotis etiam ad commercium gentibus, arcerssuntur, ut matronæ nostræ, ne adulteris quidem, plus sui in cubiculo, quam in publico ostendant." *De Beneficiis*, vii, 9. [Cf. Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient*, p. 259.]

From these passages it would appear that the silk textures in such esteem among the Romans of those days were not what we should call *rich* silks, like the satins and damasks which were imported from China in later days, but *gauzes*, the value of which lay in their excessive delicacy. And that this continued to be the character of the China silks in most general estimation for several centuries later may be gathered from Abu Zaid, who tells us that the chief Chinese officers wore "silks of the first quality, such as were never imported into Arabia," and illustrates this by the story of an Arab merchant whose curiosity was attracted by a mark upon the chest of an officer of the imperial household, which was plainly visible through several folds of the silk dress which he wore; and it proved that the officer had on five robes of this texture, one over the other (*Relation*, i, p. 76). Like stories are told in India of the Dacca muslins. One tells, I think, of Akbar that he rebuked one of his ladies for the indecent transparency of her dress, and in defence she showed that she had on *nine*, of the kind which was called *Bád-baft*, or "Woven Wind."

The passage of Pliny here translated, coupled with another to be noticed presently, has led to a statement made in many respectable books, but which I apprehend to be totally unfounded, that the Greeks and Romans picked to pieces the rich China silks and wove light gauzes out of the material. This is asserted, for example, in the treatise on Silk Manufacture in Lardner's *Cyclopædia* (pp. 5, 6), and in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (7th ed., article *Silk*). Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography* also (article *Serica*) says: "Pliny records that a Greek woman of Cos, named Pamphila, first invented the expedient of

"The Seres are inoffensive in their manners indeed; but, like the beasts of the forest, they eschew the contact of mankind; and, though ready to engage in trade, wait for it to come to them instead of seeking it" (vi, 20).

Further on, when speaking of Taprobane, he says:

"So far we have from the ancients. But we had an opportunity of more correct information in the reign of Claudius, when

splitting these substantial silk stuffs, and of manufacturing those very fine and web-like dresses which became so celebrated under the name of *Coæ Vestes*."

The whole passage of Pliny here alluded to is as follows (xi, 25): "Among these there is a fourth kind of *Bombyx* produced in Assyria and greater than those of which we have been speaking. These make nests of clay, having the appearance of salt, fastening them upon stone; and these nests are so hard that they can scarcely be pierced with a pointed tool. They secrete wax in these nests more copiously than bees do, and the grub too is of proportionately larger size.

"26. There is one with another mode of development produced from a yet larger grub which has two peculiar horns as it were. From this it becomes first a caterpillar; then what is called *bombylius*; next *necydalus*; and then in six months a *bombyx*. These spin webs like spiders, which are turned to the account of female dress and extravagance under the name of *Bombycina*. The process of dressing these webs and again of weaving them into fabrics was first invented in Ceos by a woman called Pamphila, the daughter of Latous. Let us not cheat her of her glory in having devised a method by which women shall be dressed and yet naked!

"27. They say that *Bombyces* are also produced in the island of Cos by the genial action of the earth on the flowers of cypress, turpentine-tree, ash, or oak, when shaken down by rain. The first form of the creature produced is that of a butterfly, little and naked; then as the cold affects it, it develops a rough coat, and against the winter prepares for itself a thick envelope by scraping off the down of leaves with its feet, which are adapted to this purpose. Carding, as it were, and spinning out this substance to a fine thread with its claws, it stretches it from branch to branch, and then lays hold of it and winds it round its body till entirely wrapped in the nest so formed. The people then gather the creatures and put them in earthen pots with warm bran, the effect of which is to develop on them a new plumage, clothed with which they are let go to the other functions reserved for them. The woolly web that they had spun is moistened so as to disengage more easily, and wound off on a reel of reed. The stuffs made from this are worn without shame even by men as light summer clothing. So far have we degenerated from the days when cuirasses of mail were worn that even a coat is too great a burden for us! The produce of the Assyrian Bombyx however we as yet leave to the ladies."

On these passages we may remark:

1. That the account of the Bombyx in § 25 appears to be substantially taken from Aristotle, *De Animal. Hist.*, v, 24, and to refer to some kind of mason bee. The "*in Assyria proveniens*" of Pliny, which the reference to "*Bombyx Assyria*" again at the end of the extract seems to connect with the produce of some kind of texture, does not appear in Aristotle at all. And yet Pliny gives no explanation as to what the produce of the Assyrian Bombyx was.

2. In § 26 Pamphila's invention and some kind of web-weaving bombyx are referred to *Ceos*; in § 27 another kind of weaving bombyx (with its anomalous history) is referred to *Cos*; whilst Aristotle, as we

ambassadors came from the island. A freedman of Annius Plocamus, who had farmed the customs of the Red Sea from the Imperial Exchequer, after sailing round Arabia, was driven by storms past Carmania, and on the fifteenth day made the port of Hippuri[1]. Here he was entertained by the king with kindness and hospitality for six months; and, when he had learned to speak the language, in answer to the king's questions, told him all about Cæsar and the Romans. Nothing that the king heard made such a wonderful impression on him as the opinion of the exactness of our dealings which he formed from seeing in some Roman money that had been taken that the coins were all of the same weight, though the heads upon them showed that they had been struck by different princes. And the stranger having particularly urged him to cultivate the friendship of the Romans, he sent these four ambassadors, the chief of whom was named

shall see, refers Pamphila to Cos. Has not Pliny here been merely emptying out of his note-book two separate accounts of the same matter?

3. In § 26 Pliny's words *redordiri rursusque texere* are verbatim the same that he uses in the passage about the Seres translated in the text, and seem to be merely affected expressions, indicating nothing more than the carding and reeling the *sericum* and the *bombycinum* respectively out of the entanglement of their natural web (as Pliny imagines it) and then re-entangling them again (as it were) in the loom. This is put beyond doubt by the fact that § 26 is merely a paraphrase from Aristotle (*De An. Hist.*, v, 19), who, speaking of various insect transformations, says: "From a certain great grub, which has as it were horns, and differs from the others, is produced, first by transformation of the grub, a caterpillar, and then *bombylius*, and then *necydalus*. In six months it goes through all these changes of form. And from this creature some women disengage and reel off the *bombycina* and then weave them. And the first who is said to have woven this material was Pamphile, daughter of Plates in Cos." Whatever material this *bombycina* may have really been, there is evidently here no question of picking foreign stuffs to pieces, a figment which seems entirely based on Pliny's rhetoric. ["It must be admitted that as long as we had no clear idea as to what kind of texture was meant by Pliny's 'telae araneorum modo textae,' we were free to assume that the stuff 'slipt and re-woven' was either the cocoon itself, or raw silk pressed into skeins. Yet, it seems to me that the passage in the *Wei-lio* and Ma Tuan-lin's extension of it, fully confirm the matter of fact as represented by Pliny. It looks very much, as if the texture called *hu-ling* in the two passages referred to was identical with the thin gauzes of which Seneca [speaks]" (see *supra*). Hirth, *l.c.*, p. 259.] Cuvier considered the description in § 27, however erroneous, clearly to indicate some species of silkworm, which had been superseded by the introduction of that from China (see Didot's edition of Pliny with Cuvier's notes *in loco*). And, indeed, as regards the *Assyrian* Bombyx, we learn from Consul Taylor that its wild silk is still gathered and used for dresses by the women about Jazirah on the Tigris (see *J. R. G. S.*, xxxv, p. 51).

[1] Tennent says this is the modern Kudra-mah on the north-west of Ceylon, near the pearl banks of Manaar (i, 532). [See the "Taprobane" of Pliny and Ptolemy By Donald Ferguson. (*Jour. R. As Soc.*, July, 1904, pp. 539–541.)]

Rachias[1]....These men also related that the side of their island which was opposite India, extended ten thousand stadia towards the south-east. The Seres, too, who dwell beyond the mountains of Emodus, and who are known to us by the commerce which is carried on with them, had been seen by these people, the father of Rachias had visited their country; and they themselves, on their travels, had met with people of the Seres. They described these as surpassing the ordinary stature of mankind, as having red hair, blue eyes, hoarse voices, and no common language to communicate by. The rest of what they told was just as we have it from our own traders. The goods carried thither are deposited on the further side of a certain river beside what the Seres have for sale, and the latter, if content with the bargain, carry them off; acting, in fact, as if in contempt of the luxury to which they ministered, and just as if they saw in the mind's eye the object and destination and result of this traffic[2]" (vi, 24).

In a later passage, after speaking of the simplicity of primitive habits, he goes on:

"Hence, one wonders more and more, how from beginnings so different, we have come now to see whole mountains cut down into marble slabs, journeys made to the Seres to get stuffs for clothing, the abysses of the Red Sea explored for pearls, and the depths of the earth in search of emeralds! Nay, more, they have taken up the notion also of piercing the ears, as if it were too small a matter to wear these gems in necklaces and tiaras, unless holes also were made in the body to insert them in!" (xii, 1).

And again:

"But the sea of Arabia is still more fortunate; for 'tis thence it sends us pearls. And at the lowest computation, India and the Seres and that Peninsula put together drain our empire of one hundred million of sesterces every year. That is the price that our luxuries and our womankind cost us!" (xii, 41).

[1] On the possible interpretations of this name see Tennent's *Ceylon*, i, 532–3.

[2] I cannot attempt to solve the difficulties of this passage, on which I have seen nothing satisfactory. Putting aside the red hair and blue eyes, it is difficult to conceive that the Chinese ever practised this dumb trade, which in all other known cases I believe has been found only where one party to it was in a very low state of civilisation. A certain kind of dumb trade indeed prevails more or less in most Asiatic countries, including Mongolia (Huc and Gabet, 112) and *possibly* China, I mean that by which bargains are driven and concluded by the two parties fingering each other's knuckles under a shawl without a word spoken. Could the stories of the Seric trade have risen out of this practice?

NOTE IV BIS.

FROM DIONYSIUS PERIERGETES[1].

(A.D. 2nd Century.)

Verum ubi Scythici oceani gurgitem profundum
navis secueris, ulteriusque ad mare orientale deflexeris,
iter tibi Aurearn insulam adducit, ubi
solis ipsius ortus conspicitur purus. (537–590.)

Post hunc propter Jaxartis cursus Sacæ habitant
sagittiferi, quos haud facile alius refutaverit
sagittarius, quippe quibus non sit fas irrita jaculari,
et Tochari Phrunique et barbaræ Serum nationes,
qui boves pinguesque oves detrectant,
sed versicolores vastæ regionis flores intexunt
ac vestes multa arte conficiunt pretiosas,
quæ colore pratensis herbæ honorem referant,
ut ne opus quidem aranearum cum illis certet. (749–757.)

FROM RUFUS FESTUS AVIENUS[2].

(4th Century.)

Descriptio Orbis Terræ.

...Tum cyaneis erepit ab undis
insula, quæ prisci signatur nominis usu
Aurea, quod fulvo sol hic magis orbe rubescat. (769–771.)

...Inde cruenti
sunt Tochari, Phrunique truces, et inhospita Seres
arva habitant. Gregibus permixti oviumque boumque
vellera per silvas Seres nemoralia carpunt. (933–936.)

FROM PRISCIANUS[3].

(Beginning 4th Century.)

Periegesis.

At navem pelago flectenti aquilonis ab oris
ad solem calido referentem lumen ab ortu
Aurea spectetur tibi pinguibus insula glebis. (592–594.)

Inde Sacæ nimium certis gens mira sagittis,
flumen Iaxartem juxta quibus arva coluntur;
et Tochari Phrurique et plurima millia Serum:
illis nulla boum, pecoris nec pascua curæ,
vestibus utuntur, texunt quas floribus ipsi,
quos tenuant lectos desertis finibus ipsi. (725–730.)

[1] *Geographi Græci Minores*,...ill. C. Müllerus, ii, 1861, pp. 141–51–2.

[2] *Geographi Græci Minores*,...ill. C. Müllerus, ii, 1861, pp. 184, 185.

[3] *Geographi Græci Minores*,...ill. C. Müllerus, ii, 1861, pp. 195, 196.

NOTE V.

FROM THE ITINERARY OF GREECE OF PAUSANIAS.

(Circa A.D. 174.)

"Now, the Land of Elis is not merely fruitful in other products, but also, and it is not the least of them, in *Byssus*[1]. Hemp and flax and byssus are sown by such as have soils appropriate to the cultivation of each. But the filaments from which the Seres make their stuffs are the growth of no plant, but are produced in quite another manner; and thus it is. There exists in their country a certain insect which the Greeks call *Sēr*; but by the Seres it is not called Sēr, but something quite different. In size 'tis twice as big as the biggest of beetles; but, in other respects, it resembles the spiders that spin under trees; and, moreover, it has eight legs as spiders have. The Seres keep these creatures, and make houses for their shelter adapted to summer and winter respectively. And the substance wrought by these insects is found in the shape of a slender filament entangled about their legs. The people feed them for about four years upon millet, and in the fifth year (for they know that the creatures will not live longer than that) they give them a kind of green reed to eat. This is the food that the insect likes best of all; and it crams itself with it to such an extent, that it bursts from repletion. And when it is thus dead, they find the bulk of what it has spun in its inside[2].

"Now, SERIA is known to be an island in a recess of the Erythræan Sea. But I have been told that it is not the Erythræan Sea which makes it an island, but a river which they call SER, just as the Delta of Egypt is isolated by the Nile and not by a sea compassing it all round. And these Seres are of the Ethiopic race; and they hold also the adjoining islands, ABASA and SAKAIA. Yet others say that they are not Ethiopians at all, but a cross between the Scythians and the Indians. This is what they tell of these matters" (vi, 26).

[1] Cotton?

[2] Erroneous as this account is, it looks as if it had come originally from real information, though afterwards misunderstood and perverted. The "shelter adapted to winter and summer" seems to point to the care taken by the Chinese in regulating the heat of the silk-houses: the "five years" may have been a misunderstanding of the five *ages* of the silkworm's life marked by its four moultings; the reed given it to eat when the spinning season has come may refer to the strip of rush with which the Chinese form receptacles for the worms to spin in (see Lardner's *Cyc. Silk Manufacture*, p. 126).

NOTE VI.

FROM THE HISTORY OF AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS.

(Circa A.D. 380.)

"Beyond these regions of the two Scythias, towards the east, a circling and continuous barrier of lofty mountains fences round the Seres, who dwell thus secure in their rich and spacious plains. On the west they come in contact with the Scythians; on the north and east they are bounded by solitary regions of snow: on the south, they reach as far as India and the Ganges. The mountains of which we have spoken are called Anniva and Nazavicium and Asmira and Emodon and Opurocarra[1]. And these plains, thus compassed on all sides by precipitous steeps, are traversed by two famous rivers, Œchardes and Bautis, winding with gentle current through the spacious level; whilst the Seres themselves pass through life still more tranquilly, ever keeping clear of arms and war. And being of that sedate and peaceful temper whose greatest delight is a quiet life, they give trouble to none of their neighbours. They have a charming climate, and air of healthy temper; the face of their sky is unclouded; their breezes blow with serviceable moderation; their forests are spacious, and shut out the glare of day.

"The trees of these forests furnish a product of a fleecy kind, so to speak, which they ply with frequent waterings, and then card out in fine and slender threads, half woolly fibre, half viscid filament. Spinning these fibres they manufacture *silk*, the use of which once confined to our nobility has now spread to all classes without distinction, even to the lowest. Those Seres are frugal in their habits beyond other men, and study to pass their lives in peace, shunning association with the rest of mankind. So when foreigners pass the river on their frontier to buy their silk or other wares, the bargain is settled by the eyes alone with no exchange of words. And so free are they from wants that, though ready to dispose of their own products, they purchase none from abroad" (xxiii, 6).

NOTE VII.

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE SILK-WORM INTO THE ROMAN EMPIRE, FROM PROCOPIUS, *DE BELLO GOTHICO*.

(A.D. 500–565.)

"About the same time certain monks arrived from the (country of the) Indians, and learning that the Emperor Justinian had it

[1] Read "Anniba, Auxacius, Asmiraeus, Emodon, and Ottorocorrhas." See extract from Ptolemy, *supra*, p. 195.

much at heart that the Romans should no longer buy silk from the Persians, they came to the king and promised that they would so manage about silk that the Romans should not have to purchase the article either from the Persians or from any other nation; for they had lived, they said, a long time in a country where there were many nations of the Indians, and which goes by the name of SERINDA.' And when there they had made themselves thoroughly acquainted with the way in which silk might be produced in the Roman territory. And when the emperor questioned them very closely, and asked how they could guarantee success in the business, the monks told him that the agents in the production of silk were certain caterpillars, working under the teaching of nature, which continually urged them to their task. To bring live caterpillars indeed from that country would be impracticable, but arrangements might be made for hatching them easily and expeditiously. For the eggs produced at a birth by one of those worms were innumerable; and it was possible to hatch these eggs long after they had been laid, by covering them with dung, which produced sufficient heat for the purpose. When they had given these explanations, the emperor made them large promises of reward if they would only verify their assertions by carrying the thing into execution. And so they went back again to India and brought a supply of the eggs to Byzantium. And having treated them just as they had said, they succeeded in developing the caterpillars, which they fed upon mulberry leaves. And from this beginning originated the establishment of silk-culture in the Roman territory" (iv, 17).

Zonaras (*Annals*, xiv, vol. ii, p. 69 of Paris ed. 1687), in relating this story after Procopius, says that till this occurred the Romans did not know how silk was produced, nor even that it was spun by worms.

The same as told by THEOPHANES of Byzantium.

(End of sixth century.)

"Now in the reign of Justinian a certain Persian exhibited in Byzantium the mode in which (silk) worms were hatched, a thing which the Romans had never known before. This Persian on coming away from the country of the Seres had taken with him the eggs of these worms (concealed) in a walking-stick, and succeeded in bringing them safely to Byzantium. In the beginning of spring he put out the eggs upon the mulberry leaves which form their food; and the worms feeding upon those leaves developed into winged insects and performed their other operations. Afterwards when the Emperor Justinian showed the Turks the manner in which the worms were hatched, and the silk which they produced, he astonished them greatly. For at that time the Turks were in possession of the marts and ports frequented by the Seres,

which had been formerly in the possession of the Persians. For when Ephthalanus King of the Ephthalites (from whom indeed the race derived that name) conquered Perozes and the Persians, these latter were deprived of their places, and the Ephthalites became possessed of them[1]. But somewhat later the Turks again conquered the Ephthalites and took the places from them in turn." In Müller's *Fragmenta Histor. Græc.*, iv, 270.

NOTE VIII.

EXTRACTS REGARDING INTERCOURSE BETWEEN THE TURKISH KHANS AND THE BYZANTINE EMPERORS.

From the Fragments of MENANDER PROTECTOR.

(End of sixth century.)

"In the beginning of the fourth year of the Emperor Justin [568] an embassy from the Turks arrived at Byzantium; and it came about thus. The power of the Turks had now grown to a great pitch, and the people of Sogdia who had formerly been subject to the Ephthalites[2] but were now under the Turks, besought the king to send an embassy to the Persians, in order to obtain permission for them to carry silk for sale into Persia. Dizabulus[3] consented to send an embassy of Sogdians, and

[1] Perozes (Firoz) reigned 458–484. The circumstances as gathered from other Greek writers are set forth in Lassen, ii, 773.

The mention here of the "*ports* frequented by the Seres" is remarkable, and I believe the only indication of the Seres (under that name) as a sea-faring people. *If the expression can be depended on*, the ports in question must have been in Sind. We have seen that a record of the Chinese trade to Sind at a date somewhat later exists (*supra*, p. 87). This passage then becomes a final link of identification between Serês and Chinese.

[2] [The Hephthalites or Ephthalites, known as the White Huns, derive their name from their chief *Ye-tai-i-li-t'o*, who sent an embassy to China in 516. The Chinese Historians say that the *Ye ta* (Ephthalites) were of the race of the Ta Yue-chi, came from Kin shan (Altai), and settled west of Yu t'ien (Khotan). It is very doubtful whether they were a branch of the Ta Yue-chi. They were at first a small people called *Hoa*, subject to the Juan Juan; they grew in importance during the fifth century and became the neighbours of the Persians; Talikhan, west of Balkh, being the frontier town between the two nations in 500. The capital of the Ephthalites was Bāmyin (Badhaghis) (Pai-ti-yen), near Herat. We saw that the Ephthalites were destroyed by the Western Turks between 563 and 567. [See *supra*, p. 59.]—Specht, *Études sur l'Asie centrale*, *J. As.*, 1883. Chavannes, *Tou-Kiue*.]

[3] The Great Khan of the Turks at this time, according to the Chinese histories, was *Mokan*. There was also a great chief called by these authorities *Titeupuli*, who is mentioned as joining Mokan Khan in an expedition to China a few years before this time. It is difficult not to identify this name with that of *Dizabulus*, but the latter is so distinctly represented as the supreme chief that Deguignes hesitates whether to

Maniach was put at the head of the mission. So they presented themselves before the Persian king, and solicited permission to carry on their silk trade without obstruction. The King of the Persians, however, was not at all pleased at the notion that the Turks should have free access from that side into the Persian territories, and so he put them off till the morrow, and when the morrow came again deferred reply. After he had thus staved off the matter for a length of time on one pretext or other, the solicitations of the Sogdian people became very importunate, and at last Khosroes called a council where the matter was brought up for consideration. And then that same Ephthalite Katulphus, who, in revenge for the king's ravishing his wife, had betrayed his nation to the Turks, and who had on that account abandoned his country and taken up with the Medes, exhorted the Persian king on no account to let the silk have free passage, but to have a price put upon it, buy it up, and have it burnt in the presence of the ambassadors. It would thus be seen that though he would do no injustice, he would have nothing to do with the silk of the Turks. So the silk was put into the fire and the ambassadors, turned homeward, anything but pleased with the result of their journey, and related to Dizabulus what had taken place. He was, however, exceedingly desirous to obtain the good will of the Persians for his government, so he immediately despatched a second embassy. When this second Turkish embassy arrived at the Persian court, the king, with the Persian ministers and Katulphus, came to the conclusion that it would be highly inexpedient for the Persians to enter into friendly relations with the Turks, for the whole race of the Scythians was one not to be trusted. So he ordered some of the ambassadors to be taken off by a deadly poison, in order to prevent any more such missions from coming. Most of the Turkish envoys accordingly, in fact all but three or four, were put an end to by a deadly poison which was mixt with their food, whilst the king caused it to be whispered about among the Persians that the Turkish ambassadors had died of the suffocating dry heat of the Persian climate; for their own

identify him with Mokan or Titeupuli (ii, 380–5). [Prof. Chavannes, *Tou-Kiue*, pp. 227–8, has a paragraph on the name Silzibul (Dizabul) which he derives from the proper name *Sin* and the title *jabgu* (*Sin jabgu*); Marquart, *Êranšahr*, p. 216, in Silzibul sees *Syr-jabgu*, the people of the *Syr* Country.]

Another of the fragments of Menander contains an account of the embassy of Valentine who was sent some twelve years later by the Emperor Tiberius II. In this occur the names of *Tardu* and *Bochanos*, two Turkish chiefs who appear in the Chinese Annals as Ta t'eu Khan and Apo Khan (see Deguignes i, 226, 227; ii, 395, 463). [The Western Turks (see above, p. 58) had for ancestor T'u wu, grandson of Na-tu-lu; his two sons were T'u men and She-tie-mi: Ta t'eu kagan (Tardu) was the son of She-tie mi (Dizabul). Mu han or Se kin who died *c.* 572 after reigning twenty years was a son of T'u men; Mu han's son was Ta lo pien or Apo Kagan. See Chavannes, *Tou-Kiue*, pp. 47 *seq.*]

country was subject to frequent falls of snow, and they could not existiexcept in a cold climate. Dizabulus, however, a sharp and astute person, was not ignorant of the real state of the case. And so this was the origin of ill-will between the Turks and the Persians. Maniach, who was chief of the people of Sogdia, took the opportunity of suggesting to Dizabulus that it would be more for the interest of the Turks to cultivate the friendship of the Romans, and to transfer the sale of silk to them, seeing also that they consumed it more largely than any other people. And Maniach added that he was quite ready to accompany a party of Turkish ambassadors, in order to promote the establishment of friendly relations between the Turks and the Romans. Dizabulus approved of the suggestion, and despatched Maniach with some others as ambassadors carrying complimentary salutations, with a present of silk to no small value, and letters to the Roman Emperor. So Maniach...at last arrived at Byzantium, and presenting himself at the court, conducted himself before the Emperor in accordance with the obligations of friendship, and when he had made over the letter and presents to the proper officers, prayed that all the toils of his long journey might not have been wasted. The Emperor when he had by aid of the interpreters read the letter, which was written in Scythian, gave a gracious reception to the embassy, and then put questions to them about the government and country of the Turks. They told him that there were four chiefs, but that the supreme authority over the whole nation rested with Dizabulus. They also related how he had subdued the Ephthalites and even made them pay tribute. Then said the Emperor, 'Has then the whole power of the Ephthalites been overthrown?' 'Altogether,' answered the envoys. Again the Emperor: 'Did the Ephthalites live in cities or villages or how?' *The Envoys:* 'They are a people who live in cities, O king.' 'Is it not of course then,' said the Emperor, 'that you are become masters of all their cities?'...The ambassadors having counted up to the Emperor all the nations who were subject to the Turks, begged him to give his sanction to the establishment of amity and alliance between the two nations, and said that on their part they would always be ready to attack the enemies of the Roman power wherever they might show themselves in their part of the world. And as he said this Maniach and his companions raised their hands and swore a great oath that they were speaking with their whole hearts, and invoked curses on themselves and on Dizabulus, and on all the nation, if their promises were not true and such as they would carry out. And thus it was that the nation of the Turks became friends with the Romans." * * * * * * * * *

(Another Fragment.)

"Now Justin, when the Turks, who were anciently called

Sacæ, had sent to arrange a treaty with him, resolved to send them an embassy also. So he ordered Zemarchus the Cilician, who was then Præfect of the cities of the East, to prepare for this. And when he had got everything ready that he required for so long a journey, which was towards the end of the fourth year of the reign of Justin, in the month which the Latins call August, Zemarchus started from Byzantium with Maniach himself and his company." * * * * *

(*Another.*)

"After accomplishing a journey of many days, Zemarchus and his party arrived in the territories of the Sogdians. And as they dismounted from their horses certain Turks, sent as it seemed for that purpose, presented some iron which they offered for sale; this being, I fancy, in order to show that they had mines of iron in their country. For the manufacture of iron is reckoned among them to be by no means an easy art; and we may guess that this was a kind of brag by which they intended to indicate that theirs was a country in which iron was produced[1] Some others of the tribe also showed off their performances (in a different line). These, announcing themselves as the conjurors away of evil omens, came up to Zemarchus and taking all the baggage of the party set it down in the middle. They then began ringing a bell and beating a kind of drum over the baggage, whilst some ran round it carrying leaves of burning incense flaming and crackling, and raged about like maniacs, gesticulating as if repelling evil spirits. Carrying on this exorcism of evil as they considered it, they made Zemarchus himself also pass through the fire, and in the same manner they appeared to perform an act of purification for themselves[2]. After

[1] It may have had a different import. For according to the Chinese authority followed by Deguignes, the tribe which founded the Turkish power shortly before this time had long inhabited the Altai, where they worked as smiths for the service of the Khan of the Geu-gen or Juan-Juan; and the Khans of the Turks instituted in memory of their origin the ceremony of annually forging a piece of iron. The presentation of iron to the Byzantine envoys may have had some kindred signification (Deguignes, ii, 350, 373). [The Juan-Juan who became very powerful during the fifth century were defeated by the Turks in 552; they took refuge, part of them at the court of the Wei Sovereigns in China; the others at Byzantium. They are known in Western History as the Avars. See Chavannes, *Tou-Kiue*, p. 230.]

[2] When Plano Carpini and his companions came to the camp of Batu they were told that they must pass between two fires, because this would neutralise any mischievous intentions they might entertain, or poison that they might be carrying. And in another place the traveller says: "To be brief, they believe that by fire all things are purified. Hence when envoys come to them, or chiefs, or any other persons whatever, they and the presents they bring must pass between two fires, to prevent their working any witchcraft or bringing any poison or evil thing with them" (p. 744 and p. 627). In the French note which Buscarel, the ambassador in 1289 of Arghún Khan of Persia, presented with his

these performances the party proceeded with those who had been sent to receive them to the place where the Khagan was, in a certain mountain called ECTAG, or as a Greek would say, 'the Golden Mountain. And when they got there they found the camp of Dizabulus in a certain hollow encompassed by the Golden Mountain[1]. The party of Zemarchus on their arrival were immediately summoned to an interview with Dizabulus. They found him in his tent, seated on a golden chair with two wheels, which could be drawn by one horse when required. Then they addressed the Barbarian in accordance with the fashion of those people, and laid the presents before him, which were taken charge of by those whose office it was. Zemarchus then made a polite speech [which may be omitted], and Dizabulus replied in like manner. Next they were called to a feast, and passed the whole day in conviviality in the tent. Now this tent was furnished with silken hangings of various colours artfully wrought. They were supplied with wine, not pressed from the grape like ours, for their country does not produce the vine, nor is it customary among them to use grape wine; but what they got to drink was some other kind of barbarian liquor[2]. And at last they departed to the place assigned for their quarters. Next day again they assembled in another pavilion, adorned in like manner with rich hangings of silk, in which figures of different kinds were wrought. Dizabulus was seated on a couch that was all of gold[3], and in the middle of the pavilion were drinking vessels and flagons and great jars, all of gold[4]. So they engaged in another drinking match, talking and listening to such purpose as people do in their drink, and then separated[5]. The following day there was another bout in a

master's letter to the King of France (both of which are preserved in the French archives) it is said: "priant vous que se vous li envoiez yceuls ou autres messages, que vous vouliez souffrir et commander leur que il li facent tele reverence et honneur comme coustume et usage est en sa court *sanz passer feu.*". (Rémusat, in *Mém. de l'Acad. Insc.*, vii, 432.)

[1] *Ek-tag* or *Ak-tagh* would be "White Mountain." The Altai or Golden Mountain of the Mongols, which was the original seat of these Turks, may be meant, but it is very remote. [See Chavannes, *Tou-Kiue*, p. 236.] All that can be deduced from the narrative is that it was beyond *Talas*, for the party pass that place on their march towards Persia (*infra*). Simocatta also says it was an established law among the Turks that the Golden Mountain should be in the hands of the most powerful Khagan (vii, 8). [See p. 201.]

[2] No doubt *Darassun*; see Shah Rukh's embassy in Note XVII *infra*.

[3] So Rubruquis describes Batu as seated "on a long broad throne like a bed, gilt all over" (p. 268).

[4] "At the entrance of the tent there was a bench with Cosmos (*Kumis* or fermented mare's milk), and great goblets of gold and silver set with precious stones" (*Ibid.*). See also Shah Rukh's Embassy *infra*.

[5] This constant drinking corresponds exactly to the account of the habits of the Mongol court in Plano Carpini and Rubruquis. Thus the former, on the occasion of Kuyuk Khan's formal inthroning, says that

pavilion supported by wooden posts covered with gold, and in which there was a gilded throne resting on four golden peacocks[1]. In front of the place of meeting there was a great array of waggons, in which there was a huge quantity of silver articles consisting of plates and dishes, besides numerous figures of animals in silver, in no respect inferior to our own. To such a pitch has attained the luxury of the Turkish Sovereign!

"And whilst Zemarchus and his party continued there, Dizabulus thought proper that Zemarchus with twenty of his servants and followers should accompany him on a campaign against the Persians, sending the rest of the Romans back to the land of the CHOLIATÆ[2] to await the return of Zemarchus. These last Dizabulus dismissed with presents and friendly treatment; and at the same time he honoured Zemarchus with the gift of a handmaiden, one of those called *Kherkhis*, who was the captive of his spear[3]. And so Zemarchus went with Dizabulus to fight the Persians. Whilst they were on this expedition, as they were pitched at a place called TALAS, an ambassador from the Persians came to meet Dizabulus, who invited him to dinner as well as the ambassador of the Romans[4]. When the party had met, Dizabulus accorded to the Roman much the more honourable treatment, and made him occupy the more honourable place at table. Moreover he heaped great reproaches on the Persians, telling the

after the homage had been done "they began to drink, and as their way is, continued drinking till hour of vespers." (p. 758.) Rubruquis's account of his residence at the Court of Mangu Khan is quite redolent of drink. One sees how Sultan Baber came by his propensity to strong drink.

[1] Probably the lineal predecessor of the Peacock Throne of Delhi.

[2] Or *Chliatæ*. The *Kallats* are mentioned with the Kanklis, Kipchaks, and Kharliks as four Turkish tribes descended from the Patriarch Oguz Khan. (Deguignes, ii, 9.)

Were these the four divisions of the Turks of whom Maniach spoke to the Emperor?

Deguignes, however, identifies the Chliatæ with the *Kangli* who lay north of the country between the Caspian and Aral (ii, 388). And St. Martin in his notes on Lebeau's *History* says that in the tenth and eleventh centuries the Russians called the Turk and Fin nations near the Caspian *Khwalis*, and knew that sea as the *Sea of Khwalis*. (*Hist. du Bas Empire*, 1828, x, 61.)

[3] This girl might be either Kirghiz or Circassian. St. Martin thinks the latter. (*Ib.*)

[4] Near Talas about sixty years later the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang, on his way to India fell in with the Great Khan of the Turks, a successor of Dizabulus, whom the Chinese traveller calls *Shehu*. His account is very like that of Zemarchus. The Khan "occupied a great tent adorned with gold flowers of dazzling richness. The officers of the court sat in two long rows on mats before the Khan, brilliantly attired in embroidered silk; the Khan's guard standing behind them. Although here was but a barbarian prince under a tent of felt, one could not look on him without respect and admiration." (*H. de la Vie de H. T.*, pp. 55–6.)

injuries he had received at their hands, and how he was coming on that account to attack them[1]. So as the abuse of Dizabulus waxed more and more violent, the Persian envoy, casting off all regard for that etiquette of theirs which imposes silence at feasts, began to speak with heat, and in the most spirited manner to refute the charges of Dizabulus; insomuch that all the company wondered at the way in which he gave rein to his wrath. For, contrary to all rule, he used all sorts of intemperate expressions.

"And in this state of things the party broke up and Dizabulus prosecuted his preparations against the Persians. And then he summoned Zemarchus and his party, and when they had presented themselves he renewed his declarations of friendship for the Romans and gave them their dismissal homewards, sending also with them another embassy. Now Maniach the leader of the former embassy was dead, and the name of the one next in rank was Tagma, with the dignity of *Tarchan*[2]. So this personage was sent by Dizabulus as ambassador to the Romans, and along with him the son of the deceased, I mean of Maniach. This was quite a young fellow, but he had succeeded to his father's honours, and obtained the next place in rank to Tagma Tarchan. * * * *

"Now when the rumour spread through Turkey[3] and among the neighbouring nations how ambassadors from the Romans were among them, and were going back to Byzantium accompanied by a Turkish embassy, the chief of the tribes in that quarter sent a request to Dizabulus that he might be allowed also to send some of his own people to see the Roman state. And Dizabulus granted permission. Then other chiefs of the tribes made the same petition, but he would grant leave to none except the chief of the Choliatæ. So the Romans taking the latter with them across the River Oech, after a long journey came to that huge wide lagoon[4]. Here Zemarchus halted for three days and sent off George, whose business it was to carry expresses, to announce to the Emperor the return of the party from the Turks. So George with a dozen Turks set out for Byzantium by a route which was without water, and altogether desert, but was the shortest way. Zemarchus then travelled for twelve days along the sandy shores of the Lagoon, and having to cross some very difficult places,

[1] A curious parallel to the scene at Samarkand, related by Clavijo (*supra*, p. 174), where Timur takes the place of Dizabulus, the Castilian envoy that of Zemarchus, and the Chinese ambassador that of the Persian.

[2] See III, pp. 146–7 *n. infra*. [Cf. Chavannes, *Tou-Kiue*, p. 239.]

[3] "Κατὰ τὴν Τουρκίαν."

[4] If this was the Aral we may suppose the Oech to be the Sir or Jaxartes. But this is scarcely consistent with the position assigned to the Chliatæ.

came to the streams of the River ICH[1], and then to the DAICH[2], and then by other swampy tracts to the ATTILA[3], and then again to the land of the UGURS[4]. And these sent to say that four thousand Persians were stationed in ambuscade in the bush about the River KOPHEN[5] to lay hands on the party as it passed," etc., etc.

Zemarchus escapes the Persians, and after visiting the chief of the ALANS gets to the Phasis, and so to Trebizond, whence he rode post to Byzantium. (From Müller's *Fragmenta Histor. Græc.*, iv, p. 235.)

NOTE IX.

EXTRACTS FROM THE *TOPOGRAPHIA CHRISTIANA* OF COSMAS THE MONK.

(Circa 545.)

1. "But, as is said by those who are without[6], in discoursing of this matter (and here they speak truth), there are on this earth four gulfs which enter the land from the ocean; to wit, this one of ours which penetrates the land from the west side, and extends from Gades[7] right through Romania[8]; then the Arabian Gulf called also Erythræan[9] and the Persian Gulf, both which are offshoots from that of Zinj, and penetrate the southern and eastern side of the earth over against the region called Barbary, which forms the extremity of the land of Ethiopia[10]. And those who

[1] Probably the *Limba*. It appears to be called *Tic* by Sharifuddín (*Pétis de la Croix*, ii, 95, 129).

[2] The Ural or *Iaik*, called by Constantine Porphyrogenitus Τσίχ. (*De Administ. Imper.*, cap. xxxvii.)

[3] The *Athil* or Volga.

[4] On these Ugurs, see Vivien St. Martin in M. *Annales des Voyages* for 1848, iv.

[5] *Kuban* I presume.

[6] Οἱ ἔξωθεν, meaning those who are not Christians.
It should be noted that the book is illustrated with sketches and diagrams, the originals of which would appear to have been drawn by Cosmas himself.

[7] Gadeira (McCrindle).

[8] [Romania = Rome, J. W. McCrindle, who quotes, p. 38, the following note of Montfaucon (ii, p. 132 *n.*): *Ρωμανία, Romania*, hic intelligitur terra illa omnis, quæ ad Romanam ditionem pertinebat. Quo item usu Athanasius, p. 364 & Epiphanius, p. 728, Ῥωμανίαν memorant." The numbers refer to the pages in his own editions of these two authors.]

[9] ["The Erythræan, in its wider sense, includes both the Arabian and Persian Gulfs, beside the ocean between Africa and India." (McCrindle, p. 38 *n.*)]

[10] ["Cosmas is here in agreement with the author of the *Periplus* who makes the Aromatic Cape (Guardafui) the end of Barbaria:

navigate the Indian Sea are aware that Zinj[1], as it is called, lies beyond the country where the incense grows, which is called Barbary, and which is compassed round by the ocean as it passes on into those two gulfs. And the fourth gulf enters from the north side of the earth, further to the east, and is called the Caspian or Hircanian Sea[2]. Now navigation is confined to these gulfs only. The ocean it is impossible to navigate, on account of the multitude of currents and the fogs that rise and obstruct the rays of the sun, and because of its vast extent. These things, then, I have made known as I received them from the Man of God (as has been mentioned); or indeed, I might rather say in this case, from my own experience. For I myself, for purposes of trade, have sailed on three out of those four gulfs; to wit, the Roman, the Arabian, and the Persian; and I have got accurate information about the different places on them from the natives as well as from seafaring men.

"Once upon a time, when we were sailing to Further India[3], we had crossed over within a little way of Barbary, beyond which is Zinj (for so they call the mouth of the Ocean), and there I saw to the right of our course a great flight of the birds called *suspha*[4]. These are birds twice as big as kites and somewhat more. And

τελευτοῖον τῆς βαρβαρικῆς ἠπείρου. Ptolemy, however, makes it begin here, and extends it to Rhaptum in the Gulf of Zanguebar." (McCrindle, pp. 38–9 *n.*)]

[1] [On Zinj see *Reports of Miss. Friars*, p. 183 note, and Marignolli, p. 324, *Int.*—Montfaucon has the following note (*l.c.*, p. 132): "Zingium ex ævi sui usu vocat Cosmas, non modo fretum Arabici sinus, sed etiam oram maritimam Africanam ultra fretum; itemque mare adjacens; quod nomen hodieque perseverat littus, quippe Zanguebaricum, a freto Arabici sinus, pene ad usque promontorium Bonæ Spei, quotidianis Europæorum navigationibus frequentatum, ab incolis Zangui vocatur. Zanguebar enim significat, mare Zangui."]

[2] ["Cosmas shared the error prevalent in ancient times, that the Caspian was not a land-locked sea but was a gulf of the great ocean. Herodotus, however, is not chargeable with having been under this delusion." (McCrindle, p. 39 *n.*)]

[3] Literally "Inner India." ["This generally means that part of India which lies on the further side of Cape Comorin or of the Straits between Ceylon and the mainland. But as the name of India was sometimes applied to Southern Arabia, and even to Eastern Africa, India as lying beyond these countries may be here meant. John Malela, or Malala, the Byzantine historian, who wrote not long after the time of Cosmas, calls both of them *India*: 'At this time it happened that the *Indians* waged against each other, those called Auxumites with those called Homerites.... The Roman traders go through the Homerites into Auxumê, and to the interior kingdoms of the Indians, for there are seven kingdoms of the Indians and Ethiopians.' Friar Jornandes calls Eastern Africa *India Tertia*." (J. W. McCrindle, p. 39 *n.*) See III, p. 27 note, *Introductory Notices, Reports of Missionary Friars*.]

[4] ["The size of these birds, and the fact afterwards mentioned that they kept flying aloft, might indicate them to be albatrosses." (McCrindle, p. 40 *n.*)]

I observed that in that quarter there were signs of very unsettled weather. So all the men of experience on board, whether mariners or passengers, began to say that we were getting near the Ocean, and so they called out to the steersman, 'steer the ship to port, and bear up into the gulf, or the currents will sweep us into the Ocean, and we shall be lost.' For the Ocean driving up into the gulf was creating a very heavy sea, and the currents from the gulf again were drifting the ship towards the Ocean: a terrible thing indeed for us who saw what was happening, and in great fear were we. And all this time flocks of those birds called *suspha* followed us flying high over our heads, which was a sign that the Ocean was nigh[1]." (Book ii, p. 132.—Book ii, pp. 37–40, in M^cCrindle's ed.)

2. For if Paradise were really on the surface of this world, is there not many a man among those who are so keen to learn and search out everything, that would not let himself be deterred from teaching it? When we see that there are men who will not be deterred from penetrating to the ends of the earth in search of silk[2], and all for the sake of filthy lucre, how can we believe that they would be deterred from going to get a sight of Paradise? The country of silk, I may mention, is in the remotest of all the Indies, lying towards the left when you enter the Indian Sea, but a vast distance farther off than the Persian Gulf or that island which the Indians call SELEDIBA[3] and the Greeks TAPROBANE. TZINITZA is the name of the country, and the Ocean compasses it round to the left, just as the same Ocean compasses Barbary round to the right. And the Indian philosophers, called Brachmans, tell you that if you were to stretch a straight cord from Tzinitza through Persia to the Roman territory, you would just divide the world in halves. And mayhap they are right[4].

[1] With reference to the terrors of the Southern Ocean see *infra*, II, p. 160 *note*. Edrisi says: "The Ocean Sea, which is called the Dark Sea, because it *is* dark, and is almost always in commotion with violent winds, and covered by thick fogs." (i, 87.)

[2] [*μετάξιον* = silk. "Sometimes written *ματάξιον*—a foreign word, and only found in later Greek. In classical Greek the name for silk is *βόμβυξ*, and also *σηρικόν*, from which our word *silk* is derived by the change, which is not uncommon, of *r* into *l*." (M^cCrindle, p. 47 *n.*)]

[3] [Montfaucon's note (*l.c.*, p. 137 *n.*): "Σελεδίβα, inferius legitur, Σιελεδίβα. Estque insula Ceylan, nomine tantis per immutato. Nam δίβα, aut *diua*, insulam sibi vult; hinc *Maldivæ*, ita ut Sielediva, insulam Siele significet. Mox Τζινίτζα, inferius in Vaticano Codice legitur Τζυνη, Tsina, sive Sina; nempe Sinarum regio: quæ, ipsô teste Cosma, Oceano ab oriente terminatur."]

[4] [Beazley (*Dawn of Modern Geography*, i, p. 193 *n.*) thinks that Tzinista "is probably only a dim notion of Malaya or Cochin-China; the northern bend he describes is probably that of the Gulf of Siam; and this shadowy account does not at all anticipate the real discovery of these regions, for Europe, by Marco Polo or, for the Caliphate, by the Arabs."]

"For the country in question lies very much to the left, insomuch that loads of silk passing through the hands of different nations in succession *by land* reach Persia in a comparatively short time, whilst the distance from Persia *by sea* is vastly greater. For, in the first place, just as great a distance as the Persian Gulf runs up into Persia has the voyager to Tzinitza to run up from [the latitude of] Taprobane and the regions beyond it to reach his destination. And, in the second place, there is no small distance to be traversed in crossing the whole width of the Indian Sea from the Persian Gulf to Taprobane, and from Taprobane to the regions beyond [where you turn up to the left to reach Tzinitza][1]. Hence it is clear that one who comes by the overland route from Tzinitza to Persia makes a very short cut. And this accounts for the fact that such quantities of silk are always to be found in Persia.

"Further than Tzinitza there is neither navigation nor inhabited country.

"And here I may observe, that if anyone should actually measure the earth's longitude with a straight line running from Tzinitza westward, he would find it to be four hundred marches more or less[2], taking the marches at thirty miles each. And the measurement will run thus: From Tzinitza to the frontier of PERSIA, including all UNNIA[3] and INDIA, and the Land of the Bactrians, will be about a hundred and fifty marches, if not more, certainly not less. The whole of Persia will be eighty marches.

[1] I believe this is the meaning, but the passage is very elliptical. [McCrindle (p. 49, translates this passage: "For just as great a distance as the Persian Gulf runs up into Persia, so great a distance and even a greater has one to run who, being bound for Tzinitza, sails eastward from Taprobanê; while besides, the distances from the mouth of the Persian Gulf to Taprobanê and the parts beyond through the whole width of the India sea are very considerable." He remarks in a note that "the Persian Gulf has a length of 650 English miles, while the distance from Ceylon to the Malacca peninsula only is nearly twice that distance."]

[M. Robert Gauthiot remarks that in one of the Sogdian letters of the beginning of our era brought back from Central Asia by Sir Aurel Stein, he reads the word *cynstn* with the sense of China. *Cynstn* is evidently *činastān*, "country of the Čina"; in Sogdian the *a* of *°stan* is not noted; in the Syriac part of the Si-ngan fu inscription there is a similar orthography, without notation of *a*, if not in the name of China, at least in this of Tokharestan. Prof. Pelliot adds that it clearly appears that Čin was the name of China just before our era, and that it is very probably the name of the kingdom and of the princes of Ts'in. *T'oung pao*, 1913, p. 428.]

[2] ["Si quis ergo a Sina usque ad occidentem, recta longitudinem terræ funiculo dimetiatur, inveniet mansiones circiter 400 triginta milliarium singulas." (Montfaucon, p. 138.)]

[3] [Unnia.—Montfaucon, *Iouvia*, Juvia.—McCrindle, Iouvia, "this would mean the country of the Huns." p. 49.]

From Nisibis[1] to Seleucia[2] thirteen marches. From Seleucia by ROME and the GAULS and IBERIA (the country of those who are nowadays called Spaniards), to Outer GADES on the Ocean a hundred and fifty marches and more. So the total of the distances will be four hundred marches, more or less.

"Now, as regards the earth's latitude. From the far north to Byzantium will not be more than fifty marches[3] (for we may form a good guess at the extent of those northern regions, both inhabited and uninhabited, from the position of the Caspian Sea which is a gulf of the ocean)[4]. From Byzantium again to Alexandria is fifty marches. From Alexandria to the Cataracts thirty marches[5]. From the Cataracts to Axum[6] thirty marches. From Axum to the

[1] [On the site of Nisibis was built the present Nisibin, Nissibin, chief town of the caza of Nisibin, in the sandjak of Mardin, vilayet of Diarbekir, on the banks of the Jaghjagha (Mygdonius) at the foot of Mount Massius. Under the Seleucids Nisibis was called Antiocheia of Mygdonia; the Greeks named it also Anthumusia on account of the fragrant scent of its flowery plain. It belonged to the Kings of Armenia and was the capital of Tigranes, was taken by Lucullus, passed into the hands of the Parthians and was annexed by Trajan to the Roman Empire; it was ceded by the emperor Jovian to the Sassanid King Sapor II. After the defeat of Ismael Shah by Sultan Selim I at Chaldiran (1514) it formed part of the Ottoman Empire.]

[2] [Seleucia or Seleuceia was built near the right bank of the Tigris by Seleucus Nicator with materials brought mainly from Babylon, just as Ctesiphon was constructed with the ruins of Seleucia destroyed during the Parthian Wars.]

[3] ["Latitudo vero terræ ab Hyperboreis partibus ad usque Byzantium, mansiones non plures quinquaginta sunt." (Montfaucon, p. 138.)]

[4] I suppose there is here to be understood a comparison of the Caspian, regarded as a gulf, with the Red Sea or Persian Gulf, and a deduction that the Ocean cannot lie further north from the innermost point of the Caspian than it lies south of the innermost point of one of those gulfs.

[5] [McCrindle makes the following remark, p. 50: "Gr. μοναι λ. Here the numeral λ' = 30 must be an error for κ' = 20, because the distance from Alexandria to Syênê, in the neighbourhood of the Great Cataract, is about 600 Roman miles; and because, moreover, in the summing-up of the figures as in the text there is an excess of ten over the given total. Montfaucon has not noticed this discrepancy."]

[6] ['La première mention des Axoumites et de leur capitale est dans le Périple de la mer Erythrée, ouvrage qui doit avoir été rédigé à Alexandrie vers l'année 80 de Jésus-Christ. La conséquence que l'on est fondé à tirer de ces rapprochements, c'est que les établissements commerciaux des Grecs d'Egypte sur les parties méridionales de la côté éthiopienne, et les rapports habituels qui en furent la suite, amenèrent de grands changements dans l'état social et politique de quelques parties de l'intérieur, et qu'un royaume dont Axoum fut la capitale se forma alors dans le haut pays... Plusieurs faits bien connus, prouvent d'ailleurs l'action directe de l'hellénisme égyptien sur le développement de la civilisation axoumite. Ainsi l'auteur du Périple rapporte que le roi d'Axoum, qu'il nomme *Zoskalès*, était familiarisé avec les lettres grecques; et ce qui montre que cette influence eut une longue durée, c'est que deux siècles et demi plus tard on voit la langue grecque employée à Axoum dans les inscripfions concurremment avec la langue

projecting part of Ethiopia, the country where the incense grows, and which is called Barbary[1], lying along the Ocean, and including the territory of Sas which is the remotest part of Ethiopia, and is anything but a narrow tract of country, indeed quite the reverse, fifty marches, more or less. So that we may take the whole breadth at two hundred marches, more or less. And thus we see that the Holy Scripture speaks the truth when it puts the length of the earth at double its breadth: '*For thou shalt make the Table* (which is, as it were, a pattern of the Earth) *in length two cubits, and in breadth one cubit*[2].'

"Now, the country where the incense grows lies in the projecting parts of Ethiopia, being itself indeed an inland region, but having the ocean on the other side of it. Hence the people of Barbary, being in the vicinity, are able to visit the interior for trading purposes, and bring back with them many kinds of aromatics, such as incense, cassia, calamus[3], and a great variety

éthiopienne. Ce qui existe encore de l'ancienne Axôum, particulièrement ses obélisques, est d'un style grec, bien qu'on y sente une réminiscence égyptienne. Enfin, la religion des Grecs d'Égypte avait pénétré dans le royaume d'Axoum, en même temps que leur langue et leurs artistes, 'car dans les inscriptions le roi éthiopien se dit 'fils de l'invincible Arès.'" (Vivien de Saint-Martin, *Inscription d'Adulis*, *Jour. Asiat.*, Oct. 1863, pp. 332–4.)

"E regione igitur Orinæ insulæ in continente viginti a mari stadiis sita est Abduli, pagus mediocris, a quo ad Coloen, urbem mediterraneam primumque eboris emporium, via est tridui. Hinc ad ipsam metropolim Auxumitarum iter est aliorum dierum quinque; in hanc omne ebur e regione trans Nilum sita per Cyeneum quem vocant tractum deportatur, hinc vero Adulin. Cuncta scilicet quæ cæditur elephantorum et rhinozerotum multitudo in superioribus degit locis, non nunquam tamen, raro licet, in maritima etiam regione circa ipsam Adulin conspiciuntur." (*Periplus Maris Erythraei*, *Geographi Græci Minores*...illust. Carolus Müllerus, i, Parisiis, 1855, § 4, pp. 260–1.)

"At this time there is no settled City in all Ethiopia; formerly the Town of Aczum was very famous among the Abyssinians, and still preserves somewhat of its Renown; and this place seems to have been a City, at least they look upon it as most certain, that the Queen of Sheba kept her Court there, and that it was the Residence of the Emperors for many Ages after, and that they are Crown'd there to this Day...; at present it is only a Village of about 100 Houses." (*The Travels of the Jesuits in Ethiopia*, by F. Balthazar Tellez, 1710, p. 59.)

Axum "was distant from its sea-port, Adulê, which was situated near Annesley Bay, about 120 miles, or an eight days' caravan journey. It was the chief centre of the trade with the interior of Africa."... "Christianity was introduced into Axum in the fourth century by Œdisius and Frumentius, the latter of whom was afterwards appointed its first bishop. Sasu, which is next mentioned, is near the coast, and only 5° to the north of the equator." (McCrindle, pp. 50–1 *n.*)—The ruins of Axum are to the west of the Adua, present capital of Tigré.]

[1] The modern Somali country. The name of Barbary is still retained in that of Berberah on the coast over against Aden. See also Ptolemy, i, 17.

[2] [*Exodus* xxxvii. 10.]

[3] ["The sweet calamus mentioned in *Exodus* xxx. 23." McCrindle, p. 51.]

of others, and these again they carry by sea to Adule and Homerite, and to Further India and to Persia. And this is just as you will find it written in the Book of Kings, where the Queen of Saba, *i.e.*, of Homerite (and whom again in the Gospels the Lord terms the Queen of the South), brings to Solomon aromatics from this very Barbary (she residing hard by on the coast just opposite), and brings him also staves of ebony, and monkeys, and gold from Ethiopia, the whole of Ethiopia being in fact quite in her vicinity, and just across the Arabian Gulf. Again, let us look at some of Our Lord's words, as when he calls those places *the Ends of the Earth*, saying, '*The Queen of the South shall rise up in judgment with this generation and shall condemn it, for she came from the* Ends of the Earth *to hear the wisdom of Solomon.*' The fact is, Homerite is at no distance from Barbary, for the sea between them has only a width of some two days' sail And beyond that is the Ocean, which thereabouts is called the Sea of Zinj[2]. And just as the Incense Country has the Ocean near it, so also has the Land of Sas where the gold mines are. Now, year by year the King of the Axumites, through the ruler of Agau[3], sends men of his own to Sas for the purchase of gold. And many others bound on the same speculation accompany them on this expedition, so there shall be more than five hundred in the party. They take with them beeves, and pieces of salt, and iron. And when they get near the country they make a halt at a certain place, and take a quantity of thorns with which they make a great hedge, within which they establish themselves, and there they slaughter the oxen and cut them up, and put the meat, and the pieces of salt, and the iron on the top of the hedge. So the natives then approach with gold in nuggets, like peas, which they call *Tancharan*[4], and each of them deposits one or two of these upon the joints of meat, or the salt, or the iron as he pleases, and then stands aloof. Then the owner of the beef etc., comes up, and if he is satisfied he takes the gold, whilst the other party comes and removes the flesh, or piece of salt or iron. But if the trader is not satisfied he leaves the gold where it is, and when the native comes up and sees that his

[1] ["Ἀδουλη, Adule, ex qua mare adjacens, sinus Adulitanus appellabatur, vide Ptolemæum." (Montfaucon, p. 140 *n*.)]

[2] ["The ocean which is there called Zingion." McCrindle, p. 52.]

[3] Alvàrez in Ramusio speaks of certain lordships of Abyssinia "the people of which are called *Agaos*," and who are a mixture of Gentiles and Christians. The Agaus appear to be scattered widely over Abyssinia. Salt speaks of them along the Takazzé to the east of Gondar, and one of Petermann's maps shows Agau also to the south-west of Tzana Lake, which again lies south-west of Gondar A country including both of these positions would lie south and a little west of Axum. (Ramusio, i, f. 250; Salt's *Second Travels, French transl.*, 1816, ii. 21 *seq.*; *Petermann's Mittheilungen*, 1857, pl. 23.)

[4] [*Tancharan*, Montfaucon, p. 139.—*Tancharas*, McCrindle, p. 53.]

gold has not been taken, he either adds to the quantity or takes up his gold and goes away. This is the mode of barter among the people in that quarter; for they are of different language and have no supply of interpreters[1]. The time of their stay to do business in that country extends to five days, more or less, according to the rate at which customers present themselves until they have sold off all their goods. And on the return journey they all form themselves into an armed body; for there are certain people in the tract they pass through who hang about them and endeavour to plunder the gold. The whole business carried on in this way takes some six months; the journey thither being accomplished more slowly than the return, chiefly because of the cattle that accompany them, and also because they make great haste on the way back that the winter rains catch them not on the journey. For the head of the Nile is somewhere thereabouts, and the rivers that feed it cross the route, and in winter become greatly swollen by the rains. Now, the winter there is in the time of our summer, extending from the month called by the Egyptians *Epiphi*[2], till that called *Thoth* and all these three months it rains with great violence, so as to give rise to a multitude of rivers, all of which discharge themselves into the Nile[3]" (book ii, pp. 138–140, M^cCrindle, pp. 47–54).

Cosmas then proceeds to give an account of an ancient marble throne which he had seen at Adule (then the port of Abyssinia, a little south of Massawah), with Greek inscriptions on it, of which he gives a professed transcript; but I shall not attempt to enter

[1] ["Est hodieque his in partibus, in regno scilicet Habessinorum Æthiopum regio Agau nomine, ubi celebres illæ Nili scaturigines, ut inferius narratur. Quod vero narrat hic Cosmas de singulari illa mercaturam exercendi consuetudine: qua nempe Æthiopes & Barbari illi lingua discrepantes, admotis rebus commutandis; tum negotiationem perficerent, cum is qui venumdabat, adpositum pretium acciperet; hodieque in plerisque Africæ partibus usu venit, ut videas in itinerariis & descriptionibus Africæ." (Montfaucon, p. 139 *n.*)]

[2] *Epiphi* (June 25th—July 25th) was the eleventh month of the Egyptian year, and *Thoth* (August 29th—September 28th) the first month; represented by the modern Coptic months *Ebib* and *Tût* (see Nicolas, *Chron. of Hist.*, pp. 13, 15).

[3] Alvise Cadamosto gives nearly the same account of the dumb barter of salt for gold as carried on by negro traders from Timbuktu and Melli with a certain people in the remote interior.

The *Sasus* of Cosmas must also have lain towards the centre of the continent and south-west from Abyssinia. This is shown by the relative position of Agau to Axum (see preceding note); by the fact that the route crossed numerous Nile feeders, apparently those which show so thickly in the map between 7° and 10° N. lat.; and again because the Adule inscription mentioned in the next paragraph of the text speaks of conquests extending *east* to the Thuriferous country, and *west* to Sasus. Cosmas indeed speaks of Sasus as not far from the Ocean. But then he supposes the Ocean to cut across Africa somewhere about the equator. [See note, *supra*, p. 217.]

upon this subject, which has been treated by competent commentators[1]. (pp. 140–3.)

3. In a later passage, speaking of the Gospel's being preached throughout the world, he says:

"So that I can speak with confidence of the truth of what I say, relating what I have myself seen and heard in many places that I have visited.

"Even in the Island of TAPROBANE in Further India where the Indian Sea is, there is a church of Christians with clergy and a congregation of believers, though I know not if there be any Christians further on in that direction. And such also is the case in the land called MALÈ, where the pepper grows[3]. And in the place called KALLIANA[4] there is a bishop appointed from Persia, as well as in the island which they call the Isle of Dioscoris[5] in the same Indian Sea. The inhabitants of that island speak Greek, having been originally settled there by the Ptolemies who ruled after Alexander of Macedon. There are clergy there also, ordained and sent from Persia to minister among the people of the island, and a multitude of Christians[6]. We sailed past the island, but did not land. I met, however, with people from it who were on their way to Ethiopia, and they spoke Greek. And so likewise among the Bactrians and Huns and Persians and the rest of the Indians, and among the Persarmenians and Greeks and Elamites, and throughout the whole land of Persia, there is an infinite number of churches with bishops, and a vast multitude of Christian people, and they have many martyrs and recluses leading a monastic life. So also in Ethiopia, and in Axum, and in all the country round about, among the Happy Arabians, who are nowadays called Homeritæ, and all through Arabia and Palestine, Phœnicia, and all Syria, and Antioch and Mesopotamia; also among the Nubians and the Garamantes[7], in Egypt, Libya,

[1] See Salt's *Travels*, and De Sacy in *Annales des Voyages*, xii, 350.

[2] "*Inner*."

[3] Malabar. Compare the *Kaulam-Malé* of the Arab *Relation*.

[4] Probably the *Kalliena* of the Periplus, which Lassen identifies with the still existing *Kalydni* on the mainland near Bombay. Father Paolino indeed will have it to be a place still called *Kalýanapúri* on the banks of a river two miles north of Mangalore, but unreasonably. (*Viag. alle Indie Orientali*, p. 100.)

[5] [Dioscoris or Dioscoridee = Socotra, see Yule-Cordier, *Marco Polo*, II, p. 408.]

[6] See *On the Christianity of Socotra*, III, p. 7 *infra*, where this passage of Cosmas should have been referred to. Some further particulars on the subject, apparently taken from the letters of Francis Xavier, are given in du Jarric (*Thesaurus Rerum Indicarum*, i, pp. 108–9). On the use of the Greek language in Abyssinia and Nubia, see Letronne in *Mém. de l'Acad.* (New), ix, 170 *seqq*.

[7] ["The Garamantes were the inhabitants of the great oasis in the Libyan desert called Phazania, and now Fezzan, but the name was often

and Pentapolis[1], and so through Africa and Mauritania as far as Southern Gades[2], in a very great number of places are found churches of Christians with bishops, martyrs, monks, and recluses, wherever in fact the Gospel of Christ hath been proclaimed. So likewise again in Cilicia, Asia, Cappadocia, Lazice, and Pontus, and in the Northern Regions of the Scythians, Hyrcanians, Heruli, Bulgarians, Greeks, and Illyrians, Dalmatians, Goths, Spaniards, Romans, Franks, and other nations till you get to Ocean Gades." (Book iii, p. 178.—M^cCrindle, pp. 118–121.)

4. He says the place in the Red Sea where the Egyptians perished is "in Klysma[3], as they call it, to the right of people travelling to the Mount (Sinai); and there also are to be seen the tracks of chariot-wheels over a long tract extending to the sea. These have been preserved to this day, as a sign, not for believers, but for unbelievers." (Book v, p. 194.—M^cCrindle, p. 142.)

5. "— Elim, now called *Raithu*, where there were twelve springs, which are still preserved[4]... Raphidin, now called *Pharan*, whence Moses went with the elders to Mount Choreb, *i.e.* in Sinai, which is about six miles from Pharan." (*Ib.*, pp. 195, 196.—M^cCrindle, p. 144.)

6. "And when they (the Israelites) had received the written Law from God, they then and there first learned letters. For God made use of the wilderness in its quiet as a kind of school for them, and allowed them there to practise their letters for forty years. And you may see in that desert of Sinai, at every place

used in a wider sense to denote the people of northern Africa who lived to the south of the Syrtis." (M^cCrindle, p. 120.)]

[1] ["Pentapolis, the name of any association of five cities, denotes here the five chief cities of the province of Cyrenaïca in north Africa. These were Cyrênê, Berenicê, Arsinoê, Ptolemais, and Apollonia, the port of Cyrênê." (M^cCrindle, p. 120.)]

[2] "ἕως Γαδείρων, τὰ πρὸς νότον," an odd construction, which, however, seems intended to be distinctive from "Γαδείρων τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ" mentioned a few lines further on, and to indicate some place in Africa, perhaps Tingis, or Cape Spartel, called by Strabo Κώτεις. I do not know if this Southern Gades is mentioned by any other author, but something analogous will be found in the passage quoted from Mandeville at III, p. 219 *infra*, where Gades is used for the World's End, eastern as well as western.

[3] At or near Suez, whence the *Kolzum* of the Arabs, and the name *Bahr-Kolzum* given to the Red Sea. ["The Heroöpolitan, or Western Gulf at the northern extremity of the Red Sea, is called by Eusebius *Clysma*. As it was said to have been so designated from a town at the northern extremity of the gulf, Clysma was probably situated at, or somewhere near, Suez. Orosius mentions the wheel tracts here spoken of by Cosmas, as does also Philostorgius in the abstract of his *Ecclesiastical History* made by Photius (Book III, c. 6). Athanasius, however, and others thought Clysma was in Arabia, near the mountain to which Philo, an Egyptian bishop, was banished by Constantius." M^cCrindle, p. 142 *n.*)]

[4] *Raithu* was the seat of a monastery, as is mentioned by Cosmas himself (at p. 11).

where you halt that all the stones which have rolled down from the mountains are written over with Hebrew characters. And to this I can myself bear witness, having travelled that ground on foot. And these inscriptions were explained to us by certain Jews who could read them, and they were to this effect: 'The departure of So-and-so of such a tribe, in such a year and such a month;' just such things in fact as you often find scribbled on the walls of inns by people among ourselves. But the Israelites, as is the way of people who have but recently learned to write, were always making use of their new accomplishment, and were constantly writing, so that all those places are quite covered with Hebrew characters. And these have been preserved to this day,—for the sake of unbelievers as I think. And anyone who likes may go there and see for himself, or may ask from those who have been there, and learn that I am saying what is true." (Pp. 205–6.—M'Crindle, pp. 159–160.)

Nearly the whole of Book xi is worth translating. It contains "*Details regarding Indian Animals, and the Islands of Taprobane.*"

"*Rhinoceros.*

"This animal is called Rhinoceros because he has horns over his nostrils; when he walks his horns jog about, but when he is enraged with what he is looking at he erects his horns, and they become so rigid that he is able to uproot trees with them, especially if they are straight before him[1]. His eyes are placed low down near his jaws. He is altogether a fearful beast, and he is somehow especially hostile to the elephant. His feet and his skin are, however, very like those of the elephant. His skin when dried is four fingers thick, and some people have used it instead of iron to put in the plough, and have ploughed the ground with it! The Ethiopians in their own dialect call him *Arue Harisi*, using in the second word an aspirated *a* with *rhisi* added. The word *Arue* expresses the beast as such, but *Hârisi* expresses *ploughing*, a nickname that they give him from his form about the nose, and also from the use to which his skin is turned[2]. I saw this creature

[1] ? τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς μάλιστα τὸ ἔμπροσθεν. The fact about the animals carrying the horn loose when not irritated is confirmed by Salt. (*2d Travels, French Trans.*, 1816, ii, 191.)

[2] Ludolf mentions *Arweharis* as a great and fierce beast, of which his friend Abba Gregory often used to speak. He quotes Arab. *Hharash, Hharshan*, "Unicorn," but I do not find these in the dictionaries. Salt again says: "The name by which the rhinoceros (two horned) is designated to this day all over Abyssinia is absolutely the same as that given by Cosmas. In the *Gheez* it is written *Aruê Hâris*, pronounced with a strong aspiration of the *Ha*... *Aruê*, signifying always *fera* or *bestia* in genere; a coincidence so extraordinary as to convince me that the language spoken at the court of Axum was the *Gheez*" (Ludolf. i, 10, 78; Salt as above).

Hhars means 'ploughing" in Arabic, which may illustrate the etymology of Cosmas.

alive once in Ethiopia, but I kept a good distance from him. And I have seen one dead, skinned and stuffed with straw, standing in the king's palace, so that I have been able to draw him accurately.

"*Taurelaphus.*

"This creature, the Taurelaphus (or Bull-stag), is found both in India and Ethiopia. Those in India are tame, and they make them carry loads of pepper and other such articles in sacks; they also milk them and make butter from their milk. We also eat their flesh, Christians cutting their throats and Greeks felling them. Those of Ethiopia again are wild beasts, and have not been domesticated[1].

"*Cameleopard.*

"The Cameleopard is found only in Ethiopia. These also are wild beasts, and have not been domesticated. But in the palace[2] [at Axum] they have one or two which they have tamed by the king's command by catching them when young, in order to keep them for a show. When milk or water to drink is given to these creatures in a dish, as is done in the king's presence, they cannot reach the vessel on the ground so as to drink, except by straddling with their fore-legs, owing to the great length of their legs and height of the chest and neck above the ground. It stands to reason therefore that they must widen out their fore-legs in order to drink. This also I have drawn (or described) from personal knowledge.

"*The Wild Ox.*

"This Wild Ox is a great beast of India, and from it is got the thing called *Tupha*, with which officers in the field adorn their horses and pennons. They tell of this beast that if his tail catches in a tree he will not budge, but stands stock-still, being horribly vexed at losing a single hair of his tail; so the natives come and cut his tail off, and then when he has lost it altogether he makes his escape! Such is the nature of the animal[3].

[1] This appears to be the buffalo. Everything applies accurately except the name, which does not seem a very appropriate one. The picture is that of a lanky ox with long *tusks*.

[2] Cosmas here uses the Latin word: παλατίῳ (McCrindle).

[3] This is evidently the *Yak* [*Bos grunniens*], which Cosmas could only have known by distant hearsay. *Tupha* is probably *Tugh* or *Tau*, which according to Rémusat is the Turkish name of the horse-tail standard, applied also by the Chinese to the *Yak-tail*, which respectively with those nations mark the supreme military command (*Rech. sur les langues Tartares*, 303; also D'Ohsson, i, 40).

" The Musk Animal.

" This little animal is the Musk. The natives call it in their own tongue *Kasturi*[1]. When they hunt it they shoot it with arrows, and after tying up the blood collected in the navel, cut it off. For this is the fragrant part of the beast, or what we call the *musk*. The rest of the body they throw away.

" The Unicorn.

" This creature is called a Unicorn. I can't say I ever saw him, but I have seen bronze figures of him in the four-towered palace of the King of Ethiopia, and so I have been able to make this drawing of him. They say he is a terrible beast, and quite invincible, and that all his strength lies in his horn. And when he is encompassed by many hunters so that he is hard put to it, he makes a leap over some high precipice, and as he falls he turns over so that his horn bears the whole force of the fall, and he escapes unhurt[2]. So also the Scripture discourses of him, saying : *' Save me from the mouths of lions and my humility from the horns of the Unicorns*[3] *;* ' and again in the blessings wherewith Balaam blessed Israel, he saith twice over : ' Thus hath God led him out of Egypt like the glory of the unicorn[4] ; ' in all these passages testifying to the strength and audacity and glory of the creature[5].

" The Hog-stag and Hippopotamus.

" The Chœrelaphus (or Hog-stag) I have both seen and eaten. The hippopotamus I have not seen indeed, but I had some great teeth of his that weighed thirteen pounds which I sold here [in Alexandria]. And I have seen many such teeth in Ethiopia and in Egypt[6],

[1] *Kastúri* is a real Sanskrit name for the perfume *musk* (see Lassen, i, 316; and iii, 45). This author says that in the Himalaya *Kastúri* is also applied to the animal. He observes that " Cosmas is the first to mention the musk animal and musk as products of India, but he is wrong in representing the animal as living in Taprobane." Cosmas does nothing of the kind.

[2] From this story some kind of Ibex or Oryx would seem to be meant. The practice is asserted of animals of that class in parts of the world so remote from each other that it can scarcely be other than true.

[3] " Save me from the lion's mouth : for thou hast heard me from the horns of the unicorns." (*Ps.* xxii, 21.)

[4] " God brought him out of Egypt : He hath as it were the strength of a unicorn." (*Numbers* xxiii, 22 ; xxiv, 8.)

[5] [Unicorn Monoceros, see Ctesias of Cnides. Yule-Cordier's *Polo* ii, 291.]

[6] The *Chœrelaphus* is represented in the drawing as a long-legged hog with very long tusks. It has certainly nothing to do with the so-called hog-deer of India, which has no resemblance to a hog. It looks a good deal like the *Babirussa*, but that is I believe peculiar to the Archipelago. Yet this description by Pliny of a kind of swine in India comes very near that animal : " In India cubitales dentium flexus gemini ex rostro, totidem a fronte ceu vituli cornua, exeunt " (viii, 78).

" Pepper.

" This is the pepper-tree. Every plant of it is twined round some lofty forest tree, for it is weak and slim like the slender stems of the vine. And every bunch of fruit has a double leaf as a shield[1]; and it is very green like the green of rue.

" Argellion (the Coco-nut).

" Another tree is that which bears the *Argell*[2], *i.e.* the great Indian Nut. In nothing does it differ from the date-palm, excepting that it surpasses it in height and thickness, and in the size of its fronds. All the fruit it produces is from two or three stalks bearing three Argells each[3]. The taste is sweet and very pleasant, like that of fresh nuts. The Argell at first is full of a very sweet water, which the Indians drink from the nut, using it instead of wine. This drink is called *Rhoncosura*[4], and is exceedingly pleasant. But if the Argell be pluckt and kept, the water congeals gradually on the inside of the shell; a small quantity remaining in the middle, till in course of time that also gets quite dried up. If, however, it be kept too long the coagulated pulp goes bad and cannot be eaten.

" Phoca, Dolphin, and Turtle.

" The Phoca, Dolphin, and Turtle we eat at sea if we chance to catch them. To eat the dolphin or turtle we cut their throats; the phoca's throat we don't cut, but strike it over the head as is done with large fishes. The flesh of the turtle is like mutton, but blackish; that of the dolphin is like pork, but blackish and rank; that of the phoca is also like pork, but white and free from smell.

" Concerning the Island of Taprobane.

" This is the great island in the ocean, lying in the Indian Sea. By the Indians it is called SIELEDIBA [Σιελεδίβα][5], but by the

I do not find any confirmation of this in modern accounts. But Ibn Khurdádhbah (see *ante*, p. 135) says: " The mariners say every bunch of pepper has over it a leaf that shelters it from the rain. When the rain ceases the leaf turns aside; if rain recommences the leaf again covers the fruit." (in *Journ. As.*, sér. vi, tom. v, p. 284). [See Chau Ju-kua, pp. 222–3.]

[2] Pers. *Ndrgil.*

[3] This is obscure in the original: οὐ βάλλει δὲ καρπὸν εἰ μὴ δύο ἢ τρία σπάθια ἀπὸ τριῶν ἀργελλίων. But his drawing explains, showing two stalks with three nuts to each. He must have seen but poor specimens.

[4] Possibly Cosmas has confounded the coco-nut milk with the coco-palm toddy. For *Sura* is the name applied on the Malabar coast to the latter. *Roncho* may represent *Lanha*, the name applied there to the nut when ripe but still soft, in fact in the state in which it gives the milk (see Garcia dall' Orto, Venice, 1589, p. 114; Rheede, vol. i).

[5] This represents fairly the Pali name SIHALADĪPA. Sîhala or (Sansk.) *Sinhala*, the " Dwelling of the *Lions*," or as otherwise explained " The Lion-Slayers." Taprobane, from (Pali) TAMBAPANNI (Sansk.)

Greeks TAPROBANE. In it is found the hyacinth stone[1]. It lies on the other side of the Pepper Country[2]. And round about it there are a number of small islands, in all of which you find fresh water and coco-nuts. And these are almost all set close to one another[3]. The great island, according to what the natives say, has a length of three hundred *gaudia*, and a breadth of the same number, *i.e.* nine hundred miles[4]. There are two kings on the island, and they are at enmity with one another[5]. The one possesses the hyacinth[6], and the other has the other part in which is the great place of commerce and the chief harbour. It is a great mart for the people of those parts. The island hath also a church of Persian Christians who have settled there, and a Presbyter who is appointed from Persia, and a Deacon, and all the apparatus of public worship. But the natives and their kings are quite another kind of people[7]. They have many temples on the island,

TAMRAPARNI, the name of a city founded near Putlam by Wijaya (son of Sihabahu) the first human king and colonist. These names are explained in the Mahawanso thus:

"At the spot where the seven hundred men, with the king at their head, exhausted by (sea) sickness, and faint from weakness, had landed out of the vessel, supporting themselves on the palms of their hands pressed on the ground, they set themselves down. Hence to them the name of *Tambapanniyo* ('copper-palmed,' from the colour of the soil). From this circumstance that wilderness obtained the name of TAMBAPANNI. From the same cause also this renowned land became celebrated (under that name).

"By whatever means the monarch Sihabahu slew the *Siho* (Lion), from that feat his sons and descendants are called *Sihala* (Lion-Slayers). This Lanka having been conquered by a Sihalo, from the circumstance also of its having been colonized by a Sihalo, it obtained the name of SIHALA" (in Turner's *Epitome*, p. 55). The more approved etymologies of the names will be found in Lassen, i, 200 *seq.*; Tennent's *Ceylon*, i, 525; *Hobson-Jobson*.

[1] [Some think this is not our jacinth, but rather the sapphire; others take it to be the amethyst. (M^cCrindle, p. 364.)]

[2] Malabar, so called by the Arabs (*Balad-ul-Falfal*); see Ibn Batuta, *infra*, Vol. IV.

[3] ἀσσοβαθαι, perhaps a mistake for ἀσσόταται. He here seems to speak of the Maldives. [The Laccadives. The name means, *islands by the hundred thousand*.' (M^cCrindle, p. 364.)]

[4] "This singular word *gaou*, in which Cosmas gives the dimensions of the island, is in use to the present day in Ceylon, and means the distance which a man can walk in an hour" (Tennent, i, 543).

[5] Tennent translates: "at opposite ends of the island."

[6] This has been thought by some to mean the part of the island containing the ruby mines; but Tennent considers it to refer to *the* Ruby mentioned below (see *Ceylon*, i, 543). The expression, however, "the Hyacinth" for the "district producing hyacinths" seems quite in the vein of Cosmas. Thus below he uses τὸ καρυόφυλλον for the Clove Country. Tennent considers the Port to be Galle, but I have noticed this elsewhere (Note XII).

[7] ἀλλόφυλλοι, *i.e.* as I understand it, *Gentiles*; at any rate not Persian Christians. But Sir E. Tennent renders it: "The natives and their kings are of different races."

and on one of these temples which stands in an elevated position there is a hyacinth, they say, of great size and brilliant ruddy colour, as big as a great pine-cone, and when it is seen flashing from a distance, especially when the sun's rays strike on it, 'tis a glorious and incomparable spectacle[1].

"From all India and Persia and Ethiopia many ships come to this island, and it likewise sends out many of its own, occupying as it does a kind of central position. And from the remoter regions, I speak of Tzinista and other places of export, the imports to Taprobane are silk, aloes-wood, cloves[2], sandal-wood[3], and so forth, according to the products of each place. These again are passed on from Sielediba to the marts on this side, such as Malè, where the pepper is grown, and Kalliana, whence are exported brass, and sisam logs[4], and other wares, such as cloths (for that also is a great place of business); also to SINDU, where you get the musk or castorin, and androstachyn[5]; also to Persia, Homerite, and Adule. And the island receives imports again from all those marts that I have been mentioning, and passes them on to the remoter ports, whilst at the same time it exports its own produce in both directions.

"SINDU is where India begins. Now, the Indus, *i.e.*, Phison, the mouths of which discharge into the Persian Gulf, is the boundary between Persia and India. And the most notable places of trade are these: SINDU, ORRHOTHA, KALLIANA, SIBOR[6], and then

[1] This is spoken of by Hiuen Tsang as on the Buddha-Tooth Temple near Anurajapura. "Its magical brilliance illumines the whole heaven. In the calm of a clear and cloudless night it can be seen by all, even at a distance of 10,000 *li*" (*Vie de H. T.*, p. 199; also 371–2).

[2] Here Tennent, following Thévenot's edition, has "clove-wood," but it is not in Montfaucon. As regards clove-wood see Vol. III, 168, and Ibn Batuta, *infra*.

[3] Τζάνδανη, representing the Sanscrit *Chandana*.

[4] The Periplus mentions among exports from Barygaza (*Baroch*) *brass*, sandal-wood, beams, horns, and *planks of sasam* and ebony. I suppose the suggestion has been made before, though I cannot find it, that these sisam logs or sasam planks were the wood of the *sissu* or *shisham*, one of the most valuable Indian timbers. I believe the blackwood of Western India, much used for carved furniture, is a species of sissu. The *brass* was probably manufactured into pots and vessels; still so prominent a business in Indian towns.

[5] Sindu, doubtless a port at the mouth of the Sinthus or Indus, probably Diul or Daibul, which we have seen to be a port known to the Chinese soon after this (*supra*, p. 57, *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 247). *Androstachyn* is probably, as Lassen suggests, an error for *Nardostachys* or spikenard, the chief sources of which seem to have been the countries on the tributaries of the Upper Indus (see Lassen, iii, 41, 42; also i, 288–9).

[6] *Sibor*, probably the Supera of Jordanus and Suppara of Ptolemy (*infra*, III, p. 76). [Sibor, Ptolemy's Symulla or Timulla, Saimur and Jaimur of the Arab travellers, probably Chaul (Cheul), on the coast, 30 miles south of Bombay.] Orrhatha is supposed by Lassen to be

the five marts of Malè, from which pepper is exported, to wit, PARTI, MANGARUTH, SALOPATANA, NALOPATANA, PUDOPATANA[1]. Then there is SIELEDIBA; *i.e.*, Taprobane, which lies hitherward about five days and nights' sail from the Continent; and then again on the Continent, and further back is MARALLO, which exports conch shells[2]; KABER, which exports alabandinum[3]; and then again further off is the Clove Country; and then TZINISTA, which produces the silk. Beyond this there is no other country, for the ocean encompasses it on the east.

"This same Sieledibа then, set, as it were, in the central point of the Indies, and possessing the Hyacinth, receiving imports from all the seats of commerce, and exporting to them in return, is itself a great seat of commerce. Here let me relate what there befel one of the merchants accustomed to trade thither. His name was Sopatrus, and he has been dead, to my knowledge, these thirty-five years past. Well, he had gone to the island of Taprobane on a trading adventure, and a ship from Persia happened to put in there at the same time. So when the Adule people, with whom Sopatrus was, went ashore, the people from Persia went ashore likewise, and with them they had a certain venerable personage of their nation[4]. And then, as their way is, the chief men of the place and the officers of the custom-house received the party, and conducted them before the king. The king having granted them an audience, after receiving their salutations, desired them to be seated, and then asked, 'In what state are your countries? and how go your own affairs?' They answered, 'Well.' And so as the conversation proceeded, the king put the question, 'Which of you has the greatest and most powerful king?' The Persian elder snatching the word, answered, 'Our king is the greatest and the most powerful and the wealthiest, and indeed is the king of kings; and whatever he desires, that he

Ptolemy's *Soratha* on the Peninsula of Gujarat, identified with the Surata of Hiuen Tsang, not to be confounded with modern *Surat*. (Reinaud, *Mém. sur l'Inde* in *Acad.*, p. 155.)

[1] Of these five ports of Malabar, Mangaruth is no doubt Mangalore, Pudopatana the port which bore the same name till a recent century (see *infra*, Ibn Batuta); the others I cannot identify.

[2] In position and perhaps in name identical with Marava or Marawar opposite Ceylon. The fishing of *chank* shells hereabouts was till recently I believe a government monopoly like the pearl-fishery. Walckenær says Marallo is "Morilloum, opposite Ceylon." Is there such a place?

[3] *Kaber*, from the name and position, may be the Chabēris of Ptolemy (*Kāvērīpattam*) [a little north of Tranquebar]—[Kâvêra is the Sanskrit word for *saffron*. M^cCrindle], but I can get no light on the *alabandinum*. Pliny speaks of alabandic carbuncles and of an alabandic black marble, both called from a city of Caria. The French apply the name almandine or albandine to a species of ruby. (Pliny, xxxvii, 25; xxxvi, 13; *Dict. de Trévoux*.) If rubies be meant it is just possible that Pegu may be in question.

[4] "πρεσβύτης." A *Shaikh*? Montfaucon's Latin has *orator*.

is able to accomplish.' But Sopatrus held his peace. Then, quoth the king, 'Well, Roman! hast thou not a word to say?' Said Sopatrus, 'Why, what is there for me to say, after this man hath spoken as he hath done? But if thou wouldst know the real truth of the matter thou hast both the kings here; examine both, and thou shalt see thyself which is the more magnificent and potent.' When the prince heard that, he was amazed at the words, and said, 'How make you out that I have both the kings here?' The other replied, 'Well, thou hast the coins of both—of the one the *nomisma*, and of the other the *dirhem* (*i.e.*, the *miliaresion*). Look at the effigy on each, and you will see the truth.' The king approved of the suggestion, nodding assent, and ordered both coins to be produced. Now, the nomisma was a coin of right good ring and fine ruddy gold, bright in metal and elegant in execution, for such coins are picked on purpose to take thither, whilst the miliaresion, to say it in one word, was of silver, and of course bore no comparison with the gold coin. So the king, after he had turned them this way and that, and had studied both with attention, highly extolled the *nomisma*[1], saying that in truth the Romans were a splendid, powerful, and sagacious people. So he ordered great honour to be paid to Sopatrus, causing him to be set on an elephant, and conducted round the city with drums beating in great state. These circumstances were told me by Sopatrus and the others who had accompanied him from Adule to that island. And, as they told the story, the Persian was very much ashamed of what had happened" (p. 338).

"But in the direction of those most notable places of trade that I have mentioned, there are many others (of minor importance) both on the coast and inland, and a country of great extent. And in India further up the country, *i.e.*, further north, are the White Huns[2]. That one who is called Gollâs, 'tis said, goes forth

[1] *Nomisma* was usually applied to the gold solidus as here. [This would be an *aureus*. Constantine the Great coined *aurei* of seventy-two to the pound of gold, and at this standard the coin remained to the end of the empire. McCrindle, *p.* 369.] The *miliarésion* or *miliarense* was a silver coin, the twelfth part of the solidus (Ducange, *de Inf. Aevi Numism.*). The latter coin continued to be well known in the Mediterranean probably to the end of the Byzantine Empire. *Migliaresi* are frequently mentioned by Pegolotti *circa* 1340. [*Miliarésion*, a silver drachma of which twenty made a *dareí*, which was equivalent to an Attic *Stater*. (McCrindle.)] [Probably in 312, Constantine issued the *aureus* of seventy-two to the pound of 4 gr. 55, and gave the name of *solidus aureus* or simply *solidus* to the new gold standard. (Babelon, *Traité des Monnaies grecques et romaines*, i, 1901, pp. 532–3.)] [The *miliarense* was 1/14 of the *solidus aureus* of 4 gr. 55. When Constantine coined his gold solidus he coined also a new silver coin of 72 to the pound which weighs, consequently, like the gold coin, 4 gr. 55; this coin is the *miliarense*. (Babelon, *l.c.*, p. 570.)]

[2] On the Yue chi, Ye tas or White Huns, called also Ephthalites, see Lassen, ii, 771 *segq.*, and iii, 584 *seqq.* [Vivien de Saint-Martin has written a special dissertation on *Les Huns Blancs ou Ephthalites des Historiens byzantins*. (Paris, Thunot, 1849, 8vo.) See p. 205 *n.*, *supra*.]

to war with not less than a thousand elephants, besides a great force of cavalry. This ruler tyrannises over India and exacts tribute from the people. Once upon a time, as they tell, he would lay siege to a certain inland city of India; but the city was protected all round by inundation. So he sat him down before it for many days, and in course of time what with his elephants and his horses and the people of his camp the whole of the water was drunk dry, so that at last he was able to cross over dry-shod, and took the city.

"These people have a great fondness for the emerald stone, and it is worn by their king in his crown[1]. The Ethiopians who obtain this stone from the Blemmyes in Ethiopia, import it into India and with the price they get are able to invest in wares of the greatest value.

"Now, all these matters I have been able thus to describe and explain, partly from personal experience, and partly from accurate inquiries which I made when in the vicinity of the different places." (p. 339.)

"There are other kings (I may observe) of different places in India who keep elephants, such as the King of Orrhotha, and the King of the Kalliana people, and the Kings of Sindu, of Sibor, and of Male. One will have six hundred elephants, another five hundred, and so on, some more, or less. And the King of Sieledibа [gives a good price for][2] both the elephants that he has, and the horses. The elephants he buys by cubit measurement; for their height is measured from the ground, and so the price is fixed according to the measurement, ranging from fifty to a hundred nomismata or more[3]. Horses they bring to him from Persia, and these he buys, and grants special immunities to those who import them.

"The kings on the mainland cause wild elephants to be tamed,

[1] [Yule in his additional notes writes:-"So Mas'ūdī says one species of emerald from the country of the Bejah (Blemmyes?) was called *Bahri*, because so much prized by the Kings of Transmarine countries, such as Hind, Sind, Zinj, and Sin, who sought it diligently "*to set in their diadems*," etc. (*Prairies d'Or*, iii, 44.)

"The Blemmyes were fierce predatory nomads of the Nubian wilds and the regions adjacent. Emeralds were found in the mines of Upper Egypt, and were no doubt shipped from Adulê for the Indian markets by the Ethiopian traders who bought them from the Blemmyes. If taken to Barygaza (Bharoch), they could be transported thence by a frequented trade-route to Ujjain, thence to Kabul, and thence over the Hindū Kush to the regions of the Oxus." M'Crindle, p. 371.]

[2] This is conjectural, as some words are evidently wanting. Montfaucon's Latin supplies *pretio emit*.

[3] From £32 to £65. The price of elephants in Bengal now may run from twice to thrice these amounts. Height is always one of the elements in estimating the price of an elephant. Edrisi says: "The Kings of India and China make a great work about the height of their elephants; they pay very dear in proportion as this attribute increases." (i, 97.)

and make use of them in war. And it is a common practice to get up elephant fights as a spectacle for the king. For this purpose they set up between the two elephants a pair of upright timbers with a great crossbeam fastened to them which reaches as it might be to the chests of the elephants. A number of men are also stationed on this side and on that to prevent the animals coming to close quarters, but at the same time to stir them up to engage one another. And so the beasts thrash each other with their trunks till at length one of them gives in.

"The Indian elephants are not furnished with great tusks[1]. And even when they have them naturally the people saw them off, in order that their weight may not be an incumbrance in war. The Ethiopians do not understand the art of taming elephants; but if their king should want one or two for a show they catch them young and bring them up in captivity. For in their country there are great numbers of elephants, and they are of the kind that have great tusks. And these tusks are exported by sea from Ethiopia into Persia and Homerite and the Roman territory, and even to India. These particulars are derived from what I have heard." (p. 339.—M^cCrindle, pp. 358–373.)

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Cosmæ Ægyptii Monachi Christiana Topographia, sive Christianorum Opinio de Mundo, pp. 399–578, 4 plates.

[1] It is well known that a large proportion of male elephants in India have only very small tusks like the females. Such in Bengal are called *makhna*.

— Description des Animavx et des Plantes des Indes. Avec vne relation de l'isle Taprobane, tirée de la Topographie Chrestienne de Cosmas le Solitaire. [Greek Text and Translation.] (*Relation de divers voyages curieux...par...feu* M. Melchisedec Thevenot...Nouvelle édition, Augmentée de plusieurs Relations curieuses. T. I. Contenant la I. et II. Partie. A Paris, Chez Thomas Moette,...M.DC.XCVI, fol.)

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NOTE IX BIS.

EXTRACTS FROM *THEOPHYLACTUS SIMOCATTA*[1].

Lib. VII, Caput VII. "Ergo deuictis a Chagano Abaris (sursùm enim redeo) aliì eorum ad Taugastenses confugerunt (est autem Taugast Turcarum nobilis colonia, stadiis mille quingentis ab India distans, cuius indigenæ, & strenuissimi, & frequentissimi, & præstantia quouis populo in orbe terrarum superiores) alii propter amissam libertatem humiliorem sortiti conditionem, ad Mucritas qui dicuntur, Taugastensibus vicinissimos se contulerunt, ad prælia ineunda tum propter quotidiana belli exercitia, tum propter tolerantiam in periculis eximio animorum robore præditos." (P. 174.)

Lib. VII, Caput IX: "Chaganvs igitur ciuili bello finito, rem felicibus auspiciis administrat, & cum Taugastensibus foedus

[1] Theophylacti Simocattæ expræfecti et observatoris coactorvm Historiarvm libri VIII. Interprete Iacobo Pontano Societatis Iesv. Editio priore castigatior, & Glossario Græco-barbaro auctior. Studio & opera Caroli Annibalis Fabroti IC. Parisiis, E Typographia regia.— M.DC.XLVII, fol.

Greek text and Latin translation in *Corpus Byzantinae Historiae*.

percutit, vt tranquillitatem & pacem supremam vndique nactus, principatum sibi omnis seditionis expertem efficeret. Princeps autem in Taugast Taisan audit, quæ vox græca lingua filium Dei sonat. Hoc regnum nullis intestinis discordiis agitatur, propterea quod Princeps illic a successione generis creatur. Statuas venerantur: iustis reguntur legibus, frugalitatem in omni vita excolunt. Consuetudo est apud eos, vim legis obtinens, vt mares ornatu aureo in perpetuum abstineant: quanquam auro argentoque propter magnorum mercimoniorum commoditatem abundant. Hanc vrbem fluuius discriminat, qui olim duos frequentissimos populos dissidentes diuidebat, quorum alter nigra, alter cocco tincta veste vtebatur. Nostris itaque temporibus, Mauricio Imperatore, nigram gestantes, transmisso fluuio rubram indutis bellum intulerunt, victoresque toto illo imperio potiti sunt. Vrbem Taugast barbari memorant Alexandrum condidisse, quando Bactrianos, & Sogdianam, centum viginti barbarorum millibus igne consumptis subiugauit. Vxores regiae auro & lapillis preticsissimis conspicuæ, curribus vehuntur aureis, quorum singuli a singulis iuuencis, frænis auro, & gemmis sumptuose exornatis trahuntur. Princeps cum feminis septingentis noctem exigit. Nobilium coniugibus pilenta sunt argentea. Fama est, Alexandrum aliam quoque vrbem, non multis millibus distantem, quam barbari Chubdan nominant, ædificasse. Eius principem demortuum, ipsius vxores rasis capitibus, & pullatæ continenter lugent: neque per legem eius sepulcrum deserere vnquam possunt. Chubdan duo latissimi amnes disterminant, quorum ripis cupressi (vt ita loquar) annuunt. Multos habent elephantos, & cum Indis negotiantur.

Hos autem Indos in plaga Boreali habitantes, albis corporibus esse prædicant. Bombycum, vnde fila serica, magna & diuersicolor apud eos copia: in quibus curandis barbari magnum, & artificiosum studium præstare solent. Verum ne historiam a meta proposita abducamus, hactenus de Scythis ad Bactrianam, Sogdianam, & nigrum fluuium a nobis dictum esto." (Pages 176–7.)

NOTE IX TER.

EXTRACTS FROM CHAU JU-KWA[1].

Ta Ts'in.

"The country of Ta-ts'in," *also called Li-kiĕn*, "is the general mart of the natives of the Western Heaven, the place where the foreign merchants of the Ta-shï assemble."

[1] Chau Ju-kua: His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the twelfth and thirteenth Centuries, entitled *Chu-fan-chi*, Translated from the Chinese and Annotated by Friedrich Hirth and W. W. Rockhill.—St Petersburg, 1912, large 8vo, pp. 102–4.

" Their King is styled Ma-lo-fu " ; *he rules in the city of An-tu.* ' He wears a turban of silk with gold embroidered characters, and the throne he sits upon is covered with a silken rug."

" They have walled cities " *and markets with wards and streets.* ' In the King's residence " *they use crystal in making pillars, and* ' plaster in guise of tiles. ' Wall-hangings abound. The circuit (of the wall) is pierced with seven gates, each guarded by thirty men.

" Tribute bearers from other countries pay homage below the platform of the (palace) steps, whence they withdraw after having offered their congratulations."

The inhabitants are tall and of a fine bright complexion, somewhat like the Chinese, which is the reason for their being called Ta-ts'in.

They have Keepers of official records, and in writing they use Hu characters. They trim their hair and wear embroidered gowns. They also have small carts with white tops, flags, etc. (Along the roads) there is a shed every ten li, and every thirty li *there is a beacon-tower. There are many lions in this country that interfere with travellers and are likely to devour them unless they go in caravans of an hundred well-armed men.*

" Underneath the palace they have dug a tunnel through the ground communicating with the hall of worship at a distance of over a *li*. The king rarely goes out except to chant the liturgy and worship. On every seventh day he goes by way of the tunnel to the hall of worship for divine service, being attended by a suite of over fifty men. But few amongst the people know the king's face. If he goes out he rides horseback, shaded by an umbrella ; the head of his horse is ornamented with gold, jade, pearls and other jewels.

" There is among the Kings of the Ta-shï country he who is styled *Su-tan* : every year he deputes men to send in tribute, and, if trouble is apprehended in the country, he orders the Ta-shï to use their military force to keep order.

" The food consists principally of cooked dishes, bread and meat. They do not drink wine ; they make use of vessels of gold and silver, helping themselves to the contents with ladles. After meals they wash their hands in golden bowls full of water.

" The native products comprise opaque glass, coral, native gold (or gold bullion), brocades (or Kincobs), sarsenets, red cornelian and pearls " ; also (the precious stone called) *hié-hi-si* or *tung-t'ién-si.*

In the beginning of the yen-hi *period of the Han* (A.D. 158–176) *the ruler of the country sent an embassy which, from outside the frontier of Jih-nan, came to offer rhinoceros* (horns), *elephants'* (tusks), *and tortoise-shell ;—this being the first direct communication with China. As the presents comprised no other rarities, it may be suspected that the envoys kept them back.*

During the t'ai k'ang *period of the Tsin* (A.D. 280–9) *tribute was again brought from there.*

There is a saying that in the west of this country is the Jo-shui and the Liu-sha, near the place where the Si-wang-mu resides and almost where the sun goes down.

Tu Huan in the King-hing-ki says: "The country of Fu-lin is in the west of the Chan country; it is also called Ta-ts'in. The inhabitants have red and white faces. The men wear plain clothes, but the women brocades set with pearls. They like to drink wine and eat dry cakes. They have many skilled artisans and are clever weavers of silk.

"The size of the country is a thousand li. *The active army consists of over ten thousand men. It has to ward off the Ta-shi.*

"In the Western Sea there is a market where a (silent) *agreement exists between buyer and seller that if one comes the other goes. The seller first spreads out his goods; afterwards the* (would-be) *purchaser spreads out the equivalent* (he offers), *which must lie by the side of the articles for sale till taken by the seller, when the objects purchased may be carried off. This is called the 'Devil* (or *Spirit*) *market.'"*

NOTE X.

THE DISCOVERY OF THE SYRO-CHINESE CHRISTIAN MONUMENT AT SI-NGAN FU

From the RELAZIONE DELLA CINA *of* P. ALVAREZ SEMEDO, *Rome*, 1643.

"In the year 1625, whilst the foundations of a house were a-digging in the neighbourhood of the city of Si-ngan fu, the capital of the province of Shen si, the workmen hit upon a stone slab more than nine palms long, by four in width, and more than a palm in thickness. The head of this slab, *i.e.* one of the ends in its longer dimension, is finished off in the form of a pyramid more than two palms high with a base of more than one palm, and on the surface of this pyramid is a well-formed cross with floreated points, resembling those which are described to be sculptured on the tomb of St. Thomas at Meliapur, and such as were also at one time in use in Europe, as we may see by some examples that have been preserved to the present day.

"There are some cloudy marks round about the cross, and (immediately) below it three transverse lines, each composed of three large characters clearly carved, all of the kind employed in China. The whole (of the rest) of the surface of the stone is seen to be sculptured over with characters of the same kind, and so also is the thickness of the slab, but in the last the characters are

different from the others, for some of them are outlandish, and their nature was not known at the time of the discovery.

"No sooner had the Chinese cleaned this notable piece of antiquity and seen what it was, than, with the vivid curiosity which is natural to them, they ran to tell the Governor. He came in all haste to see it, and straightway caused it to be set up on a handsome pedestal under an arch which was closed at the sides and open in front, so that it might at once be protected from the weather, and accessible to eyes capable of enjoying and appreciating an antique of such a venerable kind. The place which he selected for it was also within the enclosure of a Bonze Temple, not far from where the discovery occurred.

"Great numbers of people flocked to see this stone, attracted in part by its antiquity and in part by the novelty of the strange characters that were visible on it. And as the knowledge of our religion has now spread far and wide in China, a certain Pagan who happened to be present, and who was on very friendly terms with a worthy Christian mandarin called Leo, when he discerned the bearing of this mysterious writing, thought he could not do his friend a greater pleasure than by sending him a copy of it. And this he did, although the Mandarin was a six weeks' journey off, residing in the city of Hang chau, whither most of our fathers had retired on account of the persecution that had occurred, of which we shall speak in its place. He received the transcript with pious joy, and visible demonstrations of delight, seeing the irrefragable testimony of the ancient Christianity of China which it contained (a thing such as had been much desired and sought for), as we shall explain.

"Three years later, in 1628, some of the fathers had an opportunity of visiting the province in question in company with a Christian mandarin called Philip, who had to go thither. A church and a house (of the Society) were erected in that metropolis; for the Blessed God who had willed the discovery of so fine a monument of the ancient occupation of this country by His Divine Law, was also pleased to facilitate its restitution in the same locality. It was my fortune to be one of the first to go thither, and I thought myself happy in having that post, on account of the opportunity it gave me of seeing the stone; and on my arrival I could attend to nothing else until I had seen it and read it. And I went back to read it again, and examined it in a leisurely and deliberate manner. Considering its antiquity, I could not but admire that it was so perfect, and exhibited letters sculptured with such clearness and precision.

"Looked at edge-wise there are on it many Chinese characters which contain a number of names of priests and bishops of that age. There are also many other characters which were not then known, for they are neither Hebrew nor Greek, but which, as far as I understand, contain the same names, in order that if by chance

some one from abroad should come who could not read the writing of the country, he might, perhaps, be able to understand these foreign characters.

"Passing afterwards through Cochin on my way to Cranganor, the residence of the Archbishop of the Coast, I consulted on the subject of those letters Father Antonio Fernandez of our Society, who was very learned in the literature of those St. Thomas Christians, and he told me that the letters were Syriac, and the same as were in use by that body." (P. 197 *seq.*)

The following account is given in a Chinese work entitled "Laichai's *Brief examination of Inscriptions on Stone and Metal.*"

"At present this inscription exists in the enclosure of the monastery Kinching ('Golden Victory') to the west of the city of Si-ngan. In the years Tsung ching of the Ming (1628–43) the Prefect of Si-ngan, Doctor Tseu Tsing chang, a native of Tsin-ling, had a young child called Hoaseng who was endowed from his birth with a very rare degree of intelligence and penetration. Almost as soon as he could speak he would already join his hands to adore Fo. When he had reached his twelfth year, the child, without knowing where was the seat of his ailment, pined away; his eyes insensibly closed; he opened them for an instant with a smile, and died. Chang, seeing that his son was gone, cast lots, and these indicated for the place of his burial a spot to the south of the monastery *T'sung jin* ('Sublime Humanity') in Chang-ngan. After digging here to a depth of several feet, they hit upon a stone which was no other than that bearing the inscription," etc. (From Pauthier, *L'Inscription Chrétienne de Singanfou*, pp. 70–1.)

NOTE X BIS.

FROM THE *ISTORIA* OF P. D. BARTOLI.

P Daniello Bartoli in his *Istoria della Compagnia di Gesù* has given in the third part of Asia devoted to China (Torino, 1825, Lib. 4°, pp. 4 *seq.*) a history of the discovery of the Si-ngan fu inscription which is more complete in its particulars than the account of Semedo. I have thought it might proye of good service and I insert it here:

Descrizion d'una lapida
trovata nella Provincia di Scensì in memoria
della Fede già fiorita nella Cina.

La Provincia di Scensì, fra tutte le quindici della Cina, è in venerazione come di madre; perciochè si ha fino ab immemorabili, che i primi padri e fondatori della Nazion cinese quivi abitassero, e quinci, multiplicando, diffondessero i lor nipoti e discendenti,

popolar tutte le quattordici altre Provincie. E par vero; perochè chi vien da verso l' India per la via di terra a quel Regno, la Provincia di Scensì è la prima a farsi loro incontro a riceverli, sì come quella, che più di niun' altra si stende in quel verso, fino a Sifàn, cioè a' Regni di Tibet e Cascàr: e le carovane de' Mori, che ad ogni tanti anni si portano alla Cina, le lontanissime dalla Persia e dal Mogòr, e l' altre da più vicino, tutte vengono a metter capo a Scensì nel suo lato a Settentrione, dove ha la gran muraglia che la divide da' Tartari. Quivi anco ebbero per più secoli il lor seggio i primi Re della Cina, e la Corte in Sigàn metropoli della Provincia; per cio tutta sontuosissimi edificj, e per almen dodici miglia nostrali, quante (oltre a' gran borghi) ne volge il suo circuito, intorniata d' un muro di pietra viva, la sì bella fabrica a vedersi, e sì forte a difendere la città ch' ella giustamente ne va con nome di Muraglia d' oro. Or' in questa Provincia di Scensì, e in questa sua maestosa metropoli Sigan, si apparecchiavano i Padri a portar là luce dell' Evangelio; quando, pochi mesi innanzi al lor giungervi (e non, pochi anni prima del lor' entrar nella Cina, come altri ha scritto: ed è fallo d' almen quarantacinque anni), aprendosi dove gittare i fondamenti di non so qual nuovo edificio presso a Ceuce, città non delle grandi, un qualche trenta miglia lungi dalla metropoli in ver Levante, i cavatori s' avvennero in certe rovine di fabrica, e fra esse, nello scassinarle, diedero in una gran piastra di marmo, che tratta fuori, e rinetta con diligenza, si vide tutta esser messa a caratteri, altri cinesi, altri di stranissima formazione, niuno sapea di che lingua: ma gli uni e gli altri, quanto all' intaglio, opera di mano eccellente. Così dell' invenzione di questa memorabile anticaglia si è scritto fin' ora da chi ne fa menzione, attribuendola a fortuito avvenimento de' cavatori, che, senza nulla cercarne, si abbatterono in lei. Ma io, nelle memorie inviatecì dalla Provincia di Scensì l' anno 1639, truovo la testimonianza d un vecchio, il quale, accoltosi cortesemente il P. Stefano Fabri, gran ministro dell' Evangelio in quel Regno, ad albergo una notte nel suo povero casolare, posto colà fra le più erme pendici di quella montagnosa Provincia, gli contò per indubitabil saputa, i paesani della contrada, colà onde si trasse la pietra, avere osservato, che coprendosi sin dal primo far del verno di foltissime nevi tutto intorno il paese, solo un pochissimo di terreno ne rimaneva al tutto libero e scoperto: e ciò per più anni seguentemente dunque, forza essere, che ivi sotto si nascondesse o un tesoro (come desideravano), o che che altro si fosse, cosa degna di sapersi che fosse: e da ciò essersi indotti a cercarne, e cavare, e avervi trovato in verità il tesoro della pietra che dicevamo. Tanto ne riferiva il vecchio. Curiosissimi sono i Cinesi di ciò che sa dell' antico: nè più caro dono può farsi ad uomo di profession Letterato, che un che che sia, tanto più prezioso, quanto più antico, massimamente memorie di secoli andati, che colà sono reliquie del tempo sacrosante, e ne arricchiscono que' loro sontuosi

Musei, ch' essi chiamano Case di studio. Perciò v' ebbe gara a chi portasse il primo l' annunzio della pietra al Governatore di Ceuce; il quale accorsovi, e lettone quel che v' era in sua lingua, altro non ne comprese, se non ch' ella era cosa di gran mistero, e antichissima, sì come fin dal tempo della real famiglia Tam, e di Chienciun, un de' successori d' essa regnante. Era la pietra meglio di quattro palmi in largo, lunga oltre a nove, e grossa un sommesso. D' in su'l lato superiore, spiccavasi un altro minor quadrato; la cui sommità levandosi un poco alta, e stringendosi, finiva in acuto; e quivi entro all' angolo superiore una Croce ben disegnata, su l'andar di quella de' Cavalieri di Malta, con a' capi alcune giunterelle da renderla di bel garbo. Sotto essa, nove sì gran caratteri, ch' essi soli empiono tutto il quadrato superiore, disposti in tre righe a tre per ciascuna. Ma nel pian del quadrato maggiore, elle eran da trenta righe, non coricate come le nostre, ma ritte in piè, e da leggersi calando dalla cima al fondo: chè tale ho detto altrove essere il proprio scrivere de' Cinesi: e in esse contavansi mille diciotto caratteri; i quali, tra perchè ciascun di loro è una voce intera, e per la mirabil forza che hanno nell' esprimere e significare i concetti dell' animo, a volerli ridurre a scrittura in lettere uguali d' ogni altra lingua d' Europa, empierebbono tre e quattro volte più spazio. Oltre a questi cinesi, correvanle per su il lembo attorno altri caratteri, di soriano all' antica, ma quivi non conosciuti, nè pur di che lingua si fossero.

Letta da' Gentili la pietra, e non intesa:
se ne manda copia al Dottor Lione, e si stampa.

Il Governator dunque, adorato quel marmo, venerabilissimo per l' antichità di presso ottocencinquanta anni (come indubitato appariva dal tempo in che vissero i Re quivi expressi), e contenente, nella sua natia favella, misteri da lui poco intesi, e nulla quel che dicea la straniera il mandò trasportar di colà in un tempio di Taosi, un miglio presso a Sigàn, e quivi alzarlo su un piedestallo, sotto un bel capannuccio portato da quattro colonne: e al par di lui, un' altra piastra di marmo, con incisavi dentro una ben cómposta memoria del ritrovamento di quella antichità presso a Ceuce, colà dov' egli era Governatore. Tutta Sigàn vi trasse, con gara eziandio fra più dotti a comprenderne o indovinarne il significato, difficilissimo a rinvenire, non tanto perchè il dettato della scrittura era in istile sollevatissimo, quanto per le figurate maniere dell' accennarvisi i misteri della Fede nostra, quivi non ancora divulgati. E già lo stesso era avvenuto a que di Ceuce, senza trovarsi chi di loro si apponesse al vero, fuor che, come a Dio piacque, un solo del secondo ordine de' Letterati, che colà chiamano Chiugin. Questi, eran de gli anni presso a diciotto, che stretta in Pechìn amicizia col P. Matteo Ricci, ne aveva udito della Legge cristiana quanto ora tornandolsi alla memoria.

riscontrandolo con quel che leggea nella pietra, il rendè certo, quivi di lei trattarsi: e senza più, sovraposto alla medesima pietra uno o due di que' loro fran fogli, coll' arte dello stampare in pietra che colà è in uso, ne ricavò fedelmente la scrittura a carattere bianco in campo nero, e per messaggio a posta l' inviò sino ad Hanceu al Dottor Lione suo vecchio amico, e, come egli ben sapeva, Cristiano. Così appunto andò il fatto: ed hollo per narrazione fattane dallo stesso Dottor Lione: il quale tutto per ciò festeggiante venne a darne avviso a' Padri. Indi egli, e poscia anche il Dottor Paolo ridottala a carattere di minor forma, e stampatene in gran numero copie, le publicarono a tutto il Regno, aggiuntivi lor proemj, e interpretazion letterali delle metafore, e postille, e chiose necessariamente richieste all' intelligenza del testo. E qui altresì a me farà bisogno frametterne almen quelle, senza il cui lume si andrebbe mezzo alla cieca, per la troppa scurità del semplice testo; massimamente trasportato, per più fedeltà, a verbo a verbo, quanto il diversissimo scriver cinese si comporta col nostro: il non così necessario, per meno interrompere, avrà suo luogo nel margine. E ne ho di colà, in tre diverse lingue, otto interpretazioni di valent' uomini, che tutte nel sustanziale sono quasi una medesima: benchè, a dir vero, in non poche particolarità fra sè differenti per lo sì vario sentimento che posson probabilmente ricevere que' caratteri della scrittura cinese, la quale ha un non so che del simile a' geroglifici de gli antichi Egiziani. In tutte poi si dà in passi tanto difficili e scuri, che si può dir ben da vero, che l' interpretazione stessa ha bisogno d' interprete. Ma il suo peggio, e per cui appena sarà che leggendosi non annoi, è il riuscir l' interpretazione un cadavero dell' originale, mancandole, senza potersene altramente, quello spirito e quell' ingegno, che ha la maniera dell' esprimer cinese, a forza del mistero ch' è ne' caratteri e semplici e accozzati. Pure, qual che sia per riuscir questa, che non sarà niuna delle otto, e ne avrà parte di tutte, m' è paruta da stendersi qui tutta intera. E vuolsene sapere avanti, che dovunque in essa si nomina il paese di Tacin, ella è la Giudea: e gl' Illustri, o la Legge o dottrina illustre, sono in vece di nome proprio, a significar Cristiano, e Legge cristiana. I nomi poi de' Re Cinesi, che qui per ordine di successione si contano (e tutti furono della stessa famiglia Tam), come altresì de' Mandarini di Lettere e d Armi, tutti si accordano fedelmente colle istorie cinesi, che ne fan memoria co' medesimi nomi e col medesimo ordine: e da esse abbiamo, che il presente entrar della Fede in quel Regno cadde ne gli anni di Cristo 636, e'l rizzar che si fece di questa lapida fu nel 782. Se già non paresse in ciò aver maggior peso l' autorità del Dottor Lione cinese, che di cinque anni anticipa l' un conto e l' altro. Or le nove gran lettere, ch' erano in testa alla pietra, e riempievano tutto il quadrato superiore, così dicono: Pietra in memoria dell' essersi propagata per lo regno della Cina la Legge illustre del Tacin (cioè, la Legge cristiana,

venutavi di Giudea). Poi nel quadrato maggiore incomincia la narrazione sotto questo brieve preambolo: Chincin, Sacerdote di Tacin, così propone, e dice: [the translation follows].

NOTE XI.

THE KINGDOMS OF INDIA IN THE NINTH CENTURY, SPOKEN OF BY THE ARAB WRITERS IN THE *RELATIONS* TRANSLATED BY REINAUD.

The first king named is the BALHARA, who is said to have been regarded as the most exalted of Indian princes, and whom the Indians and Chinese classed with the Khalif, the Emperor of China, and the King of the Romans, as the four great kings of the world. There is, however, scarcely anything definite stated about him except that his empire began at the country of *Komkam* (the Konkan) on the sea coast.

The name of *Balhara* Lassen considers to be a corruption of *Ballabhiráa* or *raja*, the title of a great dynasty which reigned at Ballabhipura in the Peninsula of Gujarat[1], but which had fallen long before this time. Nor indeed does there appear to have been any *very* powerful dynasty in this region in the ninth century[2]. Al Birúni, who in Indian matters knew what he was talking about a great deal better than other old Arabic writers, says nothing of the Balhara[3] He mentions a kingdom of Konkan with its capital at *Tálah* [read *Tánah*][4].

Among the other kings with whom the Balhara was often at war was one named the JURZ, who was noted for his cavalry, and had great riches, and camels and horses in great numbers. His states are said to form a tongue of land, *i.e.*, I presume, to be on the sea coast. Yet Abu-Zaid says that Kanauj formed his empire, and to this M. Reinaud holds. But Mas'údí, who gives the same account of the Jurz (or *Juzr* as it is in his book as printed), makes him entirely distinct from the King of Kanauj, whom he calls the

[1] Called by Mas'údí *Manekir*, and identified by Lassen with the *Minnagara* of Ptolemy.

[2] See Lassen, iii, 533 *seqq*, and iv, 917 *seqq*. It is a curious illustration of the expanse of the Mahomedan power and consequent circulation of its agents that the name of this Indian prince, the *Balhara*, was applied to a village in the neighbourhood of Palermo, now the well-known Monreale, and from it again to a market in the city, *Súk-Balhara*, now called *Piázza Ballaro*. Similar illustrations are found in the names of *Manzil-Sindi*, near Corleone; *Jibal-Sindi*, near Girgenti; and *'Ain-Sindi*, in the suburbs of Palermo: all preserved by mediæval documents, and the last still surviving under the corrupted name of Fonte *Dennisinni* (Amari, *St. dei Musulm. di Sicilia*, i, 84; ii, 33, 34, 300).

[3] Reinaud, *Mém. sur l'Inde* in *Mém. de l'Acad.*

[4] Reinaud in *J. As.*, sér. iv, tom. iv, p. 251.

Bawurah[1]. Lassen and the editors of Mas'ūdī[2] make this kingdom Gujarat, apparently from the slight resemblance of name. But it seems much more likely that it is the King *Jor* of Al Bīrūni, whom that writer places on the eastern coast of the Peninsula, either in the Tanjore country or in Telinga, or extending over both. And from Hiuen Tsang also we hear of a kingdom called *Juri* or *Jurya*, which lay some three hundred miles north of Dravida (the capital of which last was the present Konjeveram), and this may have been the same[3].

There is then the kingdom of THÁFAK, or THÁFAN as Mas'ūdī has it, which was noted for its women, who were the *whitest* and most beautiful in India. The author of the *Relations* calls it *beside* the Jurz, but no great weight can be attached to this where his knowledge was evidently so dim. Because of Ibn Batuta's praise of the Mahratta women, M. Reinaud will have Thafan to be in the Dekkan, nay he localises it "in the present province of Aurungabad," and Lassen following up this lead with equal precision will prefer to put it in *Baglana*, which was then the Mahratta country[4]. But Ibn Batuta certainly does not say that the Mahratta women were *white*, the very last attribute I suppose that they could claim, and we find that Mas'ūdī couples Thafan with Kashmir and Kandahar (*i.e. Gandhára*, the country about Peshawar and Attok) as one of the countries in which the Indus had its sources[5]. The traveller Ibn Muhalhil speaks of *Thabán* as a chief city of Kabul, but whether that be meant for the same place or no, this Thafan is certainly to be sought on the N.W. frontier of India, and the fair women are very probably those of the race now called *Kafirs*, whose beauty and fair complexion are still so much extolled[6].

[1] Or *Baurawa*. Gildemeister says on this: "*Paurav* [in Nagari letters] esse puto, nam eo nomine Reges Kanyakubgenses gloriati sunt"; but gives no authority (p. 160). Mas'ūdī also speaks of a *city* Bawurah on one of the Panjab rivers, which is perhaps the *Parvata* of Hiuen Tsang. (*Pr. d'Or*, i, 371. *Vie de H. T.*, p. 210.)

[2] Lassen, iv, 921; *Prairies d'Or*, i, 383, 384. In the last passage the French translator puts simply *le Guzerat* to represent *Al-Jurz* or *Jurz*, which is scarcely fair translating of so doubtful a point.

[3] See *Vie de H. T.*, pp. 189, 190, 453; also Lassen, iii, 205, *note*. The *Jurz* of the *Relations* is evidently the *Malik-al-Jizr* of Edrisi, who puts him on what he calls the Island of Madai on the way to China, but Edrisi's information about the South Eastern Indies, is a hopeless chaos (see i. 86, 98).

[4] Lassen, iv, 921.

[5] *Prairies d'Or*, i, 207.

[6] See the notices of the Kafir women quoted Vol. IV, Goës, *infra*. Kazwini mentions a very strong fortress of India called *Thaifand*, on the summit of a mountain almost inaccessible, but which had water, cultivation, and everything needful for the maintenance of its garrison. It was taken, he says, by Mahmud Sabaktagin in the year 414 (A.D. 1023), and five hundred elephants were found in it. This is like the

Contiguous to these, according to the Arab writer, was the Kingdom of Ruhmi, Rahma, or RAHMAN[1], who was at war with the Jurz and the Balhara. He was not of great consideration, though he had the greatest army, and was accompanied by some fifty thousand elephants and fifteen thousand washermen! Muslins that could pass through a ring were made in his country. Gold, silver, aloes-wood, and chowries were also found in it. Cowries were the money used; and in the forests was the rhinoceros, of which a particular description is given under the name of *Karkadan*[2]. The Kingdom of Rahma adds Mas'ūdī. extends both inland and on the sea.

Of this Reinaud says: "This seems to me to answer to the ancient Kingdom of Visiapur": and Lassen will have it that it fits none but the Kingdom of the Chalukyas of Kalliani (in the Dekkan). Why, it would be hard to say; the washermen doubtless exist in those regions, and to a certain extent the elephants, but none of the other alleged products. Gold, silver, aloes-wood, chowries, rhinoceroses, and the fabulous stud of elephants all point to Transgangetic India, perhaps including Assam, whilst the muslins that pass through a ring are the produce of Eastern Bengal (Dacca muslins). Pegu is known in Burma, Buddhistoclassically, as *Rahmaniya*[3], and I have little doubt that this is the name involved, though I should be sorry to define more particularly the limits of the region intended by the Arab writer[4].

Then come an inland people of white complexion with pierced ears, and remarkable for their beauty, called KASHIBÍN, or, as Mas'ūdī has it, *Káman*. M. Reinaud says Mysore, but only because he had last said Visiapur. He cannot suppose that the people of Mysore are white in any sense. All that can be said is

account given of a stronghold on the west of the Indus, at *Mahabaz*, which had been admirably identified by Col. James Abbott with Aornos. The name may have to do with our Thâfan (see Gildem., p. 208).

[1] Some copies of Mas'ūdī have *Wahman*, which seems to point to Rahman as the proper name (see Reinaud, *Relations*, i, cii). *Edrisi* (in Jaubert, i, 173) has *Dumi*.

[2] This is probably the word which Aelian intends in his description of the Indian unicorn, which he calls καρταζώνον. (*De Nat. Animalium*, xvi, 20.)

[3] The great Burmese inscription at Kaungmúdhau Pagoda, near Ava, thus defines: "All within the great districts of Hanzawadi (*i.e.*, the city of Pegu), Digun (Rangoon), Dala (opposite Rangoon), Kothian, Youngmyo, and Mauttama (Martaban) is the great kingdom of RAMANIYA" (*Mission to Ava*, p. 351). *Arramaniya* is also used in the Ceylonese annals to designate some country of the Transgangetic Peninsula (see Turnour's *Epitome*, p. 41). The sounding titles of many of the Indo-Chinese princes refer to their possession of vast numbers of elephants.

[4] The kings of India, as given by Ibn Khurdádhbah (*supra*, p. 135), are the Balhara, the kings of Jábah, Táfan, Juzr, *Ghanah* or *'Anah*, Rahma, and Kámrún. Ghanah seems to have no parallel in other lists, nor can I conjecture what is meant.

that this and all the other kingdoms mentioned afterwards appear to be in Farther India. These are KAIRANJ, said to be on the sea, probably the sea called *Kadranj*, in the list of seas between Oman and China[1]; then MUJAH, where there is much good musk and very long ranges of snowy mountains; and MABAD or MAYAD, the people of both of which resemble the Chinese, whilst the latter touch the Chinese frontier. These are to be sought in the vicinity of Yún nan, which has much musk and very long ranges of snowy mountains.

NOTE XII.

ABSTRACT OF THE TRAVELS OF IBN MUHALHIL.

Quitting Khorāsān and the Mahomedan cities of Mávara-un-Nahr, with the ambassadors of China, as mentioned in the text, the party came first to the territory of HARKAH (or Harkat)[2]. It took a month[3] to pass through this region, and then they came to that of THATHÁH[4], through which they travelled for twenty days[5]. The people of this country are in alliance with those of Harkat to repel the inroads of the Pagans, and they are subject to the orders of the Emperor of China. They pay tribute also to Harkat, as the latter lies between them and the Musulman countries with which they desire to have commerce. Next they reached NAJA[6], tributary to Thathán. Here they have wine, figs, and black meddlars, and a kind of wood which fire will not burn. The Christians carry this wood away, believing that Christ was crucified upon it[7]. Next they came to the BAJNAK[8], a people

[1] A passage quoted by Dulaurier, in relation to camphor, from an Arabic author, Ishak Bin Amram, says that the best camphor comes from "*Herenj*, which is Little China." This seems to point either to Borneo or to Cochin China. (*Jour. Asiat.*, sér. iv, tom. viii, p. 218.)

[2] [Chargāh, Marquart.—Kharkāh, Ferrand.]

[3] ["During which we lived on wheat and barley." Ferrand, p. 210.]

[4] [Tachṭāch, Marquart.—Takhṭākh, Ferrand.]

[5] ["In peace and security." Ferrand.]

[6] Or *Baja*. [Baǧā, Marquart.—Badja, Ferrand.]

[7] ["Das Land ist reich an Feigen, Trauben und schwarzem Mispel, und es gibt daselbst eine Holzart, die das Feuer nicht verzehrt. Aus diesem Holze machen sie Götzenbilder. Durchreisende Christen pflegen dies Holz fort zu nehmen, und behaupten, dass es von dem Balken stamme, an welchem Jesus gekreuzigt wurde." Marquart, p. 76. This wood is probably teakwood.]

[8] On the three preceding peoples or countries, *Harkah* [Harkah Yarkand], *Thathán*, and *Naja*, I can throw no light. The *Bajnak* [*Baǧnāk*, Marquart] are the Pechinegs, or Πατζινακίται of the Greeks [of Turkish race, of Huns stock], much discoursed of by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who evidently stood in great fear of them, in his book *De Administrando Imperio*. In his time they were on the

with beards and mustachios, and went twenty-two days[1] through their territory which extended north to the confines of the SCLAVES[2]. Next to the JIKIL[3], a people who keep no cattle; they marry their daughters and sisters without regard to unlawful affinities, and are subject to the Turks[4]. They have a herb called *Kalkan*

Dnieper and Dniester, but he tells us that fifty years before they had been driven from their original seats on the *Atil* and *Geech* (Volga and Iaic) by the *Uz* (or *Ghuz*) and Khazars. Their original settlement is described by an Arab writer as having on the north Kipchak, to the south the Khazars, to the east the Ghuz, to the west the Slavs. (Const. Porph. in Banduri, *Imper. Orientale*, vol. i; Defrémery, *Fragments de Géographes*, etc., in *Jour. As.*, sér. iv, tom. xiii, 466; Mas'ūdī, *Prairies d'Or*, i, 262.) [They were exterminated by John Comnen in 1123.]

[Klaproth, *Mémoire sur les Khazars* (*Journal Asiatique*, iii, 1823, pp. 153–160):

"Les écrivains Byzantins font pour la première fois mention des *Khazars* en l'an 626. Ils les appellent aussi *Turcs* ou *Turcs orientaux*" p. 155.

From Ibn Hhauqual: "La langue des *véritables Khazars*," he says, "diffère de celle des Turcs et des Persans," p. 158.—"La langue des *Bulgares* est aussi celle des *Khazars*. Les *Berthas* ont une autre langue, et celle des *Russes* diffère entièrement des idiômes des *Khazars* et des *Berthas*," p. 158

From Constantine Porphyrogenitus: "Près du Danube inférieur, vis-à-vis de *Dristra*, commence le pays des Petchenèghes, et leur domination s'étend jusqu'à Sarkel, forteresse des *Khazars*, dans laquelle il y a une garnison qu'on change de tems en tems: Chez eux *Sarkel* signifie *habitation blanche*," p. 159.

Klaproth comes to the conclusion that the Wogouls of western Siberia, the Khazars and the Bulgares belong to the race of the eastern Finns... this fact shows that "Schloezter et Thunmann ne se sont pas trompés en supposant que les *Hongrois blancs* cités dans la Chronique russe de Nestor, n'étaient autres que les *Khazars* des *Byzantins*," p. 160.

Physically the greater part of the Bulgarians are Finno-Ugrians, but mixed with Slavs; their language and customs have suffered the Slav influence and they make use of the Cyrillic alphabet.]

[1] [Twelve days, Ferrand.]

[2] ["Hierauf kamen wir zu einem Stamme, namens Bagnāk (Pečenegen), mit langen Bärten und Schnurrbärten, rohen Barbaren, die einander gegenseitig überfallen. Sie essen nur Hirse. Ihre Frauen begatten sie auf offener Strasse. Wir reisten durch ihr Gebiet 12 Tage lang, und es wurde uns erzählt, dass ihr Land nach Norden und den Slawenländern zu ungeheuer sei. Sie zahlen niemanden Tribut." Marquart, p. 75.]

[3] [Čikil, Marquart.—Ferrand.]

[4] ["Les indigènes se nourrissent exclusivement d'orge, de pois chiches et de viande de mouton. Ils n'égorgent pas le chameaux; ils n'élèvent pas de vaches; il n'y en a pas dans leur pays. Leurs vêtements sont en laine et en fourrure; ils n'en ont pas d'autres que ces deux sortes-là. Il y a chez eux quelques chrétiens [manichéens]. Ils sont beaux de visage. Les hommes, chez eux, épousent leurs filles, leurs sœurs et toutes les femmes interdites [par l'Islam]. Ils ne sont pas Mages, et cependant telle est leur doctrine en ce qui concerne le mariage. Ils adorent Canope [*Suhayl*, α du Navire], Saturne, les Gémeaux, Banāt Na'š [the tails of the Little and of the Great Bear], le Chevreau; ils appellent Sirius, le Seigneur des Seigneurs. Chez eux la tranquillité règne; ils ne font rien de mal; toutes les tribus turques qui les entourent cherchent à les attaquer et à les dépouiller." Ferrand, p 211.]

which they boil with their meat[1]. Bezoars are found here, and malignant serpents haunt the country in the beginning of winter. Their houses are of wood and clay[2]. Then to the BAGHRAJ, whose king is descended from 'Ali, and who are very skilful in the manufacture of arms[3]. Next to TOBBAT, and travelled forty days therein. There was a great city there built of reeds and a temple made of ox leather covered with varnish. There is also an idol made of the horns of musk oxen[4]. Next they came to KIMAK[5], where the houses are of the skins of beasts, and there are vines with grapes which are half black and half white. There is also a stone here with which they produce rain as often as they will[6]. Gold is found on the surface, and diamonds are disclosed by the rivers. They have no king nor temple. They venerate greatly

[1] *Kalank* in *Pers.* is the kitchen herb *purslain*. The *Ashkal, Szekely* or *Siculi*, no doubt the same as these Jikil, are mentioned in the extracts by Defrémery just quoted (p. 473), as being to the south of the Majgars or Majars, who again were south of the Bajnaks. [Read *hilkan*, the leek; it grows at Rey and in Khorāsān. *Notices et Ext.*, xxvi, 1883, p. 162.—Ferrand, p. 211.]

[2] [Bone? Ferrand, p. 212.—"Ils n'ont pas de rois. Nous avons traversé leur pays en quarante jours, en paix, quiétude et tranquillité." Ferrand, p. 212.]

[3] Qu. Georgians? (whose kings were *Bagratidæ*); or Bulgarians? (of the Volga). ["La particularité merveilleuse de ceux qu'ils choisissent pour roi parmi les descendants de Zayd, c'est que ceux-ci ont de la barbe, le nez droit et de grand yeux. Les indigènes se nourrissent de millet et de viande de mouton mâle. Il n'y a dans leurs pays ni vaches ni chèvres. Leurs vêtements sont en feutre; ils n'en revêtent pas d'autres. Nous voyageâmes chez eux pendant un mois dans la peur et la crainte, nous dûmes leur donner le dixième de tout ce que nous avions avec nous." Ferrand, p. 212. Sir Henry H. Howorth, in his paper *The Northern Frontagers of China* (*Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc.*, 1893, pp. 467–502), has devoted some pages to Boghra Khan.' The Bagrač were perhaps the subjects of the Boghra Khan.]

[4] Some regions of Siberia? [Tobbat: *Tűbăt* تبت and not *Tubbat* تبّت..... "Dans cette ville se trouvent des musulmans, des juifs, des chrétiens, des Mages et des Indiens; [les habitants] payent l'impôt à l'Alide [roi de la tribu] des Baghrač. Les [Tűbăt] tirent leur roi au sort. Ils ont une prison pour les criminels et [infligent] des amendes. Ils prient en se mettant dans la direction de la *Kibla* de la Mekke." Ferrand, p. 213.]

[5] [Kaimāk, Marquart.—Kaymāk, Ferrand.]

[6] On the *rain-stone* used by the Turk and Tartar tribes to conjure rain, and still known among the Kalmaks, see one of Quatremère's long but interesting notes on *Rashiduddin*, pp. 428 *seqq.*; also Hammer's *Golden Horde*, pp. 42 and 436. This stone was called by the Turks *Jadah* (Pers. *Yadah*). Is this the origin of our Jade-stone? and is it connected with the (*Pers.*) word *Jádú*, conjuring, in common use in India? ["Der Regenstein (Nephrit) 'wird bekanntlich seit Alters südlich von Khuttan aus anstehendem Felsgestein gebrochen (H. v. Schlagintweit, *Hochasien*, iv, 161 f.) und die Flüsse von Khuttan, Yarqand, Kiria und Čarčan führen Nephrit im Gerölle.'" Marquart, p. 79.]

those who attain eighty years without being ill. The travellers were thirty-five days among them[1]. Then they came to the GHUZ, whose city is of stone, timber, and reeds. They have a temple but no images. Their king is very powerful and trades with India and China. Their clothes are of linen and camel's hair. They have no wool. They have a white stone which is good for colic, and a red[2] stone which by touching a sword prevents it from cutting. The route lay securely for one month through this country[3]. Then came the TAGHAZGHAZ[4] who eat flesh, both raw and cooked, and wear wool and cotton. They have no temples they hold horses in high esteem. They have a stone that stops bleeding at the nose. They celebrate a feast when they see a rainbow. In prayer they turn to the west. The king is very powerful, and at the top of his castle is a round structure of gold which holds a hundred men, and is seen for five parasangs. Their standards are black. The travellers went twenty days through this country in great fear[5]. Next they came

[1] ["Ils ont des caractères pour écrire." Ferrand, p. 213.] The *Kimaks* are represented by Edrisi as the greatest of the Turk (or Tartar) nations. They had the Taghazghaz to the south, the Khiziljis (*Kharlikhs ?*) to the south-west, the Khilkhis to the west, on the east the Dark Sea. They had numerous cities, all on a great river flowing eastward. El-Wardi calls them a raçe of Eastern Turks, bordering on Northern China. In the Chinese Annals we find embassies repeatedly from the *Kumukí*, coupled with the K'itans, to the court of the Wei dynasty in the fifth century (Edrisi, *i*, 25; ii, 217–223, etc.; Ibn Khurdádhbah in *Jour. As.*, 6ér. vi, tom. v, 268; D'Herbelot in v; Deguignes, i, 183, 184). The river was perhaps the *Irtish*, as Mas'údí speaks of the "Black and White *Irshat* (the French transl., however, prints *Arasht*) on the banks of which is the kingdom of the *Keimak-Baigur*, a Turkish tribe originating in the country beyond the Jihun." (*Prairies d'Or*, i, 230; also 288.)

[Green, Ferrand, p. 214.]

[2] The *Ghuz* or *Uzes* had their seats about the Aral and to the east of it. In the reign of Constantine Ducas they penetrated into Macedonia, and got large sums from the emperor to make peace. On their return they were cut to pieces by the Pechinegs. The Ghuz are identified with the *Turkomans* (Edrisi, i, 7; ii, 339 *seqq.*; Deguignes, ii, 522; Mas'údí, *Prairies d'Or*, i, 212). ["Ils se nourrissent exclusivement de froment; il n'y a pas chez eux de légumes. Ils mangent la chair des moutons et des chèvres, mâles et femelles." Ferrand, p. 214.]

[3] [Toyuzyuz (Uiguren), Marquart, p. 60.—Toguzoguz, Ferrand, p. 214.]

[4] The Taghazghaz (printed in Edrisi, *Baghavghar*) were one of the greatest tribes of the Turks, according to the early Arab geographers. Their country seems to have been that afterwards known as the Uighúr country, whether they were the same people or not (see Edrisi, i, 490 *seq.*; Ibn Khurdádhbah, *u.s.*, 268). Mas'údí says they occupied the city of Kushan between Khorásán and China, supposed to be the *Kao ch'ang* of the Chinese, the modern Turfan. He says they were in his day the most valiant, powerful, and best governed of the Turks. (*Prairies d'Or*, i, 288.) The round structure of gold was probably a

to the KHIRKHIZ[1], a people who have temples for worship and a written character, and are a very intelligent people. They never put a light out[2]. They have a little musk. They keep three feasts in the year. Their standards are green, and in prayer they turn to the south. They adore the planets Saturn and Venus, and predict the future by Mars. They have a stone that shines by night and is used for a lamp. No man under forty sits down

gilt Dagoba. ["Reinaud, in the preface to his Abulfeda, pp. 360 *seq.*, affords evidence that the Turkish race called *Tagazgaz* by the Arabian geographers of the ninth and tenth centuries is identical with the Uigurs. Mas'ūdī states that in his days (he died 956) the Tagazgaz were the most valiant, numerous and best governed among the Turk tribes. Their empire extended from Khorassan to Sin (China). Their principal city was called *Kushan*; their king had the title *irkhan*. Mas'ūdī adds that the Tagazgaz were the only Turk tribe who professed the Manichean doctrine. Reinaud thinks that *Kushan* is *Kucha* in Eastern Turkestan; Barbier de Meynard identifies this name with *Kao ch'ang* of the Chinese Annals. As to the doctrine of Mani (or Manes), I may observe that Wang Yengte, in his narrative, notices in Kao ch'ang a temple (devoted to) Mani (*Ma-ni sz'*), and served by monks from Persia, who have their particular rules, and who declare the books of the Buddhists to be heretical." Bretschneider, *Mediæval Researches*, i, p. 252.]

["Les Tagazgaz, qui occupent la ville de Kouchan (Kao-tchang), située entre le Khoraçan et la Chine, et qui sont aujourd'hui, en 332, de toutes les races et tribus turques, la plus valeureuse, la plus puissante et la mieux gouvernée. Leurs rois portent le titre d'Irkhan, et seuls entre tous ces peuples ils professent la doctrine de Manès." (Mas'ūdī, i, p. 288.)...."Leur royaume [des Chinois] est contigu à celui des Tagazgaz, qui, comme nous l'avons dit plus haut, sont manichéens et proclament l'existence simultanée des deux principes de la lumière et des ténèbres." (*l.c.*, pp. 299–300.)]

[Mas'ūdī (i, 288, 299) says that among the Turks, the Taghazghaz were the only ones following the religion of Manes. According to Edrisi, they were mazdeans. The Taghazghaz were certainly the Uighúrs who are called in Orkhon Inscriptions Toquz Oguz = Nine Oguz. Cf. Vilh. Thomsen, *Insc. de l'Orkhon*, 1896, pp. 112, 147, Monument I.—Chavannes, *Journ. As.*, i, 1897, p. 80.]

["Ensuite il faut compter celui des rois turcs qui possède la ville de Kouchan et qui commande aux Tagazgaz. On lui donne le titre de roi des bêtes féroces et de roi des chevaux, parce qu'aucun prince de la terre n'a sous ses ordres des guerriers plus valeureux et plus disposés à répandre le sang, et qu'aucun d'eux ne possède un plus grand nombre de chevaux. Son royaume est isolé entre la Chine et les déserts du Khoraçan; quant à lui, il porte le titre de *irkhan*, et bien qu'il y ait chez les Turcs plusieurs princes et beaucoup de peuples qui ne sont pas soumis à un roi, aucun n'a la prétention de rivaliser avec lui." Mas'ūdī, i, p. 358.]

[1] [Kirgiz, Ferrand, p. 214; in Chinese, *Kie Ku* and *Kien Wen*.]

[2] Wood mentions this prejudice, against *blowing* out a light, not indeed among the Kirghiz, but among the immediate neighbours of the Kirghiz of Pamir, the people of Wakhan and Badakhshan; "A Wakhani considers it bad luck to blow out a light by the breath, and will rather wave his hand for several minutes under the flame of his pine-slip than resort to the sure but to him disagreeable alternative." (*Oxus*, p. 333; see also p. 274.)

in the king's presence[1]. Next to the HAZLAKH[2], who are great gamblers, and stake wife, mother, or daughter on their play. When a caravan of travellers comes into their country the wife or sister or daughter of some chief comes and washes them. And any of these ladies takes a fancy for one of the strangers she carries him home and entertains him with all kindness, and makes her husband or son or brother provide for him in every way; nor as long as the guest is keeping company with her does the husband come near them unless for necessary business[3]. Next they

[1] ["Nous voyageâmes chez [les Kirgiz] pendant un mois, en toute tranquillité et sécurité." Ferrand, p. 215.]

[2] ["Nous arrivâmes ensuite dans la tribu des Kharlok. Ils se nourrissent de pois chiches et de lentilles. Ils fabriquent une boisson avec du millet. Ils ne mangent que de la viande salée. Ils s'habillent de vêtements de laine. Il y a chez eux une maison de prière sur les murs de laquelle on voit l'image de leurs anciens rois. La maison est en bois incombustible. Il y a beaucoup de ce bois dans leur pays. La violence et la rébellion règnent parmi eux; ils sont ennemis les uns des autres. Le libertinage y est courant et licite." Ferrand, p. 215.]

I suspect it should be *Kharlikh* (it is a question of points only), [الخرلخ, *al-Kharlokh*] the name of one of the greatest Turkish tribes, and sometimes written *Carligh*, whose country seems to have been north of Farghānah. They are probably the *Khizilji* of the French Edrisi, and the *Khuzluj* of Mas'ūdī, "remarkable for their beauty, stature, and perfect features. Formerly they ruled over all the other tribes. From their race descended the Khakan of the Khakans who united under his empire all the kingdoms of the Turks, and commanded all their kings" (p. 288).

[3] This discreditable custom is related by Marco Polo of the people of Qamul; he says of it ["And it is the truth that if a foreigner comes to the house of one of these people [at Camul] to lodge, the host is delighted, and desires his wife to put herself entirely at the guest's disposal, whilst he himself gets out of the way, and comes back no more until the stranger shall have taken his departure. The guest may stay and enjoy the wife's society as long as he lists, whilst the husband has no shame in the matter, but indeed considers it an honour. And all the men of this province are made wittols of by their wives in this way. The women themselves are fair and wanton." Yule-Cordier's *Marco Polo*, i, p. 210, and note 3, p. 212.—We find the same custom at Caindu, *l.c.*, ii, pp. 53–4. "I must tell you of a custom that they have in this country regarding their women. No man considers himself wronged if a foreigner, or any other man, dishonour his wife, or daughter, or sister, or any woman of his family, but on the contrary he deems such intercourse a piece of good fortune. And they say that it brings the favour of their gods and idols, and great increase of temporal prosperity. For this reason, they bestow their wives on foreigners and other people as I will tell you.

"When they fall in with any stranger in want of a lodging they are all eager to take him in. And as soon as he has taken up his quarters the master of the house goes forth, telling him to consider everything at his disposal, and after saying so he proceeds to his vineyards or his fields, and comes back no more till the stranger has departed. The latter abides in the caitiff's house, be it three days or be it four, enjoying himself with the fellow's wife or daughter or sister, or whatsoever woman of the family it best likes him; and as long as he abides there

reached the KHATHLAKH[1], the bravest of all the Turks. These admit marriage with sisters. Women are allowed to marry but once, and there is no divorce except for breach of marriage vows; in which case both the offending parties are burnt. The wife is endowed with all the man's worldly goods, and he must serve her father for a year. They have the custom of exacting blood-money; and the king is not allowed to marry on pain of death. Next they came to the KHATIYAN[2]. These do not eat meat unless

he leaves his hat or some other token hanging at the door, to let the master of the house know that he is still there. As long as the wretched fellow sees that token, he must not go in. And such is the custom over all that province."]

It is a notorious allegation against the Hazaras of the Hindu Kush that they exercise the same practice (Wood, p. 201, and Burnes). But what shall we say to its being ascribed also by a Byzantine historian of the fifteenth century to a certain insular kingdom of Western Europe (the capital of which was Λοϊνδρας), at least if we trust to the Latin version of Conrad Clauser. The Greek runs: "*νομίζεται δὲ τούτοις τά τ' ἀμφὶ τὰς γυναῖκάς τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἁπλοϊκωτέρα ὥστε ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν νῆσον ἐπειδάν τις ἐς τὴν τοῦ ἐπιτηδείου αὐτῷ οἰκίαν ἐσήῃ, καλούμενος, κύσαντα τὴν γυναῖκα, οὕτω ξενίζεσθαι αὐτόν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς δὲ ἁπανταχῇ περιέχονται τὰς ἑαυτῶν γυναῖκας ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις. . . . καὶ οὐδὲ αἰσχύνην τοῦτο φέρει ἑαυτοῖς κύεσθαι τάς τε γυναῖκας αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας*" (Laonicus Chalcondylas, in ed. Paris, 1650, pp. 48–9). The translation of Clauser gives substantially the same meaning as Ibn Muhalhil's account of the Kharlikh practice, except that it is much more grossly expressed. We need not defend our ancestors and ancestresses against the Byzantine; but was he really such a *gobe-mouches* as his translator makes him? I must needs speak very diffidently, but do the words mean more than this? "They take things very easily in regard to their wives and children. For over all the island, when anyone goes to visit a friend, he kisses the good wife on entering the house. And if friends meet on the highway 'tis the universal custom that they embrace each other's wives. . . . Nor do they think shame that their wives and daughters should be kissed."

["Les [Kharlok] ont une fête où ils revêtent des vêtements de soie à ramages; ceux qui ne peuvent pas le faire, mettent un morceau de soie à ramages à leurs vêtements [habituels]. Il y a chez eux une mine d'argent mélangé à du mercure. Ils ont un arbre qui a l'aspect du myrobolan et est de la grosseur de la jambe. Quand on oint de son suc les tumeurs chaudes, elles sont guéries instantanément. Ils ont une grande pierre qu'ils vénèrent et devant laquelle ils viennent plaider leurs affaires; ils lui égorgent des victimes. Cette pierre est de couleur vert-poireau. Nous voyageâmes chez les Kharlok pendant vingt-cinq jours, en toute paix et tranquillité." Ferrand, p. 216.]

[1] [Khuṭlukh, Ferrand, p. 216.]

[2] I have elsewhere (Benedict Goës, *infra*) intimated a suspicion that this is Khotan. The civilised character of the people; their temples; and their having musk, are favourable to this supposition, as well as the juxtaposition of *Bai*. ["H. Yule will dagegen in den الختيان die Einwohner von *Chotan* erkennen, so dass zu lesen wäre الختنان *Chutanan*, also einfach der persische Plural, wie z. B. in خُتّلان *Chutalān* neben خُتّل *Chutal*. Dies würde in der That viel besser in den Zusammenhang des folgenden Itinerars passen. Allein es ist schwer einzusehen, warum Abū Dulaf dann nicht die gewöhnliche Form dieses bei den Arabern so bekannten Namens gebraucht hätte. Man müsste geradezu annehmen,

cooked; they have civilised laws of marriage and wise institutions; they have no king; they use no cruelties towards foreigners. They have no dyed clothes; they possess musk, and a stone which heals poisoned bites[1], etc., also the bezoar. Then they came to BAHI. This is a great city and territory, with palm trees, vines, etc. In the city are Mahomedans, Jews, Christians, Magians, and idolaters. They have a green stone which is good for the eyes, and a red stone which is good for the spleen; also excellent indigo[2]. They travelled forty days in this territory[3]. Then they came to KALIB[4], in which there is a colony of the Arabs of Yemen, who were left behind by the army of Tobba, after he had invaded the Chinese. They use the ancient Arabic language and the Himyaritic character. They worship idols, and make a drink from dates. The king pays tribute to the King of China[5]. After travelling for one month through their territory they came to the *Makám ul Báb* (House or Halting-place of the Gate), in a sandy region. Here is stationed an officer of the King of China, and anyone desiring to enter China from the Turkish countries or elsewhere must ask leave here. He is entertained three days at the king's expense and is then allowed to set out. In the first parasang of the journey the travellers met with beasts loaded with necessaries for them, and then they arrived at the *Wadi ul-Makám* (Valley of the Station or Halting-place), where they had to ask leave to enter, and after abiding three days at the king's expense in that valley, which is one of the pleasantest and fairest regions

dass er absichtlich durch die Wahl dieser ungewöhnlichen Form seinen Lesern unmöglich machen wollte, in diesem Orte das bekannte Chotan wiederzuerkennen. Auch wäre es immerhin sehr auffällig, dass dieser Name von den Abschreibern so sehr entstellt werden konnte." Marquart, p. 83.]

[1] ["Une pierre qui arrête la fièvre; il n'en existe pas hors de leur pays." Ferrand, p. 217.]

[2] ["Ils ont un excellent indigo rouge (*sic*), léger sur l'eau, qui, si on le met dans l'eau, ne va pas au fond." Ferrand, p. 218.]

[3] ["Pima," Ferrand, p. 217.] This is probably the *province of Pein*, which in Marco Polo follows Khotan, and is now represented by the town and district of *Bai* between Aqsu and Kucha (see Benedict Goës, *infra*). [Pein has nothing to do with Bai. Sir M. A. Stein appears to have exactly identified Pein with Uzun-Tati on the road from Khotan to Nia, leaving Kiria to the south. See *Marco Polo*, i, p. 192; ii, p. 595.]

[4] [Kulaybu, Ferrand, p. 218.]

[5] The name of this country seems to be corrupt. *Tibet* is probably meant, of which Mas'údí says: "the population is in great part composed of Himyarites mixed with some descendants of Tobba," etc (*Prairies d'Or*, i, p. 350.) He also in his account of the Kings of Yemen speaks of one of them, Malkíkarib, son of Tobba al Akrán, who "overran various countries of the East, such as Khorásán, Tibet, China, and Sejistan" (iii, 154). *Tobba* was the hereditary title of the ancient Kings of Yemen. They seem to have been as useful to the Arabian antiquaries as the Phœnicians to ours. Samarkand was said to have been built by them, and a Himyarite inscription on one of the gates to testify thereunto (see d'Herbelot). [We have seen p. 246 that this is not Tibet.]

of God's earth, permission was given[1]. Leaving the valley and travelling for a whole day they came to the city of SINDABIL[2], the capital of China, and where the king's palace is. They stopped the night at a mile from the city. Setting out in the early morning, and making the best of their way for a whole day[3], they reached the city at sunset. It is a great city, a day's journey in length, and having sixty straight streets radiating from the palace. The wall (of the palace ?) is ninety cubits high and ninety thick; on the top of it is a stream of water throwing off sixty branches, one at every gate. Each branch flows down the street and back to the palace, so that every street has a double canal flowing this way and that. The one supplies water, the other acts as a drain[4]. There is a great temple inclosure, greater than that of Jerusalem, inside of which are images and a great pagoda[5]. The constitution of the government is very elaborate, and the laws are strict. No animals are slaughtered for food, and to kill them is a capital offence[6]. The traveller found the king most accomplished, intelligent, and benevolent, and enjoyed his hospitality until the terms of the marriage were settled, and the princess was then committed to the escort of two hundred slaves and three hundred handmaidens to be taken to Khorāsān to Noah Ben Nasr.

Leaving Sindabil, the traveller proceeded to the sea-coast and halted at KALAH, the first city of India (from the east) and the extreme point made by ships going in that direction. If they go

[1] This part of the narrative has a kind of verisimilitude, and may be compared with that of Shāh Rukh's ambassadors, who were stopped and entertained for a day or two by the Chinese officials, after which they proceeded *through the desert* to the Great Wall, provisions of all sorts being supplied to them, etc. (See the abstract in Note XVII.)

[2] [Sandābil, Marquart, p. 85.—Ferrand, p. 219.]

[3] "*Per totam diem contendimus.*" I do not understand, unless it be meant that getting through the crowded population took them a whole day to move a mile ?

[4] This is all very obscure in the Latin. I have tried to interpret into consistent meaning. ["Sur le faîte du mur, se trouve un grand fleuve qui se divise en soixante bras. Chaque bras coule vers l'une des portes et rencontre un moulin qui déverse l'eau au-dessous, puis un autre moulin d'où l'eau coule sur le sol. Ensuite, la moitié de l'eau sort hors du mur et irrigue les jardins. L'autre moitié est dirigée vers la ville, fournit de l'eau aux habitants de la rue [dans laquelle elle passe] jusqu'au palais du gouvernement [auquel aboutit la rue]. Puis [l'eau] passe dans la rue opposée et sort [enfin] de la ville. Chaque rue a ainsi deux courants d'eau. Toute rue a deux courants d'eau coulant en sens inverse l'un de l'autre. Le courant qui coule dans le sens de l'extérieur de la ville vers l'intérieur, fournit de l'eau potable; celui qui coule dans le sens de l'intérieur de la ville vers l'extérieur, emporte les immondices [des habitants]." Ferrand, p. 219.]

[5] [A great Buddha, Ferrand, p. 219.]

[6] ["Cette ville est en même temps la capitale de l'Inde et des Turks." Ferrand, p. 220.]

past it they are lost. This is a great city with high walls, gardens, and canals. Here are the mines of lead[1] called *Qala'i*, which is found in no part of the world except QALA'H[2]. Here also are made the swords of Qala'h, the best in India. The inhabitants rebel against their king or obey him, just as they please. Like the Chinese, they do not slaughter animals (*i.e.*, are Buddhists). The Chinese frontier is three hundred parasangs from their territory. Their money is of silver, worth three dirhems, and is called *Fahri*. Their king is under the King of the Chinese, and they pray for him and have a temple dedicated to him.

From Kalah Ibn Muhalhil proceeds to the PEPPER COUNTRY, by which name Malabar is often styled[3], and thence to the foot of Mount Káfúr, on which there are great cities, one of which is KAMRUN[4], from which comes the green wood called *Mandal Kamruni*[5]. There also is the city called SANF, which gives its name to the Sanfr aloes-wood. At another foot of the mountain towards the north is the city called SAIMUR, whose inhabitants are of great beauty, and said to be descended from Turks and Chinese. From this place also the SAIMURI[6] wood is named, though it is only brought thither for sale, etc.[7] After describing

[1] [Tin, Ferrand, p. 221.]

[2] This difference of spelling is in the original. Kalah or Kalah-bar is spoken of by the authors of the *Relation* as one month's voyage from Kaulam, and as midway between Oman and China, and as a great central point of trade in aloes, camphor, sandal, ivory, the lead called *al-qala'i*, ebony, brazil-wood, and spices, i.e. of the products of the Archipelago. Reinaud is very wild about the position of this *Kalah*, and whether he means it to be a port on the Coromandel coast, the Kalliana of Cosmas (*i.e.* a port on the West of India), or Pt. de Galle in Ceylon, is difficult to discern. It seems to me certain that it is a port of the Archipelago, representing in a general way the modern Singapore or Malacca, and very possibly identical with *Kadah* (*Quedah*) as M. Maury has suggested. M. Reinaud objects to "the lead called *al-qala'i*" being translated tin, though all the light he throws on it is a suggestion that it is the *brass* which Cosmas says was exported from Kalliana. Yet *qala'i* is the word universally used in Hindustani for the tinning of pots and pans, and I see F. Johnston's Persian Dictionary simply defines it as *tin*. This product sufficiently fixes Kalah as in or near the Malay Peninsula. Edrisi also places the mine of *qala'i* at that place.

I should not have enlarged on this if Sir E. Tennent had not in his *Ceylon* followed up and expanded the suggestion of Reinaud that Kalah was Pt. de Galle. He refers to the arguments of Dulaurier in the *Journ. Asiat.*, but there does not seem to be much force in them.

[3] *E.g.*, see Ibn Batuta, *infra*, Vol. IV, and Cosmas, *supra*, p. 226.

[4] [Kāmarūb (Ferrand) = Skr. *Kāmārupa* = Assam.]

[5] [Green aloes called *Mandal al-Kāmarūbi*. (Ferrand, p. 222.)]

[6] [Saymūr, Ferrand, p. 223.]

[7] This passage is a strange jumble, but it may be doubted whether the author has been fairly represented in the extracts. For in Gildemeister (p. 70) will be found a quotation from Kazwini which seems to represent the same passage, in which the cities named are Kamarun, Kumár, and Sanf, but nothing is said of Saimur. *Kamrún* is generally

JAJALI[1], a city on a great mountain overlooking the sea, he goes to KASHMIR, where there is a great observatory made of Chinese iron which is indestructible[2] thence to KABUL and its chief city THĀBAN (see *supra*, p. 242). He then returns rapidly to the shore of the India Sea, and describes the city called MANDURAFIN[3] (or KIN), a place which has not been identified; and thence to KŪLAM, where g ow teak, brazil, and bamboos, and respecting which various other perplexing particulars are stated. From the cities of the shore he visits MULTĀN where he gives a romancing description of the great idol so celebrated among the early Arab invaders[4]. According to Abu Dulif it was a hundred cubits high,

understood to be intended for *Kamrûp* or Assam, though the notices of Abulfeda (*ib.*, p. 191) leave this very doubtful. *Sanf* is Champa, and Kumar will be spoken of in Vol. iv, Ibn Batuta, *infra*. *Saimur* was the name of a seaport not far from Bombay, the exact site of which has not been ascertained. [Yule has writ'en since (*M. Polo*, ii, p. 367 *n.*): "Saimur (the modern Chaul, as I believe")] According to Reinaud it is the Simylla of Ptolemy and the Periplus, and perhaps the Chimolo of Hiuen Tsang (*Vie de H. T.*, p. 420). It seems to be called by Al-Birúni Jaimur. He puts it south of Tana in the country of *Lárán* (see Reinaud's *Mém. sur l'Inde* in *Mém. Acad.*, p. 220, and his extracts in *J. As.*, sér. iv, tom. iv, pp. 263–4). Putting all these forms of the name together, and looking to the approximate position, it seems likely that the old name was something like *Chaimúl* or *Chánwul*, and that the port was no other than CHAUL some thirty miles south of Bombay which continued to be a noted port down to the seventeenth century. [Chaul is a town in the Alibāg *táluka* or Kolāba district, Bombay, 30 miles south of Bombay, and on the right bank of the Kundalika river, or Roha creek. "Chaul is a place of great antiquity. Under the names of Champavati and Revatikshetra, local Hindu traditions trace it to the times when Krishna reigned in Gujarāt. It seems probable that Chaul or Cheul is Ptolemy's (A.D. 150) headland and emporium of Symulla or Timulla; and it has a special interest, as Ptolemy mentions that he gained information about Western India from people who had come from Symulla to Alexandria. About a hundred years later (A.D. 247) it appears in the *Periplus* of the Erythraean Sea as Semulla, the first local mart south of Kalliena; and in 642 it is called Chimolo by Hiuen Tsang. Chaul next appears under the names Saimur and Jaimur in the writings of the Arab travellers of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. Early in the fourteenth century it is mentioned as one of the centres of Yādava power in the Konkan. The Russian traveller Athanasius Nikitin (1470) calls it Chivil. Thirty-five years later (1505 the Portuguese first appeared at Chaul." *Imperial Gazet. India.*]

[1] [Jājullā, Ferrand, p. 223.]

[2] Compare Pliny at p. 17, as to Serio iron.

[3] [Mandura-patan, Ferrand, p. 225.]

[4] According to Edrisi the image was mounted on a throne of plastered brick The temple was in the form of a dome (probably the Hindu bulging pyramidal spire) which was gilt; the walls were painted. When Multān was taken in the time of the Khalif Walid by Muhammad bin Kāsim [712], he left the temple of the idol standing, but hung a piece of beef round the neck of the latter. (Edrisi, i, 167; Reinaud, *Mém.*, p. 185.)

and hung suspended in air, without support, a hundred cubits from the ground. Thence he goes to MANSŪRA and DABIL[1], etc.[2]

On the whole the impression gathered is, that the author's work (like that of some more modern travellers) contained genuine matter in an arrangement that was not genuine[3]; but that some at least of the perplexities found in it are due to the manner in which its fragments have been preserved and joined together.

NOTE XIII.

EXTRACTS REGARDING CHINA FROM ABULFEDA[4].

(A.D. 1273–1331.)

"China is bounded on the west by the lands[5] between India and China; on the south, by the sea; on the east, by the Eastern Atlantic[6]; on the north by the lands of Gog [Yâdjûdj] and Magog [Mâdjûdj], and other regions respecting which we have no information. Writers on the customs and kingdoms of the world have in their works mentioned many provinces and places and rivers as existing in China under the different climates, but the names have not reached us with any exactness, nor have we any certain information as to their circumstances. Thus they are as good as unknown to us; there being few travellers who arrive from those parts, such as might furnish us with intelligence (respecting those places), and for this reason we forbear to detail them.

1° "Some places, however, are named by persons who come

[1] [Daybul, Ferrand, p. 229.]

[2] As to Daibal see p. 85 *supra*. Mansûra, the capital of the Musulman conquerors of Sind, was two parasangs from the old Hindu city of Bahmanabad; and this lay on an old channel forty-three miles to the north-west of Haidarabad. (See *Proc. R. G. S.*, vol. x, p. 131.)

[3] [Marquart who quotes these lines writes, p. 83: "Schon aus dem Bisherigen erhellt, dass die Berichte des Abū Dulaf, ehe sie verwertet werden können, erst auf ihre Quellen zurückgeführt werden müssen, dass aber aus der Reihenfolge, in welcher die Völker bei ihm stehen, noch keineswegs auf geographische Nachbarschaft geschlossen werden darf."]

[4] My friend Mr. Badger was kind enough to make a literal translation of these extracts for me. I have slightly smoothed the ruggedness of a literal version from Arabic, whilst trying not to affect the sense.

It is to be lamented that M. Reinaud has left his version of Abulfeda's Geography unfinished for some eighteen years. There is a Latin translation by Reiske in Büsching's *Magazin*, but I have no access to it. [The translation left unfinished by Reinaud was completed by the late Prof. Stanislas Guyard in 1883; I have revised Yule's text with Guyard's translation and added the end of Abulfeda's chapter concerning China (*Sîn*), *i. e.*, Sila, Jankût, Khâju, Sankjû. H. C.]

[5] [Desert.—Guyard.]

[6] [Eastern Surrounding Sea.—Guyard.]

from those parts, and of these one is [Khânqû, *read*] KHÂNFÛ[1], which is known in our day as KHANSÂ, and on the north side of which is a lake of fresh water called SÎKHÛ about half-a-day's journey in circumference[2].

"It is also stated that SHANJÛ [Shinjû], known in our time as ZAITÚN, is one of the ports of China, and with them the ports are also the places of customs[3].

"[Khânqû, *read*] Khânfû is one of the gates of China, and is situated on the river, as it is stated in the *Qánún*[4]. Ibn Sa'id says it is mentioned in books, and is situated on the east of the River of Khamdán. Ibn Khurdádhbah says it is the greatest commercial port of China, and abounds in fruit, vegetables, wheat, barley, rice, and sugar-cane.

2° "KHÂNJÛ is, according to the *Qánún*, one of the gates of China, situated on the river. Ibn Sa'id states that it is the chief of the gates of China, and is fortified with masonry....To the east of it is the city of TÂJAÍ [Ṭai chau]. Ibn Sa'id adds: It[5] is the capital of China where the Baghbúr their great king resides[6].

3° "YANJÛ, the residence of their king. The *Qánún* states that *this* is the abode of the Fághfúr of China, who is called Tamghâj Khân, and is their Great King, etc. (see *supra*, p. 33)[7]. The *Qánún* also states that the city of KAZQÛ in China is greater than the above-named Yanjû....Some who have seen Yanjû describe it as in a temperate part of the earth, with gardens and a ruined wall[8]. It is two days from the sea, and between it and Khansâ is

[1] The word is written as in Jaubert's Edrisi, *Khánkú*, but I believe there can be no doubt as to the right reading. See above, pp. 89, 129, 135.

[2] The *Si-hu* or Western Lake of Hang chau. Its mention here is no doubt a part of Abulfeda's scanty recent information, as well as the next paragraph.

[3] ["Both places (Khânfû and Shinjû) are *bandars* of China. Now the word *bandar* means a port, in China." Guyard.]

[4] The *Qánún* is I believe the lost work of Al-Bírúni upon Geography. The "Gates of China" appears to have been a sort of technical expression for the chief ports of China, connected with the view of the access to that country conveyed in the *Relations* and in Edrisi. In approaching China ships find a series of mountainous islands or promontories. Between these are narrow channels, through which the ships pass to the various ports of the Empire, and these passages are called the *Gates of China* (Reinaud, *Relations*, i, 19; Edrisi, i, 90).

[5] *I.e.* as I apprehend *Tájah*, the *Bájah* of Jaubert's Edrisi (*supra*, p. 143). *Khânjû* is perhaps *Kwang chau* or Canton.

[6] [This last sentence is not given in Guyard's translation.]

[7] ["According to the Chronicle of Al-Niswy (Nasawi), which includes a history of the Kings of Khwarizm and of the Tartars: the Capital of the King of the Tartars in China is called Tûghâj." Guyard.]

[8] ["Its inhabitants drink water from wells." Guyard.

a distance of five days. Yanjû is to the north and west of Khansâ, and is smaller in size[1].

4° "ZAITÚN, *i.e.* Shanjû[2], is a haven of China, and, according to the accounts of merchants who have travelled to those parts, is a city of mark. It is situated on a marine estuary which ships enter from the China Sea. The estuary extends fifteen miles, and there is a river at the head of it. According to some who have seen the place the tide flows (at Zaitún). It is half-a-day from the sea, and the channel by which ships come up from the sea is of fresh water. It is smaller in size than Hamath[3], and has the remains of a wall which was destroyed by the Tartars. The people drink water from the channel and also from wells[4].

5° "KHANSÂ, *i.e.* Khânfû. According to some travellers Khânfû is at the present time the greatest port of China, and is that which is made by voyagers from our own country. According to some who have seen it, it is east and south of Zaitún, and is half-a-day from the sea. It is a very large city and lies in a temperate part of the earth. In the middle of the city are some four small hills. The people drink from wells. There are pleasant gardens about it. The mountains are more than two days distant from it.

[6° "SÎLA[5] or SÎLÂ is situated east at the top of China. Those who travel by sea do not often visit it. It is one of the islands of the Eastern Sea which is the counterpart of the Eternal and Fortunate Islands in the Western Sea; but these are cultivated and wealthy; it is the reverse with the islands of the Eastern Sea.

7° "JAMKÛT is the farthest inhabited eastern land; it is at the extreme eastern limit, just like the Eternal Islands which are

[1] Yanjû is evidently from name and position *Yang chau* (see Odoric, ii, p. 209; *Marco Polo*, ii, pp. 154 *seq.*). But it never was the capital of China. I do not know what *Kazku* is; but no doubt the name is corrupt. It is perhaps *Fuchau* in some form.

[2] ["Lorsqu'Abu'l-Fidâ remarque que Zaitûn est identique à *Shindjû* (le *ü* de *ch'uân* semble se retrouver dans le son du *î*), il veut dire qu'on connaissait de son temps cette ville en occident sous son nom chinois (je pense que *Zaitûn* est une déformation de celui-ci: *zai* ou *zî* correspond à *ch'uân*, et *tûn* fut ajouté par jeu pour former un mot arabe connu de chaque musulman (Kur'ân, 95, 1)." (*Encyclop. de l'Islam, s.v. Chine*, par Martin Hartmann.)]

[3] Hamath was Abulfeda's own city. We may strongly doubt the accuracy of his information as to the comparative size of Zaitún.

[4] On Zaitún or Chin chau see note to Odoric, ii, p. 183, and to Ibn Batuta, Vol. iv. [M. Ferrand remarks that *Tze-tung* = زيتون, *zîtûn* in Arabic, inexactly read *Zaytûn*, on account of its similitude with its homonym زيتون, *zaytûn*, olive. (*Relat. de Voy.*, i, p. 11.)]

[5] [During the first centuries of the Christian Era, Korea was divided into three kingdoms (*Sam kuk*): to the N. and N.E., Ko ku rye (Kau li); to the W., Paik tjyei (Pe tsi), and to the S.E. Sin ra (Sin la); in 660 Pe tsi, in 668 Kau li were divided between the T'ang and Sin ra. Kao li and Si la of Abulfeda are the Ko ku rye and Sin ra of Korea.]

stated to be at the extreme western limit. East of JAMKÛT, no habitable land is to be found. Persians call this country Jamâ-kûd. This country is on the equator and has no latitude.

8° "KHÂJÛ. A person who has seen Khâjû states that it is a great city, one of the capitals of China called *Sing*, and is fifteen days from Khân Bâliq. It is situated between Khaṭâ and Kao-li.

9° "SAUKJÛ. A person who visited it states that it is as great as Emese; that it is situated in a plain and is surrounded with small streams coming from a spring spouting out of the neighbouring mountains; that it has orchards; and finally, that it is four days from Qamjû[1]."]

NOTE XIV

EXTRACT FROM THE HISTORY OF HAYTON THE ARMENIAN

(Written in 1307.)

"*Of the Kingdom of Cathay.*

"The empire of Cathay is the greatest that you will find on the face of the earth, and it abounds with population, and has wealth without end. It is situated on the shore of the Ocean Sea. And there are in that quarter so many islands in the sea that there is no knowing their number. For no man is to be found in existence who shall venture to say that he hath seen all those islands. But such of them as are attainable are found to have an infinite store of riches.

"That which is reckoned well-nigh the most costly article that you can purchase in those parts is oil of olive, and when any such oil finds its way thither by any means the kings and nobles treasure it with the greatest care as if it were some princely salve.

"There are in that kingdom of Cathay more marvellous and singular things than in any other kingdom of the world. The people of the country are exceedingly full of shrewdness and sagacity, and hold in contempt the performances of other nations in every kind of art and science. They have indeed a saying to the effect that they alone see with two eyes, whilst the Latins see with one, and all other nations are blind! By this you ey

[1] "Je remarque ici que les autres informations d'Abou'l-Fidā sur la Chine dénotent une certaine confusion; c'est ainsi qu'il confond Canton avec Hang-chou fou, car son 'al Khansā identique à Khānku (lisez Khānfū)' réunit les deux villes; il ne cite Khamdān et Khanbälik que dans les 'Notices,' et il n'a pas reconnu que son Khānkū (ii, 122–3) confond deux villes: le Khānbalīḳ du nord (=Peking; voy. Ibn Batuta, ici) et le Canton du sud, le vrai Khānfu." (*Encycl. de l'Islam, s.v. Chine*, par Martin Hartmann.)]

easily gather that they look on all other nations as quite uncivilised in comparison with themselves. And in good sooth there is such a vast variety of articles of marvellous and unspeakable delicacy and elaboration of workmanship brought from those parts, that there is really no other people that can be compared with them in such matters.

"All the people of that empire are called Cathayans, but they have also other names according to the special nation to which they belong. You will find many among them, both men and women, who are very handsome, but as a general rule they have all small eyes, and nature gives them no beard. These Cathayans have a very elegant written character, which in beauty in some sort resembles the Latin letters. It were hard to enumerate all the sects of Gentiles in that empire, for there be some who worship idols of metal; others who worship oxen, because these plough the ground which produces wheat and the other fruits of the earth; others who worship great trees of different kinds; some who devote themselves to astronomy and the worship of nature; others who adore the sun or the moon; and others again who have neither creed nor laws but lead a mere animal life like brute beasts. And though these people have the acutest intelligence in all matters wherein material things are concerned, yet you shall never find among them any knowledge or perception of spiritual things.

"The people of that country are not courageous, but stand in greater fear of death than at all befits those who carry arms. Yet being full of caution and address they have almost always come off victorious over their enemies both by land and by sea. They have many kinds of arms which are not found among other people

"The money which is current in those parts is made of paper in a square form, and sealed with the king's seal; and according to the marks which it bears this paper has a greater or less value. And if perchance it begins to wear from long usage the owner thereof shall carry it to a royal office, and they give him new paper in exchange. They do not use gold and other metals except for plate and other purposes of show.

"'Tis said of that empire of Cathay that it forms the eastern extremity of the world, and that no nation dwells beyond it. Towards the west it hath upon its frontier the kingdom of TARSE and towards the north the Desert of BELGIAN, whilst towards the south it hath the Islands of the Sea, whereof we have spoken above."

FRENCH TEXT.

DU ROIAUME DE CATHAY.

Le roiaume de Cathay est tenu por le plus noble roiaume e por le plus riche qui soit eu monde, e est sur le rivage de la mer Occeane. Tantes isles y a de mer que l'om n'en poet bien savoir le nombre. La gent qui habitent en celui roiaume sunt apellez Cathaïns. E se trovent entre eaus meints beaus homes et fames, selonc luer nacion, mès touz ont les oils molt petiz, e ont poi de barbe. Cele gens ont letres qui de beautey resemblent à letres latines, e parlent une lengue qui molt est diverse des autres lengues du monde. La creance de ceste gent est molt diverse, car aucuns croient ès ydoles de metal, autres croient en le solail, autres en la lune, autres ès esteiles, autres ès natures, au feu, autres à l'éve, autres as arbres, autres as bues, por ce que laborent la terre dont il vivent; e aucuns ne ont point de loi, ne de creance, ains vivent come bestes. Cestes gens, qui tant sont simples en lur creance e es choses espiriteus, sont plus sages e plus sotils que totes autres gens ès euvres corporels. E dient les Cataïns que il sont ceus qui voient de II oils, e des Latins disent q'il voient d'un oil, mès les autres nacions dient que sont avuegles. E por ce puet om entendre que il tienent les autres gens de gros entendement. E verraiement l'om voit venir de celui païs tantes choses estranges e merveilloses, e de sotil labour, que bien semblent estre la plus soutils gens du monde d'art e de labour de mains. Les homes de celui païs ne sont vigoros as armes, mès il sont molt sotils e engignous, dont soyent ont desconfit luer enamis par luer engins. E ont diverses manieres d'armes e d'engins, lesquels ne ont les autres nacions. En celui païs se despent monoie faite de papier en forme quarrée, signé du seignal du signor, e selonc ce que est signée vaut ou plus ou meins. E de cele monoie achatent e vendent toutes choses. E quant cele monoie enpire par veillesce ou autrement, celui qui l'aura la rendra à la cort du seignor, e em prenra de nueve. En celui païs l'oïle d'olive est tenue à molt chière chose; e quant les rois e les seignors en poent trover, à grant chierté e por grant merveille le font garder. A ceste terre de Cathay, ne marchit nule terre, fors que le roiaume de Tarse, devers occident, car de toutes les autres parties le roiaume de Cathaï est environnés ou de desert ou de la mer Occeane." (Pages 121–2, *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Documents Arméniens*, II.—*Doc. latins et français relatifs à l'Arménie*, Paris, 1906, fol.)

This is the original text; the Latin text has been revised and added to.

LATIN TEXT.

DE REGNO CATAY.

Regnum Cathay est majus regnum quod in orbe valeat inveniri et est repletum gentibus et diviciis infinitis et in maris Occeani littore habet situm. Tot enim sunt ibidem maris insule quod numerus nullatenus potest sciri. Nam nullus penitus invenitur qui omnes illas insulas asserat se vidisse. Ille vero insule que calcari possunt inveniuntur innumerabilibus divitiis habundantes, et illud fere quod in illis partibus carius emitur et habetur est oleum olivarum, quoniam reges et magnates illud, quando modo aliquo reperitur, quasi precipuum medicamen cum magna diligentia faciunt custodiri. In ipso eciam regno Cathai plura sunt mirabilia monstruosa quam in aliquo alio regno mundi. Homines vero illius patrie sunt sagacissimi et omni calliditate repleti et ideo in omni arte et scientia vilipendunt alias nationes et dicunt quod ipsi soli sunt qui duobus oculis respiciunt, Latini vero uno lumine tantum vident, sed omnes alias naciones asserunt esse cecas, et per hoc certissime demonstratur quod omnes alios reputant esse rudes. Et vere tot res diverse et mirabiles et ineffabilis subtilitatis et laboris manuum ex illis partibus deferuntur, quod non videtur esse aliquis qui in talibus eis valeat comparari. Omnes illi de illo regno Catayni vocantur et juxta naciones suas multi tam homines quam femine reperiuntur pulcerrimi; tamen omnes communiter parvos habent oculos et naturaliter barba carent. Isti Catayni valde pulcras litteras habent, que latinis litteris in pulcritudine quodam modo similantur. Secta vero gentium illius regni vix posset modo aliquo enumerari, quoniam quidam sunt qui colunt ydola de metallo, alii vero boves adorant, quia laborant terram de qua crescunt frumenta et alia nutritiva, alii colunt magnas arbores et diversas, alii secuntur naturalia et [alii] astronomiam, alii adorant solem, alii vero lunam, alii quidem nullam habent fidem vel legem, sed sicut bruta animalia ducunt bestialiter vitam suam, et licet sint perspicacissimi ingenii ad omnia opera corporalia exercenda, nulla tamen inter eos spiritualium noticia sive sciencia invenitur. Homines illius patrie non sunt audaces, sed sunt mortis timidi plus satis quam armigeros esse decet. Multum tamen sunt cauti et ingeniosi et propterea tam per terram quam per mare victoriam de inimicis suis sepius reportarunt. Multa habent armorum genera que non inveniuntur inter alias naciones. Moneta vero que in illis partibus expenditur fit de papiro in forma quadrata et est regali signo signata; et secundum signum illa moneta est majoris precii vel minoris. Et si forte illa moneta propter vetustatem incipiat devastari, ille qui illam habuerit ad

regalem curiam deportabit et pro illa dabitur sibi nova. De auro vero et aliis metallis vasa fiunt et alia ornamenta. De isto regno Catay dicitur quod est in principio mundi, in oriente ab uno capite, et ex parte illa nulla est ulterius habitatio gentium, et ex parte occidentis suos habet confines cum regno Tarse, et ex parte septemtrionis cum deserto de Belgian, et ex parte meridiei sunt insule maris superius nominate." (Pages 261–2, *Recueil des Histor. des Croisades, Documents Arméniens*, II.—*Doc. latins et français relatifs à l'Arménie*, Paris, 1906, fol.)

NOTE XIV BIS.

LETTER OF SEMPAD (1243).

A très haut et puissant houme monseigneur Henry [Henri de Lusignan], par la grace de Die roy de Chipre, et a sa chiere suer Enmeline la royne, et a noble houme Jehan de Hibelin son frere, li connoitables de Ermenie salut et amour. Sachiés que aussi comme je me esmui la ou vous savés pour Dieu et pour le proüt de la foy cresticinne, tout aussine Nostres Sires ma conduit sain et sauf jusques a une ville que on appelle Sautequant; mout terres estranges ay veues en la voie. Ynde lessames derrier nous; par le royaume de Baudas passames, et meimes II. moys a passer toute la terre de ce royaume; moult de citez veimes que li Tartarin avoient gastees, desqueles nus ne pourroit dire la grandesse ne la richesse dont eles estoient plainnes. Nous veimes aucunes villes grans par lespasse de III. journees, et plus de C. monciaus[1] grans et mervellieus des os de ceus que li Tartarin avoient ocis et tués; et se la grace de Dieu neust amené les Tartarins pour ocirre les paiens, il eussent destruit, si comme nous pouons veoir, la terre toute deca la mer. Nous trespassames I. grant fleuve qui vient de paradis terrestre, ca non Gyor duquel les arenes durent dune part et dautre par lespasse dune grant journee. Si sachiés que des Tartarins est si grant plentez, que il ne pueent estre nombrez par homme; il sont bon archier, et ont laides faces et diverses; ne je ne vous pourroie dire ne descrire la maniere dont il sont. Bien a passé VIII. moys que nous finames derrer par nuit, et encore ne soumes pas ou milieu de la terre Cham le grant roi des Tartarins. Si avons entendu pour certaine choze, que puisque Cham li roys des Tartarins, peres di celui Cham qui regne maintenant, fu trespassez, que li baron et les chevaliers des Tartarins qui estoient par divers lieus, mistrent bien par lespasse de V. ans a assambler pour couronner le roy Cham qui maintenant regne, et apainnes porent estre assamblé en I. lieu.

[1] Another MS has: "et plus de cent mille monceaus."

Aucuns de eulz estoient en Inde et en Chatha, et li autre en Roussie et en la terre de Cascat[1], qui est la terre dont li roy furent qui vindrent en Jherusalem aourer Nostre Seigneur ; et sont les gens de celle terre crestiens. Je fui en leur eglizes, et vi la figure de Jhesu Crist paint, comme li troy roy li offrirent or, mirre et encens. Par ces trois roys tindrent et orent prumierement cil de Tangat la foy crestienne, et par aulz sont maintenant Cham[2] li roys des Tartarins et sa gent. Devant leur portes sont les eglizes, la ou on sonne les cloches selonc les Latins, et tables selonc la maniere des Grieus ; et va on prumierement saluer Nostre Seigneur au matin, puis après Cham en son palais. Nous avons trouvé moult de crestiens dispers et espandus par la terre d'Orient, et moult de eglizes hautes et beles, anciennes, qui ont esté gastees par les Tartarins avant quil feussent crestien ; dont il est avené que li crestien d'Orient, qui estoient espandu par divers lieues, sont venu au roy Cham des Tartarins qui maintenant regne, et a painnes porent estre assamblé en un lieu, lesquels il a receu a grant honneur et leur a donné franchize, et fait crier partout que nulz ne soit si hardis qui les courouce, ne de fait, ne de paroles. Et pourceque Nostre Sires Jhesu Crist navoit en ces parties qui prestast pour lui son non, il meismes par ces saintes vertus que il a demonstré et preschié en tele maniere que les gens croient en lui. En la terre dInde que saint Thoumas converti a la foy crestienne, avoit I. roy crestien entre les autres Sarrasins, que li Sarrasin avoient moult de maus fays et de griés, juques a tant que Tartarin vindrent qui pristrent sa terre en leur main, et en fu leur hons [vassal] ; il assambla son ost avec lost des Tartarins, et entra en Inde contre les Sarrasins, et conquit tant que toute sa terre est plainne desclaves et de gens indes ; et de ces esclaves je vis plus de V. C. mil, que li roys commanda a vendre. Si sachiés que li papes a envoyé au roy Cham des Tartarins, messages pour savoir se il estoit crestiens, et pourquoy il avoit envoié sa gent pour ocirre et tuer les crestiens et le peuple.' A ce respondi li roys Cham, que nostre Sires Diex avoit mandé à ses devanciers ayeulz et bezaieulz, quil envoiassent leur gens pour occirre et pour destruire les mauvaizes gens. Et a ce qui li papes li manda se il estoit crestiens, il respondi que ce savoit Diex ; et se li papes le vouloit savoir, se venit en sa terre et veit et seut comment il est des Tartarins. (*Recueil des Hist. des Gaules et de la France*, xx, Paris, 1840, *Guillaume de Nangis*, pp. 361–3.)

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[1] Another MS has : "estoient en Ynde et en la terre de Chata, li autre en Roussie et en la terre de Chastac et de Tangat."

[2] Another MS : "Et par euls sont maintenant crestiens Cham."

NOTE XIV ter.

EXTRACTS REGARDING CATHAY, FROM THE NARRATIVE OF RUY GONZALEZ DE CLAVIJO, AMBASSADOR TO THE COURT OF TIMUR.

(1403–6.)

"The ambassadors were then taken to a room, on the right-hand side of the place where the lord sat; and the Meerzas, who held them by the arms, made them sit below an ambassador, whom the emperor Chayscan, lord of Cathay, had sent to Timour Beg to demand the yearly tribute which was formerly paid. When the lord saw the ambassadors seated below the ambassador from the lord of Cathay, he sent to order that they should sit above him, and he below them. As soon as they were seated, one of the Meerzas of the lord came and said to the ambassador of Cathay, that the lord had ordered that those who were ambassadors from the king of Spain, his son and friend, should sit above him; and that he who was the ambassador from a thief and a bad man, his enemy, should sit below them; and from that time, at the feasts and entertainments given by the lord, they always sat in that order. The Meerza then ordered the interpreter to tell the ambassadors what the lord had done for them.

"This emperor of Cathay is called Chuyscan, which means nine empires; but the Zagatays called him Taugas, which means 'pig emperor.' He is the lord of a great country, and Timour Beg used to pay him tribute, but he refuses to do so now." (Pp. 133–4.)

"The city [of Samarcand] is also very rich in merchandize which comes from other parts. Russia and Tartary send linen and skins; China sends silks, which are the best in the world, (more especially the satins), and musk, which is found in no other part of the world, rubies and diamonds, pearls and rhubarb, and many other things. The merchandize which comes from China is the best and most precious which comes to this city, and they say that the people of China are the most skilful workmen in the world. They say themselves that they have two eyes, the Franks one, and that the Moors are blind, so that they have the advantage of every other nation in the world. From India come spices, such as nutmegs, cloves, mace, cinnamon, ginger, and many others which do not reach Alexandria." (P. 171.)

"When the lord returned to the city [from the war against the Turk], the ambassadors from Cathay arrived, with others to say that the lord held that land, subject to the emperor of Cathay, and to demand the payment of tribute every year, as it was seven years since any had been paid. The lord answered that

this was true, but that he would not pay it. This tribute had not been paid for nearly eight years, nor had the emperor of Cathay sent for it, and the reason why he did not send for it, was this.

"The emperor of Cathay died, leaving three sons, to whom he bequeathed his territories. The eldest son wished to take the shares of the other two. He killed the youngest, but the middle one fought with the eldest, and defeated him, and he, from despair at the consequences which he dreaded would follow his treatment of his youngest brother, set fire to his palace, and perished with many of his followers. The middle brother, therefore, reigned alone. As soon as he was quietly established in his own empire, he sent these ambassadors to Timour Beg, to demand the tribute which was formerly paid to his father, but we did not hear whether he resented the answer which was given by Timour.

"From Samarcand to the chief city of the empire of Cathay, called Cambalu, is a journey of six months, two of which are passed in crossing an uninhabited land, never visited by anyone but shepherds, who wander with their flocks, in search of pasture. In this year as many as eight hundred camels, laden with merchandize, came from Cambalu to this city of Samarcand, in the month of June. When Timour Beg heard what the ambassadors from Cathay had demanded, he ordered these camels to be detained, and we saw the men who came with the camels. They related wonderful things, concerning the great power of the lord of Cathay: we especially spoke to one of these men, who had been six months in the city of Cambalu, which he said was near the sea, and twenty times as large as Tabreez. The city of Cambalu is the largest in the world, because Tabreez is a good league in length, so that Cambalu must be twenty leagues in extent. He also said that the lord of Cathay had so vast an army that, when he collected troops to march beyond his own territory, not counting those who thus departed with him, four hundred thousand cavalry and more were left to guard the land; he added that it was the custom of this lord of Cathay not to allow any man to mount a horse, unless he had a thousand followers; and he told many other wonders concerning this city of Cambalu, and the land of Cathay.

"This emperor of Cathay used to be a gentile, but he was converted to the faith of the Christians."

* * * * * * * * * * *

"Fifteen days journey from the city of Samarcand, in the direction of China, there is a land inhabited by Amazons, and to this day they continue the custom of having no men with them, except at one time of the year; when they are permitted, by their leaders, to go with their daughters to the nearest settlements, and have communication with men, each taking the one who

pleases her most, with whom they live, and eat, and drink, after which they return to their own land. If they bring forth daughters afterwards, they keep them; but they send the sons to their fathers. These women are subject to Timour Beg; they used to be under the emperor of Cathay, and they are Christians of the Greek Church. They are of the lineage of the Amazons who were at Troy, when it was destroyed by the Greeks." (Pp. 172–5, *Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo to the Court of Timour, at Samarcand*, A.D. 1403–6. Translated...by Clements R. Markham. London, Hakluyt Society, 1859, 8vo.)

NOTE XIV QUATER.

EXTRACTS FROM THE TRAVELS OF NICOLO CONTI (1438)[1].

"Beyond this province of Macinus is one which is superior to all others in the world, and is named Cathay. The lord of this country is called the Great Khan, which in the language of the inhabitants means emperor. The principal city is called Cambaleschia. It is built in the form of a quadrangle, and is twenty-eight miles in circumference. In the centre is a very handsome and strong fortress, in which is situated the King's palace. In each of the four angles there is constructed a circular fortress for defence, and the circuit of each of these is four miles. In these fortresses are deposited military arms of all sorts, and machines for war and the storming of cities. From the royal palace a vaulted wall extends through the city to each of the said four fortresses, by which, in the event of the people rising against the King, he can retire into the fortresses at his pleasure. Fifteen days distant from this city there is another, very large, called Nemptai, which has been built by this King. It is thirty miles in circumference, and more populous than the others. In these two cities, according to the statement of Nicolò, the houses and palaces and other ornaments are similar to those in Italy: the men, gentle and discreet, wise, and more wealthy than any that have been before mentioned.

"Afterwards he departed from Ava and proceeded towards the sea, and at the expiration of seventeen days he arrived at the

[1] The Travels of Nicolò Conti in the East, in the early part of the fifteenth century, as related by Poggio Bracciolini, in his work entitled "Historia de Varietate Fortunae," Lib. IV. (39 Pages in *India in the Fifteenth Century*...Edited, with an Introduction by R. H. Major... London, Hakluyt Society, 1857, 8vo.)

mouth of a moderately sized river, where there is a port called Xeythona; and having entered the river, at the end of ten days he arrived at a very populous city called Panconia, the circumference of which is twelve miles. He remained here for the space of four months. This is the only place in which vines are found, and here in very small quantity: for throughout all India there are no vines, neither is there any wine. And in this place they do not use the grape for the purpose of making wine. They have pine apples, oranges, chestnuts, melons, but small and green, white sandal wood, and camphor. The camphor is found within the tree, and if they do not sacrifice to the gods before they cut the bark, it disappears and is no more seen." (Pp. 14–15.)

NOTE XV.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER OF PAOLO DAL POZZO TOSCANELLI TO FERNANDO MARTINEZ, CANON OF LISBON.

(Written 25th June, 1474.)

"And now to give you full information as to all those places which you so much desire to learn about, you must know that both the inhabitants and the visitors of all those islands are all traders, and that there are in those parts as great a multitude of ships and mariners and wares for sale, as in any part of the world, be the other what it may. And this is especially the case at a very noble port which is called ZAITÚN, where there load and discharge every year a hundred great pepper ships, besides a multitude of other vessels which take cargoes of other spices and the like[1]. The country in question is exceedingly populous, and there are in it many provinces and many kingdoms, and cities without number, all under the dominion of a certain sovereign who is called the Great Caan[2], a name which signifies the king of kings. The residence of this prince is chiefly in the province of CATHAY. His predecessors greatly desired to have intercourse and friendship with Christians, and some two hundred years since they sent

[1] Here Toscanelli is drawing from Marco Polo (i, ch. 81), as again below where he speaks of Quinsai.

[2] [The use of the title of Great Caan is no proof against the authenticity of the letter; though obsolete, since it disappeared with the Yuen Dynasty (1368), it was still in use among foreigners at the beginning of the sixteenth century to designate the sovereign of China. In a letter from Cochin, dated 15th November 1515, Giovanni da Empoli writes to Lopo Soares de Albergaria: "Spero...fare un salto la a vedere il Grand Cane che è il re, che si chiama il re de Cataio."]

ambassadors to the Pope, begging him to despatch a number of wise and learned teachers to instruct them in our faith. But on account of the hindrances which these ambassadors met with they turned back without reaching Rome. And in later times there came an ambassador to Pope Eugenius IV[1], who rehearsed to him the great friendship that those princes and their people bore towards Christians. And I myself discoursed at length with this ambassador on many subjects, as of the greatness of their royal buildings, and of the vastness of their rivers in length and breadth. And he told me many things that were wonderful as to the multitudes of cities and towns which are built on the banks of those rivers; as that upon one river alone are to be found two hundred cities, all of which have their marble bridges of great width and length, and adorned with a profusion of marble columns. The country indeed is as fine a country as has ever been discovered; and not only may one have great gain, and get many valuable wares by trading thither, but also they have gold and silver and precious stones, and great abundance of all kinds of spices such as are never brought into our part of the world. And it is a fact that they have many men of great acquirements in philosophy and astrology, and other persons of great knowledge in all the arts, and of the greatest capacity who are employed in the administration of that great territory, and in directing the ordering of battle.

"From the city of Lisbon going right to the westward there are in the map which I have mentioned twenty-six spaces, each containing two hundred and fifty miles, to the great and very noble city of QUINSAI, which has a circuit of one hundred miles or thirty-five leagues[2]."

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[1] 1431–1447. [I believe that the story of the ambassador sent to Pope Eugenius IV is but a reminiscence of the arrival of Nicolò Conti; the embassies sent southward by the third Ming Emperor never came to Europe.]

[2] [The authenticity of Toscanelli's letter to F. Martins has been attacked by Henry Vignaud in *La Lettre et la Carte de Toscanelli sur la route des Indes par l'Ouest*... Paris, 1901, 8vo. A bibliography of the controversy that followed the publication of this book has been written by Vignaud and translated into Italian by G. Uzielli, Napoli, 1905. Cf. H. Cordier's *Bibliotheca Sinica*, col. 2054–7. I do not think this is the place to give the arguments against or in favour of the thesis of Mr. Vignaud, whose case is very strong in my opinion, in spite of the weakness of some of the arguments: for instance the use of the title Great Khan by the writer of the letter.]

NOTE XVI.

EXTRACTS REGARDING CATHAY FROM THE NARRATIVE OF SIGNOR JOSAFA BARBARO.

(Written about 1480, but the information acquired about 1436.)

"And in this same province of Zagatai is the very great and populous city of SANMARCANT, through which all those of CHINI and MACHINI pass to and fro, and also those of CATHAY, whether traders or travellers....I have not been further in this direction myself, but as I have heard it spoken of by many people, I will tell you that Cnini and Machini are two very great provinces inhabited by idolaters. They are, in fact, the country in which they make plates and dishes of porcelain. And in those places there is great store of wares, especially of jewels and of fabrics of silk and other stuffs. And from those provinces you go on into that of Cathay, about which I will tell you what I learned from the Tartar's ambassador who arrived from those parts when I was at Tana. Being with him one day and our talk running on this Cathay, he told me that after passing the places that have been mentioned, as soon as he had entered the country of Cathay all his expenses were provided stage by stage until he arrived at a city called CAMBALU. And there he was honourably received, and had an apartment provided for him. And he said that all the merchants who go that way have their expenses provided in the same manner. He was then conducted to where the sovereign was, and when he came in front of the gate he was obliged to kneel down outside. The place was a level, very broad and long; and at the far end of it there was a stone pavement, on which the prince was seated on a chair with his back turned towards the gate. On the two sides there were four persons sitting with their faces towards the gate, and from the gate to the place where those four were there was on each side a row of mace bearers standing with silver sticks, leaving, as it were, a path between them, and all along this were interpreters sitting on their heels as the women do with us here. The ambassador accordingly having been brought to the gate, where he found things arranged as we have described, was desired to say what his object was. And so having delivered his message it was passed from hand to hand by the interpreters till the explanation reached the prince, or at least those four who sat at the top. Answer was then made that he was welcome, and that he might return to his quarters where the official reply would be delivered to him. And thus there was no more need for him to return to the prince, but only to confer with some of his people who were sent to the ambassador's house for the purpose; reference being made in this quarter or that, as occasion arose; and so the business was despatched in a very

prompt and pleasant manner. One of the servants of this ambassador, and also a son of his, both of whom had been with him in Cathay, told me wonderful things of the justice that was done there.... And they said that not only in the city but anywhere outside of it where travellers pass, if anything should be found under a stone or elsewhere that a traveller has dropt, no one would dare to take it up and appropriate it. And, moreover, if one going along the road is asked by some one whom he regards with suspicion, or does not put much trust in, where he is going; and if he go and make complaint of this question, then the person who put it must give some good and lawful reason for asking, otherwise he will be punished. And so you may easily perceive that this is a city of liberty and great justice.

"As regards the disposal of merchandise, I have heard that all the merchants who arrive in those parts carry their goods to certain *fonteghi*, and those whose duty it is then go and see them, and if there is anything that the sovereign would like to have they take it at their option, giving in exchange articles of greater value. The rest remains at the disposal of the merchant. For small dealings there they use money of paper, which is exchanged every year for other paper freshly stamped: the old money being taken at the new year to the mint; where the owners receive an equal amount of fine new paper, paying always a fee of two per cent. in good silver money, and the old (paper) money is thrown into the fire. Their silver is sold by weight, but they have also some metal coinage of a coarse description.

"I am of opinion that the religion of these Cathayans is paganism, although many people of Zagatai and other nations who have been there assert that they are Christians. And when I asked on what ground they judged them to be Christians, the answer was that they had images in their temples as we have. And it having chanced once when I was at Tana, and the ambassador aforesaid was standing with me, that there passed in front of us one Nicolas Diedo, an old Venetian of ours, who sometimes used to wear a coat of cloth quilted with taffetas, and with open sleeves (as used to be the fashion in Venice) over a jerkin of leather, with a hood on the back, and a straw hat on his head that might be worth four sous, as soon as the ambassador saw him he said with some surprise, 'That's the very dress that the Cathay people wear; they must be of the same religion with you, for they dress just like you!'

"In the country of which we are speaking there is no wine grown, for 'tis a mighty cold country, but of other necessaries of life they have good store." Ramusio, ii, f. 106 *v.* and 107.

NOTE XVII.

THE EMBASSY SENT BY SHÁH RUKH TO THE COURT OF CHINA.

A.D. 1419–1422.

Abstracted from Quatremère's Translation in NOTICES ET EXTRAITS xiv, Pt. 1, pp. 387 *et seq.; with Notes*[1].

The embassy embraced representatives not only of Sháh Rukh himself but of several princes of his family governing different provinces of the empire founded by Timur, and appears also, like the ordinary sham embassies which frequented China under the Ming dynasty, to have been accompanied by merchants bound on purely commercial objects. Shádi Khwája was the chief of Sháh Rukh's ambassadors, and Ghaiassuddin Nakkásh ("The Painter"), one of the envoys (sent by one of the king's sons, Mirza Baisangar), was the author of the narrative which has been preserved by Abdurrazzák; his master having enjoined on him to keep a full diary of everything worthy of note.

The party left Herat, the capital of Sháh Rukh, on the 16th of Dhu'lqádah A.H. 822 (4th December 1419[2]), and proceeded via Balkh to Samarkand[3]. The envoys [Sultán Sháh and Muhammad Bakhshi] of Mirzá Olugh Beg (the astronomer, and eldest son of Sháh Rukh), who governed there, had already started[4], but those

[1] [Cf. An Embassy to Khatá or China A.D. 1419. From the Appendix to the Rouzat-al-Ssafá of Muhammad Khávend Sháh or Mirkhond. Translated from the Persian by Edward Rehatsek. (*Indian Antiquary*, March 1873, pp. 75–83.)

This is the beginning of this translation: "In the year 820 (A.D. 1410), the pious defunct well-known king Mirzá Sháh Rokh sent an embassy to Khatá under the leadership and direction of Shády Khájah, who was accompanied by the royal prince Mirzá Báysangar Sultán Ahmad, and Khájah Ghayáth-ul-din, the painter, who was a clever artist; he ordered the first-mentioned Khájah that notes in writing should be taken, from the day of their starting from the capital of Herát till the day of their return, concerning everything they might experience; such as the adventures they should meet, the state of the roads, the laws of the countries, positions of towns, the state of buildings, the manners of kings, and other things of this kind, without adding or omitting anything.

"Khájah Ghayáth-ul-din obeyed the above orders, and, having consigned everything he saw to his itinerary, presented it on his return: the following account of the strange and wonderful events the envoys met with, and all they saw, has been extracted from his diary; but the responsibility rests with the travellers."]

[2] [3rd Dec., Rehatsek.]

[3] ["Arrived on the 9th Dhulhejjah (Dec. 27th) in Balkh, where they remained, on account of the great falling [of snow ?] and the severe cold, till the beginning of Muharram of 823, and arrived on the 22nd of that month (Feb. 7th) in Samarqand." Rehatsek.]

[4] A place called Sairam appears in some of our modern maps about one degree north of Tashkand. The Sairam of those days must, how-

deputed by other princes joined the mission here, and the whole party left Samarkand on the 10th Safar 823 (25th February 1420).

Passing by TASHKAND, SAIRAM, and ASHPARAH[1], they entered the Mongol territory on the 25th April, and were soon afterwards met by the venerable Amir Khudaidád (see *infra*, IV, Ibn Batuta, Goës). We cannot trace with certainty their course to YULDUZ, but it probably lay by the Issikul and the Ili River, crossing the T'ien Shan N.W. of YULDUZ[2].

From Yulduz they proceeded to TURFAN [arrived 11th July] (see *infra*, Vol. IV, Goës) where the people were mostly Buddhists, and had a great temple with a figure of Śakya Muni[3]. From Turfan [left 13th July] they reached KARAKHOJA [arrived 16th July] (*infra*, Vol. III) and five days beyond this they were met by Chinese officials, who took down the names of the envoys and the number of their suite. Seven days later they reached the town of ATASUFI (a name which does not seem to occur elsewhere), and in

ever, have been further east, for Húlakú on his march to Persia reached Sairam, the second day after passing TALAS. Rashid also speaks of *Kari-Sairam* near Talas as an ancient city of vast size, said to be a day's journey from one end to the other, and to have forty gates. (*Not. et Ex.*, xiii, 224.)

[1] Asparah was a place on the Mongol frontier, frequently mentioned in the wars of Timur's time. Its position does not seem to be known, but it certainly lay east of Talas, not far from Lake Issik Kul. It is perhaps the *Equius* of Rubruquis, a place that has been the subject of great difference of opinion. The idea that its odd name is the translation of *some* Persian word beginning with *Asp* (a horse), is due to Mr. Cooley in *Maritime and Inland Discovery*. There is another Asparah or Asfarah south of the Sihun, with which this is not to be confounded. (Rémusat, *Nouv. Mélanges*, i, 171 *seqq.*; *Not. et Extraits*, xii, 224, 228; *Hist. Univ.* (*Moderne*), iv, 739, 141; *Arabshah*, i, 219.) Some remarks on the topography of Rubruquis, including the position of Equius, will be found at the end of this paper [See note, p. 287.]

["Having passed through Táshkant and Byrám, they entered among the A'yl of the Mughuls, and when they arrived the news came that A'wys Khán had attacked Shir Muhammad Oghlan, and that on that account disturbances had arisen among the A'lós, but that afterwards peace had been restored... On the 18th of Jomády the first (May 31st), they arrived in a place called Sáluyú subject to the jurisdiction of Muhammad Beg.... They started from that place on the 22nd (June 4th), and crossing the river Langat...; and on the 28th of the same month (10th June) they entered the Jalgáh of Yaldúz and the A'yl of Shir Behrám, and in that desert they found solid ice of the thickness of two fingers, although the sun was in the sign of Cancer." Rehatsek.]

[2] The only places named between Asparah and Yulduz are *Biluglu* and the river *Kankar* or Kangar; and they passed the latter five days before reaching the Yulduz territory, whilst in that journey they traversed a desert region so cold that water froze two inches thick, though it was nearly midsummer. The Kangar from these indications would seem to have been the Tekes or one of its branches; perhaps the *Kungis*. The cold region must have occurred in the passage of the T'ien Shan.

[3] ["They found that in that country most of the inhabitants were polytheists, and had large idol-houses in the halls whereof they kept a tall idol." Rehatsek.]

two marches more KAMUL (*infra*, III, p. 265, IV, Goës), where they found a magnificent mosque and convent of Derwishes in juxtaposition with a fine Buddhist temple[1]. The envoy notes that at the gate of the latter were figures of two demons which seemed preparing to fly at one another; a correct enough description of the figures commonly called *warders* which are often found in pairs facing one another in the approaches to temples in Burma and other Buddhist countries.

Twenty-five days were then occupied in crossing the Great Desert. In the middle of the passage they fell in with a wild camel and a *Kutás*, or wild Yak[2].

On arriving [24th August] near the frontier of China Proper, Chinese officers again came to meet them, and one march further on they found a platform with awnings erected in the desert, and an elegant repast set out for them, such as many cities would have found it difficult to furnish. Provisions of all sorts were also supplied to every member of the party, with many polite forms. The envoys were then called on to subsc be a document declaring the number of persons in their service, and the *Dájís*[3] had to make affidavit that nothing but truth was stated. The merchants who had accompanied the embassy were counted among the servants, and to give a colour to this they employed themselves in waiting on the ambassadors. There were five hundred and ten souls in the party, without counting Mirzá Olugh Beg's envoys who had gone on before, and those of Mirzá Ibrahim Sultán not yet arrived.

On Aug. 26th they were invited to a feast of royal magnificence at the camp of the *Dangchi*[4] [*dangdji*] commanding on the frontier[5]. The envoys took their places at the left hand of the Dangchi, that being the position of honour in Cathay, "because the heart is on the left side." Before each of the envoys two tables were placed, on one of which were various dishes of meat and poultry

[1] ["Amir Fakhar-ul-dín had built a high, very costly, and ornamented mosque, but near it the polytheists had constructed a large and a small temple with wonderful pictures." Rehatsek.]

[2] ["After leaving Cáyl, they travelled 25 stages, and obtained water every alternate day; and on the 12th (August 22nd) they met in that boundless desert a lion (which statement is however contrary to the assertion that none exist on the frontiers of Khatá) which had a horn on its head." Rehatsek.]

[3] It is not explained who the *Dájís* were, but the word seems to be a Tartar form of the Chinese *Ta jin*, "great man," a title still applied to certain officers on the Tartar frontier. They must have been Chinese officials who had joined the mission party at an earlier date. [*Ta jen* is the title applied to Chinese mandarins from the highest to the *Tao t'ai* included.]

[4] [Ankjy.—Rehatsek.]

[5] This perhaps represents the Chinese *Tsiang-shi*, a general. Pauthier however, I see, says it is in Chinese *Tangchi*, without further explanation (*M. Polo*, 166). [Possibly a *T'ung Che*, Sub-Prefect.]

and dried fruits; on the other cake, excellent bread, and artificial bouquets made of paper and silk admirably wrought. The other guests had but one table apiece. Elevated before them there was a great royal drum, and in front of this a buffet on which were ranged flagons, cups, and goblets of silver and porcelain[1]. On either side of this was an elaborate orchestra, which played admirably. One of the great Chinese lords presented the cup to each guest in turn, and as he did so took a sprig from a basket of artificial flowers, and placed it in the other's cap, "so that the pavilion presented the appearance of a parterre of roses." Beautiful children also were in attendance carrying dishes filled with various relishes, such as filberts, jujubes, walnuts, pickles, etc., every kind being disposed on the plate in a separate compartment. When the amir presented the cup to any person of distinction one of these children also presented this plate that he might choose what pleased him. Dances were performed by young men in feminine costume[2], and by figures of animals made of pasteboard with men inside; among others a perfect representation of a stork, which bobbed its head to the music, this way and that, to the admiration of the spectators. Altogether the first Chinese fête seems to have been regarded as a great success.

The following day [August 27th] they proceeded on their march through the desert. On their arrival at a strong castle called KARAUL[3], in a mountain defile, through the middle of which the road passed, the whole party was counted and their names registered before they were allowed to proceed. They then went

[1] See this feature in the receptions of the Turk and Tartar Khans, in the extracts from Menander (p. 209, *supra*, and note there).

[2] ["There were also handsome youths adorned like women with their faces painted red and white; they wore earrings of pearls, and represented a theatrical performance." Rehatsek.]

[3] *Karául* [Qaráwul] means in Persian (probably of Turkish origin) a sentry, guard, or advanced post. The place here so designated is the fortified entrance of the Great Wall called *Kia-yü Kwan*, or Fort of the Jade-Gate, mentioned by Hiuen Tsang in the seventh century, and which was in the latter days of the Ming the actual limit of the Chinese power (see *supra*, p. 175)

[This is the first mention by a western writer of this line of defence built for the purpose "of closing the great Central-Asian trade route at a time when China had resumed its traditional attitude of seclusion from the barbarian West." (Stein, *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, ii, p. 282.) Stein writes (*l.c.*, p. 283) with regard to Sháh Rukh's ambassador's narrative; "An exactly similar account was given about 1560 by a Turkish Dervish to Gislen de Busbeck, Charles V's envoy at Constantinople. Starting from the Persian frontier, his caravan, after a fatiguing journey of many months, "came to a defile which forms, as it were, the barrier gate of Cathay. Here there was an inclosing chain of rugged and precipitous mountains, affording no passage except through a narrow strait in which a garrison was stationed on the king's part. There the question is put to the merchants, 'What they bring? whence they come?' etc."]

on to SUKCHAU[1], where they were lodged in the great *Yam-Khaan* or Post-House, at the City Gate.

"Sukchau is a great city, with strong fortifications, in the form of a perfect square[2]. The bazars are without covering, and are fifty ells[3] in width, all kept well swept and watered. The people keep tame swine in their houses, and in the butchers' shops mutton and swine's flesh are hung up for sale side by side! In every street you see numerous edifices surmounted by handsome wooden spires, and with wooden battlements covered with lacquer of Cathay[4]. All along the rampart of the city, at intervals of twenty paces[5], you find towers with the tops roofed over. There are four gates, one in the middle of each of the four walls, so that one directly faces another, and as the streets are as straight as can be you would think in looking from one gate to the other that it is but a little way. And yet to go from the centre of the town to any one of the gates is really a considerable distance. Behind [over ?] each gate there is a two-storied pavilion with a high pitched roof in the Cathayan fashion, just such as you see in Mazanderan. Only in this latter province the walls are plastered with plain mud, whereas in Cathay they are covered with porcelain. In this city there are a variety of idol temples to be seen, some of which occupy a space of ten acres, and yet are kept as clean as possible. The area is paved with glazed tiles, which shine like polished marble."

From this time the party were supplied with everything by the Chinese authorities. They were lodged at the *Yams* or post-houses, of which there were ninety-nine between Sukchau and Khan balìq, and every night found not only provisions but servants, beds, night-clothes, etc awaiting them[6]. At every *yam* they

[1] SUCHAU; see III, p. 126, IV, Goës, *infra*; also Hajji Mahomed in Note XVIII. [Bykjú:—Rehatsek]

[2] A *square* is the typical form of royal fortified cities, both in China and in all the Indo-Chinese countries including Java. It is, I believe, a sacred Buddhist form.

[3] [50 statute cubits broad.—Rehatsek.]

[4] [" There are many bázars and thoroughfares, the latter being covered by extremely handsome pavilions with *Khatáy-Muqranus* (Domes) " Rehatsek.]

[5] Quatremère has " twenty feet," but this cannot be. The word is *Kadam*, which means sometimes a foot, sometimes a step or pace.

[6] [" Chaque *iam* se trouve situé vis-à-vis une ville ou un bourg; dans l'intervalle qui sépare les *jam* on compte plusieurs *kargou* et *kiti-fou*. On désigne par le mot *kargou* une maison qui s'élève à une hauteur de soixante *ghez*; deux hommes se tiennent constamment dans cet édifice; il est construit de manière que l'on peut apercevoir un autre *kargou*: lorsqu'il arrive un évènement, tel que l'approche d'une armée étrangère, aussitôt on allume du feu qui est aperçu de l'autre *kargou*, où l'on s'empresse d'en allumer un pareil. La chose a lieu de proche en proche, et, dans l'espace d'un jour et d'une nuit, une nouvelle est connue à une distance de trois mois de marches. Une

brought four hundred and fifty well capariscned horses and donkeys for the use of the travellers, besides fifty or sixty vehicles. The description of these vehicles (*'Arábah*) is a little obscure, but they seem to have been palankins of some sort, and were carried by twelve men each. "The lads who have charge of the horses are called *Bá-fú* (*Má-fú*); those who look after the donkeys are called *Lú-fú*; and those attached to the vehicles are called *Chí-fú*. ...At every post-house the travellers were presented with sheep, geese, fowls, rice, flour, honey, *darásun*[1], arak, garlic, pickled onions and vegetables. At every city the ambassadors were invited to a banquet. The palace of the government is called *Duson*, and the banquet took place there." On these occasions there was always a vacant throne with a curtain hung before it, and a fine carpet spread in front. The Chinese officials and the ambassadors sat down upon this carpet whilst the rest of the company stood behind them in ranks, like Mahomedans at their public worship. A man standing beside the throne then proclaimed something in Chinese, and the mandarins proceeded to *Kotow* before the throne, in which the envoys were obliged to follow them.

The first city that they reached was KAMCHAU[2], nine yams from Suchau. The entertainment given by the Dangchi, whose seat was here, took place in Ramadhán [Sept. 20th], and the envoys were obliged to excuse themselves from eating. The Dangchi

dépêche arrive également sans interruption, car, d'un *kidi-fou* à l'autre, elle est transmise de main en main. On désigne par le mot *kidi-fou* une réunion de plusieurs individus placés dans une station, et dont voici les fonctions. Lorsqu'ils reçoivent une lettre ou une nouvelle, un d'entre eux, qui se tient tout prêt, part à l'instant, et porte la dépêche à un autre *kidi-fou*, et ainsi de suite, jusqu'à ce qu'elle parvienne au pied du trône impérial. D'un *kidi-fou* à un autre la distance est de 10 *mereh*; seize de ces mesures équivalent à une parasange. Les hommes qui occupent le *kargou*, et qui sont au nombre de dix, sont remplacés tous les dix jours, et, à l'arrivée des seconds, les premiers se retirent. Mais ceux qui occupent le *kidi-fou* y sont à demeure. Ils se construisent des maisons, et s'occupent de la culture et de l'ensemencement des terres." Quatremère, pp. 395–6.

With regard to *yams* and fire-signals, see Odoric, pp. 223–4 *n*. The use of fire-signals in China is very ancient. They are mentioned in the biography of Wu-ki, lord of Sin-ling, who died in B.C. 243; the day fire-signals were called *fung* and gave a good deal of smoke; the night fire-signals were called *sui* with a strong light; the soldiers of the western garrisons had to keep these signals lighted. Cf. Chavannes, *Documents chinois découverts par A. Stein*, p. xi.].

[1] The rice wine of the Chinese (*infra*, II, p. 199). Ysbrant Ides (quoted in Astley, iii, 567) says: "Their liquors are brandy, which they call *arakka*, and *tarasu*, a sort of wine they drink warm. This is a decoction of immature rice," etc. In Ssanang Ssetzen there is a legend telling how Chinghiz was sitting in his hall when a Jade cup of a delicious drink called *darassun* descended into his hand from the chimney, a token which was considered as a celestial recognition of his supremacy.

[2] KANCHAU, see III, p. 148, and IV, Benedict Goës, *infra*, and next note (XVIII).

took their excuses in good part, and sent all that had been prepared to their quarters.

"In this city of Kamchau[1] there is an idol temple five hundred cubits square. In the middle is an idol lying at length, which measures fifty paces. The sole of the foot is nine paces long, and the instep is twenty-one cubits in girth. Behind this image and overhead are other idols of a cubit (?) in height, besides figures of *Bakshis*[2] as large as life. The action of all is hit off so admirably that you would think they were alive. Against the wall also are other figures of perfect execution. The great sleeping idol has one hand under his head, and the other resting on his thigh. It is gilt all over and is known as *Shakamuni-fu*. The people of the country come in crowds to visit it, and bow to the very ground before this idol[3]. . . . In the same city there is another temple held in great respect. At it you see a structure which the Mussulmans call the Celestial Sphere[4]. It has the form of an octagonal kiosque, and from top to bottom there are fifteen stories. Each story contains apartments decorated with lacquer in the Cathayan manner, with anterooms and verandas. . . . Below the kiosque you see figures of demons which bear it on their shoulders[5]. . . . It is entirely made of polished wood, and this again gilt so admirably that it seems to be of solid gold. There is a vault below it. An iron shaft fixed in the centre of the kiosque traverses it from bottom to top, and the lower end of this works in an iron plate, whilst the upper end bears on strong supports in the roof of the edifice which contains this pavilion. Thus a person in the vault can with a trifling exertion cause this great kiosque to revolve. All the carpenters, smiths, and painters in the world would learn something in their trades by coming here!"

[1] [Kan chau is called Campichu by M. Polo. "Messer Maffeo and Messer Marco Polo dwelt a whole year in this city when on a mission." (*M. Polo*, i, p. 220.) It fell under the Tangut dominion in 1208. Polo, i, p. 219, says that "the Idolaters have many minsters and abbeys after their fashion. In these they have an enormous number of idols, both small and great, certain of the latter being a good ten paces in stature; some of them being of wood, others of clay, and others yet of stone. They are all highly polished, and then covered with gold. The great idols of which I speak lie at length. And around them there are other figures of considerable size, as if adoring and paying homage before them." See note, *l.c.*, p. 221.]

[2] *I.e.*, Buddhist monks; see II, p. 250, and Ibn Batuta, *notes*.

[3] This recumbent figure at Kanchau is mentioned also by Hajji Mahomed in Note XVIII. Such colossal sleeping figures, symbolising Sakya Muni in the state of *Nirwana*, are to be seen in Burma, Siam, and Ceylon to this day. Notices of them will be found in Tennent's *Ceylon*, ii, 597; *Mission to the Court of Ava* in 1855, p. 52; and Bowring's *Siam*. Hiuen Tsang speaks of one such in a convent at Bamian which was 1000 feet long! (*Vie de H. T.*, p. 70).

[4] ["A sky-wheel." Rehatsek.]

[5] The statement of the dimensions is corrupt and unintelligible.

All the baggage was deposited at Kanchau till their return, and the Chinese took over all the presents intended for the Emperor, with the exception of a lion sent by Mirzá Baisangar, which the athlete Salahuddin[1] the lion-keeper, retained charge of till they reached the capital.

Every day they halted at a *yam*, and every week they reached some city. On the 4th of Shawal, A.H. 823 (Oct. 12th, 1420), they were on the banks of the Karamuran, a river which in size might be classed with the Oxus. There was a bridge over it composed of twenty-three boats attached together by a chain as thick as a man's thigh, and this was moored on each side to an iron post as thick as a man's body, deeply planted in the ground[2]. On the other side of the river they found a great city with a splendid temple. This city was remarkable for the beauty of its women, insomuch that it was known as the City of Beauty (HUSNABAD)[3].

After thirty-seven days' journey they reached [Nov. 18th], we are told, another great river *twice* the size of the Oxus, and this they had to cross in boats (evidently the Hwang Ho again, where it divides the provinces of Shen si and Shan si); and twenty-three days later they reached a city which they call SADINFU, where there was a great idol of gilt bronze, fifty ells in height[4].

Eleven days after this (14th December) they arrived at the gates of Peking [Khan baliq] some time before dawn. The city had been recently re-occupied after the temporary transfer of the Court to Nan King, and the buildings were yet under reconstruction. The envoys were conducted straight to the palace, in an inner court of which they found a numerous assemblage of courtiers and officers waiting for the Emperor's appearance[5]. "Each held

[1] [Pehlván Ssulláh.—Rehatsek.]

[2] [These two iron posts were still in existence a few years ago and were seen by Prof. Pelliot.]

[3] They probably crossed the Karamuran or Hwang Ho opposite LAN CHAU, the present capital of the province of Kan Suh, and this is therefore most probably the Husnabad of the Persians.

[4] As they reached Peking in eleven days from Sadinfu, the latter city must be looked for about two thirds of the way between the Hwang Ho and the capital. Hereabouts we find the city of CH'ENG TING FU in Pe Che-li; and at that city accordingly, as the Chinese Imperial Geography tells us, there is a Buddhist temple called "the Monastery of the Great Fo," founded A.D. 586, which possesses a bronze statue of Buddha, seventy Chinese feet in height (*Chine Moderne*, p. 50).

[Rehatsek has "reaching Ssadyn-Qár on the 27th of the same month (Dec. 3rd)." They had arrived near the river on the 11th Dhulqadah (Nov. 18th), *i.e.* sixteen days before, not twenty-three; in fact Quatremère like Rehatsek says they reached "Sadin-four" on the 27th of the same month.]

[5] ["They obtained sight of a very large and magnificent city entirely built of stone, but as the outer walls were still being built, a hundred thousand scaffoldings concealed them. When the ambassadors were taken from the tower, which was being constructed, to the city they alighted near the entrance to the Emperor's palace, which was extremely

in his hand a tablet of a cubit in length and a quarter as much in breadth, on which he kept his eyes steadfastly fixed[1]. Behind these were troops in countless numbers, of spearmen and cuirassiers, a part of whom held drawn swords. All preserved the profoundest silence. You would have thought it an assembly of the dead." As "the Emperor came out of the women's apartments they set against the throne[2] a silver ladder of five steps, and placed a golden chair on the top of the throne. The Emperor mounted and took his seat upon this chair. He was a man of the middle height; his face neither very large nor very small, and not without some beard; indeed two or three hundred hairs of his beard were long enough to form three or four curls upon his chest. To right and left of the throne stood two young girls with faces like the moon, who had their hair drawn to a knot on the crown; their faces and necks were bare; they had large pearls in their ears; and they held paper and pen in their hands ready to take down the Emperor's orders. It is their duty to write down whatever falls from the Emperor's mouth. When he returns to the private apartments they submit this paper to him. Should he think proper to change any of the orders, a new document is executed, so that the members of his Council may have his mature decisions to follow.

"When the Emperor had taken his seat on the throne, and everybody was in place in the royal presence, they made the ambassadors come forward side by side with certain prisoners. The Emperor proceeded to examine the latter, who were some seven hundred in number. Some of them had a *doshákah* (or wooden yoke) on their necks; others had both necks and arms passed through a board; some five or ten were held together by one long piece of timber, through holes in which their heads protruded[3]. Each prisoner had a keeper by him who held him by the hair, waiting for the Emperor's sentence. Some were condemned to imprisonment, others to death. Throughout the Empire of Cathay no Ámir or Governor has the right to put any person whatsoever to death. When a man has committed any crime the details of his guilt are written on a wooden board which is hung round the delinquent's neck, as well as a memorandum

large; up to this entrance they proceeded on foot by a pavement formed of cut-stone, about 700 paces in length. On coming close they saw five elephants standing on each side of the road with their trunks towards it; after passing between the trunks the ambassadors entered the palace, through a gate near which a crowd of about a hundred thousand men had assembled." Rehatsek.]

[1] See allusion to these tablets by Odoric, *infra*, II, p. 237, and the note there.

[2] By *throne* is to be understood an elevated ottoman or cushioned platform.

[3] These are varieties of the portable pillory called by our travellers, after the Portuguese, *Cangue* [and by the Chinese *Kiá*].

indicating the punishment incurred according to the infidel law, and then with a wooden pillory on and a chain attached to him he is sent off to Khan baliq to the foot of the throne. Should he have a year's journey to get there still he must never be allowed to halt till he reaches the capital[1].

"At last the ambassadors were led in front of the throne and placed some fifteen ells from it. An Amir kneeling read a paper in the Cathayan language, stating all about the ambassadors to the following effect: 'Certain deputies, sent by his majesty Sháh Rukh and his sons, have come from a distant country with presents for the Emperor, and present themselves in order to strike the ground with their foreheads before him.' His worship Hajji Yusuf the Kazi, who was one of the Amirs of a tuman (or commandants of ten thousand) and one of the officers attached to the person of the Emperor, as well as chief of one of the twelve imperial councils, came forward accompanied by several Musulmans acquainted with the languages. They said to the ambassadors: 'First prostrate yourselves and then touch the ground three times with your heads.' Accordingly the envoys bend their heads, but without absolutely touching the ground; then raising both hands they presented the letters of his majesty Sháh Rukh, of his Highness Baisangar, and of the other princes and Amirs, each of which was folded in a piece of yellow satin. For it is a law among the people of Cathay that everything intended for the Emperor must be wrapt in a piece of some yellow stuff. His worship the Kazi advanced, took the letters, and handed them to an eunuch who stood before the throne; the eunuch carried them to the Emperor, who received them, opened them, and glanced at them, and then gave them back to the eunuch."

After some trivial questions the emperor remarked that they had had a long journey, and dismissed them to take some refreshments. After having done so in an adjoining court they were conducted to the Yamkhana or hostelry, where they found everything handsomely provided for them.

Next morning, *before daylight*, they were summoned by the officer called the *Sejnin* (or *Sekjin*)[2], who had charge of them, to get up and come in haste to the palace, as a banquet was to be

[1] This was no doubt a misunderstanding, but it is the Chinese law (not we may presume the practice, at least in troubled times) that every capital sentence must be confirmed by a special court at the capital, composed of members of the six great Boards of Administration and of three great Courts of Justice (see *Chine Moderne*, pp. 230, 256). The presentation of the ambassadors along with criminals for sentence was characteristic. In Burma, even the ambassadors of China are subjected to analogous slight. (See *Mission to Ava*, p. 76.)

[2] The former in Quatremère, the latter in Astley. The word is (Chin.) *Sse-jin*, "a Palace-man or Eunuch" (see *Journ. Asiat.*, s. iv. tom. ii, 435).

given them by the emperor; but this affords nothing of much interest.

"On the 17th of the month of Dhulhajja (23rd December, 1420), several criminals were sent to the place of execution. According to the practice among the infidels of Cathay, a formal record is made of the punishment inflicted for every crime, and they enter into very long details on this subject. But my pen refuses to expose particularly the (horrid) nature of these punishments. The people of Cathay in all that regards the treatment of criminals proceed with extreme caution. There are twelve courts of justice attached to the Emperor's administration; if an accused person has been found guilty before eleven of these, and the twelfth has not yet concurred in the condemnation, he may still have hopes of acquittal[1]. If a case requires a reference involving a six months' journey or even more, still as long as the matter is not perfectly clear the criminal is not put to death, but only kept in custody.

"The 27th day of Moharram His Worship the Kazi sent a message to the ambassadors: 'To-morrow is the New Year. The Emperor is going to visit his New Palace, and there is an order that none should wear white clothes' (for among these people white is the colour of mourning). The 28th, about midnight, the *Sekjin* arrived to conduct the ambassadors to the New Palace. This was a very lofty edifice which had only now been finished after nineteen years of work. This night in all the houses and shops there was such a lighting up of torches, candles, and lamps, that you would have thought the sun was risen already. That night the cold was much abated. Everybody was admitted into the New Palace; and the Emperor gave an entertainment to his great officers of state[2]. . . . It would be impossible to give a just description of this edifice. From the gate of the hall of audience to the outer gate there is a distance of 1985[3] paces. . . . To the right and left there is an uninterrupted succession of buildings, pavilions, and gardens. All the buildings are constructed of polished stone and glazed bricks of porcelain clay[4], which in lustre are quite like white marble. A space of two or three hundred cubits is paved with stones presenting not the very slightest deflexion or in-

[1] Here is doubtless some misapprehension. See preceding page.

[2] Astley's version has here a passage not found in Quatremère's: "They found at the palace one hundred thousand people who had come thither from all parts of Cathay, the countries of Tachin and Machin, Kalmak, Tibet, Kabul (read *Kamul*), Karakhoja, Jurga (*Churché?*), and the sea coasts." ["In that camp nearly one hundred thousand men from the countries of Chin, Khatá, Má-Chín, Qalmáq, Tibbet, and others had congregated." Rehatsek.]

[3] [1925 paces—Rehatsek.]

[4] I suppose this meant by "bricks formed of . . . nese earth." ["Stones and burnt bricks, the latter being made of China-earth." Rehatsek.]

equality, insomuch that you would think the joints had been ruled with a pen. In the arts of stone-polishing, cabinet-making, pottery, brick-making, there is nobody with us who can compare with the Chinese. If the cleverest of our workpeople were to see their performances they could not but acknowledge the superiority of these foreigners. Towards noon the banquet ended.

"On the 9th of Safar (13th February, 1421), in the morning, horses were sent for the ambassadors.... Every year, according to a practice of theirs, the emperor passes several days without eating animal food, or entering his harem, or receiving anyone. He goes to a palace which contains no image or idol, and there, as he says, adores the God of Heaven. This was the day of his return, and he entered his harem again with immense pomp. Elephants walked in procession, handsomely caparisoned, and bearing on their backs a circular-gilded litter; then came flags of seven different colours, and men-at-arms, and then five more handsomely gilt litters carried by men on their shoulders. Musical instruments played the while in a manner of which it is impossible to give an idea. 50,000 men marched before and behind the emperor, keeping perfect step and cadence. Not a voice was heard; nothing but the sound of the music. As soon as the emperor had entered the harem everybody went away."

It was now the time of the Feast of Lanterns, but it was stripped of its ordinary splendours, of which the ambassadors had heard much, because the astrologers had predicted that the palace would catch fire[1].

"The 8th of Rabbi First (12th March), the monarch having sent for Ahmed Sháh and Bakhshi Malik, gave them what is called a *sankísh* or present. He gave Sultán Sháh eight *balish* of silver[2], thirty dresses of royal magnificence, a mule, twenty-four pieces of *kala'i*[3], two horses, one of them caparisoned, a hundred cane

[1] ["At that season the feast of lanterns takes place, when for seven nights and days in the interior of the Emperor's palace a wooden ball is suspended from which numberless chandeliers branch out, so that it appears to be a mountain of emeralds; thousands of lamps are suspended from cords, mice are prepared of naphtha, so that when a lamp is kindled the mouse runs along these ropes and lights every lamp it touches, so that in a single moment all the lamps from the top to the bottom of the ball are kindled. At that time the people light many lamps in their shops and houses, and do not condemn any one during those seven days [the courts of justice closed ?]. The Emperor makes presents and liberates prisoners. That year, however, the Khatáy astrologers had ascertained that the house of the Emperor would be in danger of conflagration, and on that account no orders for illumination had been issued; nevertheless the amirs met according to ancient custom, and the Emperor gave them a banquet and made them presents." Rehatsek.]

[2] See II, p. 196, and Ibn Batuta, *infra*, IV.

[3] Tin ? Quatremère does not translate it. Astley has "under petticoats" !

arrows, five three-sided *kaibars*[1], in the Cathayan fashion, and five thousand *chao*[2]. Bakhshi Malik received a similar present, only he had one *balish* less. The wives of the ambassadors received no silver, but were presented with pieces of stuffs....

"The 1st day of the Latter Rabbi (5th April[3]), news was brought that the emperor was on his way back from the hunting field, and that they were expected to meet him. The ambassadors were out riding when the news came, and as he was to arrive next day they returned home at once. The blue *Shonghár* belonging to Sultán Ahmed was dead[4]. The *Sekjin* visited them, and said: 'Take care to start to-night in order that you may be ready to be presented to the emperor the first thing in the morning.' So they mounted in haste, and when they arrived at the post-house they found His Worship the Kazi looking very much put out. Asking what made him so out of spirits, he answered in a low tone: "The emperor during the chase has been thrown by one of the horses sent by His Majesty Shán Rukh which he was riding. He is tremendously enraged at this mishap, and has ordered the ambassadors to be put in irons and sent off to the eastern provinces of Cathay.' The envoys, deeply disturbed at the intelligence, got on their horses again at morning prayer-time. By the time half the forenoon was past they had ridden some twenty *marrah*[5], and reached the camp where the emperor had spent the night. This occupied an area of some five hundred feet square, round which they had built that same night a wall of four feet in thickness and ten cubits high. Such walls, built of *pisé*, are erected in Cathay with extraordinary celerity. There

[1] Quivers?—[Five Khatáy girls.—Rehatsek.]

[2] Bank notes (see II, p. 196; III, p. 149).

[3] [25th March.—Rehatsek.]

[4] The *shonghár* was a species of falcon monopolised by eastern royalty, and was, I believe, that of which Marco Polo speaks as the gerfalcon, which bred on the shores of the Arctic Ocean. They were sent in tribute to the Great Khan by the chiefs of the Northern Tartar Tribes. In a passage of the narrative which has been omitted, the emperor had presented several to the envoys for their respective princes, adding the brusque observation that they brought him screws of horses and carried off his good *shonghárs*. Pétis de la Croix says of the *shonghár*: "'Tis a mark of homage which the *Russians* and Crim-Tartars are bound by the last treaty to send annually to the Porte.' (*H. de Timur Bec*, ii, 75.)

[5] In a previous passage it is said that "every sixteen *marrah* make a *farsang*" (or nearly three miles and a half). Astley's version has *six* to a farsang. The former estimate reduces the distance ridden in half the forenoon to less than five miles. The word *marrah* is perhaps that which Clavijo called *molé*, but he applies it to Timur's leagues, "equal to two leagues of Castille" (p. 106). This last definition, however, corresponds with that which Ssanang Ssetzen gives of the *Bárá*, probably the same word. This makes it 16,000 ells, which will be about six miles, taking the ell at two feet (see Schmidt, p 5).

were two gates left in it, and at the foot of the wall there was a ditch from which the earth had been dug for it. . . . Inside there was a pavilion of yellow satin, and an awning adorned with gems. Each of these was some twenty-five cubits square, and was supported by four pillars. All round were other tents of yellow satin embroidered with gold.

"When the ambassadors had arrived within five hundred paces of the imperial camp, His Worship the Kazi told them to dismount and stop where they were till the emperor should appear, whilst he himself went on. As soon as the emperor had returned to camp and dismounted, the *Li-daji* and the *Ján-daji*[1] (who in the Cathayan tongue are called *Serai-id* and *Jík-fú*) came and stood before him. The emperor then discussed the question of arresting the ambassadors. The *Li-daji*, the *Ján-daji*, and His Worship Yusuf the Kazi bowed their foreheads to the ground, and said: 'The envoys are in no way to blame. Their princes send good horses as presents doubtless, when they can meet with such; but in any case these persons have no authority over their sovereigns. If your Majesty has the envoys cut in pieces it won't hurt their kings, but the name of the emperor will be evil spoken of. People will not fail to say that the Emperor of China has used violence to ambassadors contrary to all the rules of justice.' The emperor took these judicious remonstrances in good part. His Worship the Kazi came in great glee to tell this news to the ambassadors, saying: 'The Most High has shown his mercy to these foreigners.' The emperor having thus decided on a merciful course, the dishes which he had sent were placed before the envoys; but as they consisted of swine's flesh and mutton the Musulmans declined to partake of them. The emperor then started, mounted on a black horse with white points which had been sent as a present by Mírzá Olugh Beg, and which had housings of yellow brocaded with gold. Two grooms ran alongside, each holding by one of the stirrups, and these also were dressed in gold brocade of a royal magnificence. The emperor had on a red mantle brocaded with gold, to which was stitched a pocket of black satin in which the imperial beard was cased. Seven small covered palankins were borne after him on men's shoulders; these contained young ladies of the emperor's family. There was also a great palankin carried by seventy men. Right and left of the emperor, at the interval of a bow-shot, were columns of horsemen who kept exactly abreast of him. These lines extended as far as the eye could reach, and there was a space of twenty paces between their ranks. They marched in this way, keeping exact alignment, to the gates of the city. The emperor rode in the middle, accompanied by the *Dah-daji*, whilst the Kazi rode with the Li-daji and the Ján-daji. The Kazi coming forward, said to the ambassadors:

[1] [Lillájy and Jan Wájy.—Rehatsek.—Li Ta Jen and Jan Ta Jen?]

'Dismount and touch the ground with your heads'; and so they did. The emperor then desired them to mount again, which they did, and joined the procession. The monarch began to reproach them, saying to Shádi Khwája: 'When horses or other objects of value are sent as presents to kings, they should be of the best, if they are meant to strengthen the bonds of friendship. Here, I mounted for the chase yesterday one of the horses which you brought me, and the beast, being excessively old, came down with me. My hand is much hurt and has become black and blue. It is only by applying gold in great quantities that the pain has abated a little.' Shádi Khwája, to put the best face on the matter, answered: 'The fact is, this horse belonged to the Great Amir, Amir Timúr Kurkán. His Majesty Shah Rukh in sending the animal to you intended to give you a testimony of his highest consideration; indeed, he thought that in your dominions this horse would be regarded as a very pearl of horses[1].' This account of the matter satisfied the emperor who then treated the ambassadors with kindness."

After this one of the emperor's favourite wives died, and also a fire, occasioned by lightning, took place in the new palace, so that, "contrary to what usually happens," the diarist observes, "the prediction of the astrologers was completely verified." These misfortunes made the old emperor quite ill, and it was from his son that the ambassadors received their dismissal. During the days that they remained at Peking after this they no longer received the usual supplies.

On their return journey, however, they met with all the same attentions as on their way to court. They followed the same road as before, and quitting Khan baliq on the middle of Jumadah first (about 18th May 1421), they reached the city of BÍKAN[2] on the first day of Rajab (2nd July). Here they were splendidly fêted: and on the fifth of Shaban (3rd October[3]) they recrossed

[1] As the Great Amir was dead *sixteen years* before, this pearl of horses must indeed have been a venerable animal.

[2] [Bangán.—Rehatsek.] The dates indicate the position as about one-third of the way from the capital to the passage of the Hwang Ho at Lan chau. This and the name probably point to PING YANG FU in the province of Shan si, one of the most ancient capitals of China. It is the *Pian*-fu of Polo, who says of it—"moult est grant citez et de grant vaillance; en laquelle a marchans assez qui vivent d'art et de marchandize. Et si font soie en grant habondance." (Pauthier's *Polo*, p. 354.)

I find that in the identification of the three cities named on the journey through China (Husnabad, Sadinfu, and Bikan) M. Reinaud has anticipated me in every case; but as my identifications were arrived at independently on the grou. ls assigned, this is a strong confirmation of their correctness (see his Introduction to Abulfeda, pp. cccIxxxv–vii).

[3] [5th August.—Rehatsek.]

the Karamuran. Nineteen days later[1] they arrived at Kanchau and took up their servants and baggage which had been left there[2]. But they had to halt here two months on account of the disturbed state of the Mongol country; and they were again detained at Suchau, so that they did not pass the frontier fortress till some days after the middle of Moharram 825[3] (about 9th January 1422): Here the whole party were again mustered and registered by the Chinese officials. The troubles in Mongolia induced the ambassadors now to take the unfrequented southern route through the desert. They reached KHOTAN on the 30th May, and KASHGAR on the 5th July. From this they passed the mountains by the defile of ANDIJAN, *i.e.* by the Terek Dawan, and there separated; one party taking the road to Samarkand, the other "preferring the route of Badakhshan" travelled to HISSAR SHADUMAN[4], and thence reached BALKH on the 18th August. Finally on the 1st September 1422 they kissed the feet of his majesty Sháh Rukh at Herat, and related their adventures[5].

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[1] *Nine* days according to the date in Quatremère (14th Shaban), but thus seems much too short. Astley has 24th. [24th Shăbăn, 24th August.—Rehatsek.]

[2] ["In this town they remained during seventy-five days, and leaving it on the first day of Dhulhejjah (Nov 27th), they arrived on the 17th (Dec. 3rd) in the town of Bokjú, in which place the ambassador of Mirzá Ebráhim Sultán, who had arrived from Shyráz, and the envoy of Mirzá Rustum, who was coming from Essfahán, met the ambassadors of His Majesty Sháh Rokh, and asked them for information concerning the manners and customs of the Khatáys, which was given to them." Rehatsek.]

[3] [The 1st Muharram fell on the 26th Dec. 1421.—Rehatsek.]

[4] The expression in the text seems to show that Badakhshan was sometimes used in a much larger sense than is now attached to it. But this brief indication of the route followed by the ambassadors from Kashgar to Balkh is particularly interesting, because it precisely retraces Ptolemy's caravan route across Imaus, on the supposition that the Stone Tower was in the vicinity of Ush or Andiján (Andiján = The Stone Tower; Hissar Shaduman = Ascent to Hill Country of the Komedi; Balkh = Bactra). And this is certainly an argument in favour of Ritter's view, for the route from Kashgar via Tashbaliq and Wakhsh to Hissar would have been vastly more direct, and there must have been ample reason for not adopting it, even in the height of summer, as on this occasion (see *ante*, p. 191, *seq.*).

[5] ["After they had been searched and examined, they left Qáyl, and selected the road through Chúl on account of the insecurity of the highways, and arrived after much trouble on the 9th of Jomády the first (May 1st) in the town of Khotán, after leaving which they passed on the 6th Rajab (June 26th) through Káshgar, and on the 21st (July 11th) they passed over the heights of Andagán, where some of the ambassadors selected the road through Khorasán and others through Samarqand; in the beginning of Ramazan (Aug. 19th) they arrived in Balkh, and on the 10th of the same month (Aug. 28th) they reached the capital city Herát, where they were admitted to the honour of kissing the carpet of His prosperous Majesty the Khagán Sháh Rokh

(may God increase his fame); and were made happy thereby."—Rehatsek.]

[" Après une vérification exacte, les ambassadeurs partirent de Karaoul le dix-neuvième jour de moharrem. La crainte de l'ennemi les décida à préférer la route du désert; le dix-huitième jour de rebi-awal, ils franchirent, avec de grandes fatigues, ces chemins non frayés et dépourvus d'eau; le neuvième jour de djoumada second, ils arrivèrent à la ville de Khoten; ils en partirent, et, le seizième jour de redjeb, ils atteignirent Kaschgar; le vingt et unième jour du même mois, ils traversèrent le défilé d'Andegan. De là, une partie des ambassadeurs prit le chemin des Samarykand; les autres, ayant préféré la route de Badakhschan, arrivèrent, bien portants et joyeux, à Hisar-shaduman, le vingt et unième jour de Schaban. Ayant traversé le fleuve Amouïeh, ils arrivèrent à Balkh le premier jour de ramazan; de là, ils se dirigèrent vers Hérat. Le quinzième jour du même mois, ils furent admis à l'honneur de baiser les pieds de l'empereur Schah-rokh, et exposèrent à ce prince les détails de leur voyage." Quatremère, pp. 425–6.]

I will here insert some remarks on the topography of Rubruquis's travels, in connexion with the site of *Equius*, which I suppose to be the *Asparah* of these ambassadors (*supra*, p. 272).

Rubruquis, riding with Tartars and relays of horses, set out from the Volga on the 16th September 1253. The route lay straight east, or nearly so, through the country of the *Kangli* till the 31st October. They then bore a good deal south, passing through certain Alps (mountain pastures?). On the 7th November they entered a plain irrigated like a garden, through which a large river flowed which entered no sea, but after forming swamps was absorbed by the earth. It flowed from very high mountains which were seen towards the south (east).

On the 8th November they entered the city of KENCHAC. They went from this *east* towards the mountains, and got among the mountain pastures, where the *Caracatai* formerly dwelt, a few days later. They found there a great river which they had to cross in a boat; they then turned into a valley where there were old intrenchments of earth over which the plough had passed, and came to a good town called EQUIUS, where the Mahomedan inhabitants spoke Persian.

Next day they passed the " Alps," which were spurs from the great mountains to the south, and entered an extensive and beautiful plain, which was copiously irrigated by the streams from the mountains. The mountains in question were to the right of the travellers, and to the left, beyond the plain, was a sea or great lake of twenty-five days' journey in compass.

There had formerly been many cities in this plain but the Tartars had destroyed them. They found, however, one great town called CAILAC, where they halted for twelve days.

The country in which they now were was called ORGONIUM; and here Rubruquis first met with Buddhist temples.

They quitted Cailac on the 30th November (hence they must have reached it on the 18th or 19th), and four days later (3rd December) they came upon the head of the great lake. There was a great island in the lake. The water was brackish, but drinkable. A valley opened upon the head of the lake from the south-east, and up this valley among the mountains was another lake. Through this gorge at times such furious gusts of wind blew that riders were apt to be blown into the lake.

Passing this valley they went north towards great mountains covered with snow.

From December 6th they greatly increased the length of their journeys, doing two days' journey in one. On December 12th they passed a horrible rocky defile, said to be haunted by demons, etc.

They then entered the plains of the Naiman country. After this they again ascended a hill country, tending northward. On December 26th they entered a great flat plain like the sea, and next

day reached the camp of Mangu Khan, apparently not far from KARAKORUM.

Now the points on this journey which we may consider ascertained (besides its departure from the Volga somewhere near SARAI, and its termination near Karakorum) are two.

The first is the city of KENCHAC. This is known to have been one of the cities of the valley of the Talas, near the city so called. (See Quatremère in *Notices et Extraits*, xiii, 224–5–6.)

The other is the site of the great rushing wind. This is described in Carpini's narrative in very similar terms (see p. 751). It is also spoken of by the diarist of Hulaku's march; and in modern times by a Russian traveller Poutimsteff (quoted in Malte Brun, *Précis de la Géog. Universelle*, ix, p. 208). These three latter accounts point, and the last indeed, which is singularly coincident with Carpini's, distinctly refers the scene of this phenomenon, to the lake called *Ala-kul*. Rubruquis had specified the island in the lake; Carpini says "several islands"; Poutimsteff says it contains "three great rocks of different colours," with which he connects its name. We now go back to trace the route of Rubruquis.

After riding for six weeks east, but not quite so *due* east as he imagines, leaving the Caspian and Aral on the right, about long. 67° he strikes south-east, crosses the "Alps" of the *Kara-tau* to the south-east of the modern town of Turkestan (in the medieval map south-east of Otrar) and enters the valley of the Talas, the river which, as he says, loses itself in swamps and enters no sea. Here he has to the south-east very lofty mountains, the branches of the T'ien Shan, or perhaps the great range itself.

Quitting Kenchak and the Talas, he goes east into the "Alps" that separate the Upper Talas from the Chu; the Chu is the river crossed in a boat. Beyond this is the valley with the remains of old intrenchments. These are noticed also by the Diarist of Hulaku's march. Four days before reaching Talas, this writer says, "they passed between the two mountains *Itu* (qu. the two parallel ranges called Ala-tagh ?). The country is flat, well peopled and well watered; and there are many old ramparts and military structures, for it was formerly occupied by the *Khitan*" (the *Caracatai* of Rubruquis, see *infra*, III, p. 19). "Near this is a river called *Yi-yun*, very rapid, flowing from the east; the people of the country call it the Yellow river" (as to the muddy colour and great rapidity of the Chu, see *Russians in Central Asia*, p. 262).

Rubruquis then reaches *Equius*, or as I have supposed the *Asparah* of the Mahomedan writers, and we must therefore locate this north of the Chu, somewhere opposite the modern Russian posts of Pishpek or Tokmak.

[Rockhill, *Rubruck*, writes, p. 139 *n.*: "The identification of Rubruck's 'great river' with the Ili obliges us to reject Yule's identification of Equius with the *Aspareh* of Shah Rokh's mission, which was on the Chu, somewhere near the present Pishpek, or Tokmak."]

They then cross the "Alps" again; this time the branch of the Ala-Tau between Pishpek and Almaty, and emerge on the great plain stretching to the Balkash. It is true that towards the lake this is a barren steppe, but the tract along the spurs of the Northern Ala-Tau, which bounded the plain to the right of the traveller as he describes, is rich arable land, amply irrigated (see Semenov in *Petermann's Mittheilungen* for 1858, pp. 352–3).

Somewhere at the foot of those hills was CAILAC, doubtless the KAYALIQ of the historians of the Mongols. It must have been some distance north of the Ili, for the traveller reaches the Alakul from Cailac in four days. It may be placed near the modern Russian station of Kopal.

That it was not *on* the Ili, but some distance beyond it, is in some degree confirmed by the circumstance that, though a place of import-

ance, it is not mentioned in the route either of Hulaku or of King Hethum, both of whom seem to have come down the Ili valley from ALMALIQ (near modern Kulja) and then passed to Talas by the route by which Rubruquis had come.

In Benedict Goës *infra* are quoted some passages relating, or supposed to relate, to Kayaliq or Cailac. Another may be cited as slightly favourable to the site indicated. We are told that Batu was on his way from his domain on the Volga to Karakorum, when "at the mountain Aladagh, seven days march from Kayaliq, he heard of the death of the Kaan" (*Kuyuk*), and turned back. Supposing this to be the Alatagh pass between the Chu and the Ili the distance would be appropriate to our position (see *D'Ohsson*, ii, 246).

The name *Orgonum*, which Rubruquis heard applied to the country I have endeavoured to elucidate in the notes to Ibn Batuta.

It will be observed that Rubruquis, coming upon the Alakul, regarded it as the continuation and termination of the great lake which had occupied the distant horizon on his left for a good many days, an error which the map alone renders very conceivable to us, and which may then have had still more excuse, as all those lakes appear to be contracting. Indeed there seems to be no doubt that the Balkash and Alakul were formerly actually one, though they may not have been so in the days of Rubruquis. (See Semenov as above, p. 351; and in *J. R. G. S.*, xxxv, p. 213; also *Petermann* for 1863, p. 392.)

From the Alakul the mountains crossed to the north were apparently those above Tarbagatai. From this the route probably lay along the Upper Irtish and then along the Jabkan river.

On the return journey in summer Rubruquis passed to the *north* of the Balkash. The only part common to the two journeys is, he says, a fifteen days' ride along a river among mountains, where there was no grass except on the banks. This would seem to have been the Jabkan.

I discern no real difficulty in the foregoing interpretation of the traveller except one, viz., the scanty time allowed between Kenchak in the Talas valley and the head of the Alakul. This distance is about five hundred miles without deviations of course, and the time according to the data (deducting the twelve days' halt at Cailac) is fourteen days, giving an average of more than thirty-five miles (crow-flight) daily, and much of it through hilly ground. It is true that the traveller says that they rode daily as far as from Paris to Orleans, say sixty miles; but the measurement of his first long stretch from the Volga to Talas gives only about twenty-seven miles a day as the crow flies. If we can venture to suppose that the halt at Cailac was written vii days instead of xii, this would bring the marches between Talas and Alakul to about the same average.

The map in *Russians in Central Asia*, or some other embracing the recent Russian surveys, will be serviceable in following these remarks.

NOTE XVIII.

HAJJI MAHOMED'S ACCOUNT OF CATHAY, AS DELIVERED TO MESSER GIOV. BATTÍSTA RAMUSIO[1].

(Circa 1550.)

"In the thirty-eighth chapter of Messer Marco Polo's first book he treats of the rhubarb which is produced in the province of SUCCUIR, and is thence exported into these parts and all over the world. And it seems highly necessary that I should give a particular account of what I chanced to hear on this subject some years ago from a certain Persian of great judgment and intelligence; for the matter is well worthy of correct knowledge, seeing how universal the use of the article among sick people has become in our time, nor have I ever yet seen so much information regarding it in any book.

"The name of the narrator was Chaggi Memet, a native of the province of CHILAN on the shores of the Caspian Sea, and from a city called TABAS[2], and he had himself been to Succuir, coming afterwards, at the time I speak of, to Venice with a large quantity of the aforesaid rhubarb. Now it happened one day that I had gone out of town to dine at Murano; a relaxation of business allowed me to get away from the city, and to enjoy it all the more I chanced to have in my party that excellent architect Messer Michele San Michele of Verona, and Messer Tommaso Giunti, both very dear friends of mine, besides this Persian[3]. So when dinner was over and the cloth was drawn, he began his narrative, and it was interpreted as he went along by Messer Michele Mambre, a man of great acquirements in the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish tongues, and a person of most agreeable manners, whose accomplishments have now obtained him the position of Turkish interpreter to this illustrious Signory. First

[1] [G. Uzielli and Amat di S. Filippo (*Studi biografici e bibliografici*, II, Roma, 1882, p. 246) mention under the name of Hagi Ahmed the following map of the world kept in the Library of St Mark, at Venice: "Mappamondo a forma di cuore, sopra legno intagliato per la stampa, o carta impressa col medesimo. È redatto in lingua turca. Comprende il mondo conosciuto. Scala e proiezione fantastiche." Would it not be possible that this Hagi Ahmed and our Hajji Mahomed are but one person?]

[2] I have not been able to find any place of this name in Ghilan. But Tabas in the Salt Desert north of Yezd is called in the Tables of Nasiruddin *Tabas Kili* or *Gili*, and this may be meant there in Hudson, vol. iii).

[3] Sanmichele of Verona, the still celebrated architect and engineer of the Venetian Republic, and often called (though wrongly) the inventor of modern bastioned fortification. Giunti, the printer and publisher of Ramusio's great work, and editor of it after the author's death.

he told us that he had been at SUCCUIR[1] and CAMPION[2], cities of the province of TANGATH, at the commencement of the states of the Great Can, whose name he said was Daimir Can[3], and by whom rulers were sent to govern the said cities, the same that M. Marco speaks of in the thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth chapters of his first book. They are the first cities of idolaters that are met with in going from the Musulman territories; and he went thither with the caravan that goes with merchandise from Persia and the countries about the Caspian to the regions of CATHAY. And this caravan is not allowed to enter further into the country than Succuir and Campion; nor may any merchant belonging to it, unless he go as an ambassador to the Great Can[4].

"This city of Succuir is large and extremely populous, with very handsome houses built of brick after the Italian manner; and in it there are many great temples with idols carved in stone. It is situated in a plain, through which run an infinite number of streamlets, and abounds in all sorts of necessaries. They grow silk there in very great quantities, using the black-mulberry tree for the purpose. They have no wine grown there, but for their drink they make a kind of beer with honey. As regards fruit, the country is a cold one, so they have none but pears, apples, apricots, and peaches, melons, and grapes. Then he told us that the rhubarb grows over all that province, but much the best is got in a certain neighbouring range of lofty and rocky mountains, where there are many springs, with woods of sundry kinds of trees growing to a great height, and soil of a red colour, which, owing to the frequent rains and the springs which run in all directions, is almost always in a sloppy state. As regards the appearance of the root and its leaves it so chanced that the said merchant had brought a little picture with him from the country which appeared to be drawn with great care and skill, so he took it from his pocket and showed it us, saying that here we had the true and natural representation of the rhubarb.... He said moreover... that in the lands of Cathay they never used the rhubarb

[1] *Succuir*, or rather *Succiur* (*i.e.* Sukchur) as Polo seems to have written it, is according to Pauthier a Mongol pronunciation of *Suh-chau-lu*, the Circuit of Suhchau (*Polo*, p. 164). On Suhchau or Suchau see *supra*, p. 275, and references there. [See on Suhchau my note, Vol. III, p. 126.]

[2] *Campicion* in most copies of Polo; well identified with *Kanchau*, though the form of the name has not been satisfactorily explained.

[3] *Daiming Khan* is the name by which the Emperor of China is called in Abdur Razzak's History introducing the narrative abstracted in the preceding note. It is, in fact, the name of the native *Dynasty* (*Ta-Ming*, "Great Light") usually called the Ming, which reigned from 1368 to 1644 (see *Chine Ancienne*, p. 389; *Atlas Sinensis* in Blaeu, p. 1; *Notices et Extraits*, xiv, pt. i, pp. 213 *seq.*; Schmidt, pp. 153, 211, 289).

[4] See the narrative of Goes *passim*.

for medicine as we do, but pounded it up and compounded it with some other odoriferous ingredients to burn as a perfume before their idols. And in some other places it is so abundant that they constantly use it for fuel, whilst others give it to their sick horses, so little esteem have they for this root in those regions of Cathay. But they have a much greater appreciation of another little root which grows in the mountains of Succuir where the rhubarb grows, and which they call *Mambroni Cini*. This is extremely dear, and is used in most of their ailments, but especially where the eyes are affected. They grind it on a stone with rose-water, and anoint the eyes with it. The result is wonderfully beneficial. He did not believe that this root was imported into these parts, and he was not able to describe it[1]. Then seeing the great pleasure that I beyond the rest of the company took in his stories, he told me that over all the country of Cathay they made use of another plant, or rather of its leaves. This is called by those people *Chiai Catai*[2], and grows in the district of Cathay, which is called CACIANFU[3]. This is commonly used and much esteemed over all those countries. They take of that herb whether dry or fresh, and boil it well in water. One or two cups of this decoction taken on an empty stomach removes fever, head-ache, stomach-ache, pain in the side or in the joints, and it should be taken as hot as you can bear it. He said besides that it was good for no end of other ailments which he could not then remember, but gout was one of them. And if it happens that one feels incommoded in the stomach from having eaten too much, one has but to take a little of this decoction and in a short time all will be digested. And it is so highly valued and esteemed that every one going on a journey takes it with him, and those people would gladly give (as he expressed it) a sack of rhubarb for an ounce of *Chiai Catai*. And those people of Cathay do say that if in our

[1] *Mambróni Cini* is, I suppose, *Mámirán-i-Chini*; the first word of which is explained by F. Johnson as "swallow-wort." Bernier also mentions *Mamiron* as a little root very good for eye ailments, which used to be brought with rhubarb to Kashmir by caravans from China (in *H. Gén. des Voyages*, tom. 37, p. 335). It is possibly the *Jinseng* or "Man-Root" (from its forked radish shape), so much prized by the Chinese as a tonic, etc., and which used to sell for three times its weight in silver. Another root, called by the Chinese *Foling*, comes from the rhubarb region in question, and was formerly well known in European pharmacy under the name *Radix China*. This, however, was not a "little root." [See *Mamiran* in *Hobson-Jobson*: *Curcuma longa*, *Mamira* of the old Arabs, *Thalictrum foliosum*, *Mamira* of Punjab.]

[2] (Pers.) *Chá-i-Khitai*, "Tea of China." Here and in some other words in this narrative the *ch* must be sounded soft, and not as usual in Italian. I do not know of any earlier mention of tea in an European book. [See *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. *Tea*.]

[3] *Cachanfu* is probably Kanjanfu, *i.e.* Si ngan fu (see *infra*, II, p. 246). Tea would come to the frontier from that quarter, whether it *grows* there or not.

parts of the world, in Persia and the country of the Franks, people only know of it there is no doubt that the merchants would cease altogether to buy *Ravend Cini* as they call rhubarb in those parts[1]....I asked him what route he had followed in returning from Campion and Succuir on his way to Constantinople, if he were able to tell it me. He answered by Mambre our interpreter that he would tell me the whole gladly. So he began by saying that he had not returned by precisely the same way that he had taken with the caravan in going, for at the time that he wanted to start it happened that those Tartar chiefs of the Green caps, whom they call *Iescilbas*, were sending an ambassador of theirs with a great company by way of the Desert of Tartary to the north of the Caspian Sea to the Grand Turk at Constantinople in order to make a league with him for a joint attack on their common enemy the *Soffi*....And so he travelled with them as far as CAFFA. But he would willingly detail to me the route as it would have been had he returned by the same that he followed in going. And it would stand thus: Leaving the city of Campion you come to GAUTA[2], which is a six days' journey. Every day's journey is reckoned at so many *farsenc*, and one Persian *farsenc* is three of our miles. And a day's journey may be taken at eight farsencs, but in case of deserts and mountains they will not do half as much, so days made in the desert must be reckoned at half ordinary journeys. From Gauta you come to Succuir in five days, and from Succuir to CAMUL[3] in fifteen. Here the Musulmans begin; all having been idolaters hitherto. From Camul to TURFON thirteen; and after Turfon you pass three cities, the first of which is CHIALIS, ten days, then CHUCHE ten more, and then Aqsu twenty days[4]. From Aqsu to CASCAR is twenty days more of the wildest desert, the journey hitherto having been through inhabited country. From Cascar to SAMARCAND twenty-five days, from Samarcand to BOCHARA in COMASSAM, five; from Bochara to ERI[5], twenty; and thence you get to VEREMI in fifteen days[6]; then CASBIN in six, from Casbin to SOLTANIA in four, and from Soltania to the great city of TAURIS in six. Thus much I drew

[1] Pers. *Rdwand-i-Chini*, "China Rhubarb."

[2] *Kao-t'ai*, between Kanchau and Suchau.

[3] *Supra*, p. 273, *infra*, III, p. 265, and Goës, Vol. IV.

[4] On these places see Goës, *infra*, Vol. IV.

[5] HERAT.

[6] VERAMIN was a great town two marches east of Tehràn, close to the site of ancient Rai, "to which it succeeded as Tehràn has succeeded to Veramin." (Ritter, viii, 450.) It is mentioned also by Clavijo, who on his return, after passing Damghan Perescote (*Firuz-koh*), and Cenan (*Semnan*), "came to a great city called *Vatami*" (read VARAMI) "which was nearly depopulated and without any wall, and they call this land the Land of Rei." (Markham's *Clavijo*, p. 182; see also Pétis de la Croix, *H. de Timur Bec*, ii, 181, 401.)

from that Persian merchant. And the detail of his route was all the more interesting to me because I recognised with great satisfaction the names of many cities and of several provinces which are written in the first book of the travels of M. Marco Polo. And on that account it seemed to me in a measure necessary to give the statement here.

"It seems also expedient to add here a brief summary, which was drawn up for me by the said Chaggi Memet the Persian merchant before his departure from this city, giving some particulars regarding the city of Campion, and the people of those parts. And these I shall repeat for the benefit and advantage of all my gentle readers in few words and under various heads just as he set them down.

"The city of Campion.... The people here go dressed in cotton stuff of a black colour, which in winter the poor have lined with wolf-skins and sheep-skins, and the rich with costly sables and martens. They wear black caps coming to a point like sugar-loaves. The men are short rather than tall. They wear their beard as we do, and especially at a certain time of the year.

"Their houses are built after our fashion with brick and cut stone, two or three stories high, with ceilings painted in various colours and patterns. There are no end of painters there; and one street in the city is entirely occupied by painters.

"The princes of that country to exhibit their pomp and grandeur have a great platform made, over which are stretched two canopies of silk embroidered with gold and silver, and with many pearls and other gems; and on this they and their friends take their places, and forty or fifty slaves take up the whole and carry them about the city for recreation. Ordinary noblemen go about in a simple open litter without ornament carried by four to six men.

"Their temples are made after the fashion of our churches with columns from end to end; and they are enormous things, fit to hold four or five thousand people. There are also in that city two remarkable statues, one of a man, the other of a woman, each of them forty feet in length and represented extended on the ground[1]; each figure is of one solid piece, and they are gilt all over. There are first-rate sculptors in stone there.

"They get their blocks of stone sometimes from a distance of two or three months' journey, conveying them on carts that have some forty very high wheels with iron tires; and these shall be drawn by five or six hundred horses or mules.

"There are other statues of smaller size that have six or seven heads and ten hands, each hand grasping a different article, as if (for example) one should hold a serpent, a second a bird, a third a flower, and so on.

[1] See preceding note, p. 277.

"They have also certain monasteries where many men dwell leading the most holy life possible. For they have the doors of their chambers walled up so they can never get forth again as long as they live. People come every day with food for them.

"There are also no end of the same class who go about the town just like our friars.

"Their custom is, when anyone of their kin shall die, to wear white clothes for many days, that is to say of cotton cloth. Their clothes are made after the same fashion as ours, reaching to the ground, and with large sleeves like those of ours at Venice which we call *a gomedo*[1].

"They have the art of printing in that country, and their books are printed. And as I wanted to be clear on the point whether their manner of printing was the same as our own, I took the Persian one day to see the printing office of M. Thomaso Giunti at San Giuliano: and when he saw the tin types and the screwpresses with which they print, he said that they seemed to him to be very much like the other[2].

"Their city is fortified by a thick wall, filled with earth inside, so that four carriages can go abreast upon it. There are great towers on the walls and artillery planted as thickly as on the Grand Turk's. There is a great ditch which is dry, but can be filled with water at pleasure.

"They have a kind of oxen of great size, and which have long hair extremely fine and white[3].

"The Cathayan people and pagans generally are prohibited from leaving their native country and going about the world as traders.

"On the other side of the desert north of Corassam as far as Samarcand, the *Iescilbas* or people of the green caps have sway. Those Green-caps are a certain race of Mahomedan Tartars[4] who wear conical caps of green felt, and give themselves that name to distinguish themselves from the followers of the *Sofi*, their deadly enemies, who are the rulers of Persia, who are also Mahomedans and wear red caps[5]. And these Green-caps and Red-caps are continually at most cruel war with one another on account of

[1] "Utrisque (viris et feminis) manicæ laxiores longioresque communes sunt, quales in Italiâ Venetorum esse solent." (Trigautius, b. i, c. 8.)

[2] The Hajji's observation must have been superficial, at least as regards the metal types. Printing with movable types (made of *terra cottâ*) was invented in China by a smith named Pishing before the middle of the eleventh century, but the invention does not seem to have been followed up. Wood printing was known at least as early as A.D. 581; and about 904 engraving on stone for the press was introduced. (Julien in *Jour. Asiat.*, sér. iv, tom. ix, 509, 513; *Chine Moderne*, pp. 626 *seqq.*)

[3] The Yak.

[4] Uzbeks.

[5] The *Kizil-bâsh*

certain religious differences and frontier disputes. Among the cities that the Green-caps have under their rule are among others at present Bochara and Samaicand, each of which has a prince of its own.

"Those people have their peculiar sciences which they call respectively *Chimia*, that which we call alchemy, *Limia* or the science of attracting love, and *Simia*, or that of illusion[1]. They have no coined money, but every gentleman or merchant has his gold or silver made into small rods, and these are divided into small fragments for spending, and this is the practice of all the inhabitants of Campion and Succuir.

"On the public square at Campion every day there gather a number of charlatans who practise the art of *Simia*, and by means of it, in the middle of crowds of people, they will exhibit all sorts of wonders; for example they will take a man who accompanies them and cleave him through with a sword, or cut his arm off, and you'll see him all streaming with blood, and so forth[2]." (From the "*Espositione* of *M. Giov. Batt. Ramusio*, prefixed to the travels of Marco Polo, in the second vol. of the *Navigationi e Viaggi*," f. 14 *vers.* to f. 16 *vers.*)

NOTE XIX.

ACCOUNT OF CATHAY BY A TURKISH DERVISH, AS RELATED TO AUGER GISLEN DE BUSBECK.

(Circa 1560.)

"Now let me tell you what I heard about the city and country of CATHAY from a certain Turkish vagabond. He was one of that kind of sect whose devotion consists in wandering into the most distant countries, and in worshipping God in the loftiest mountains and in the wildest deserts. This fellow had rambled over well-nigh the whole Eastern World, and among other things he mentioned that he had come across the Portuguese. Then he was seized with a strong desire to see the city and kingdom of Cathay, and for that purpose attached himself to a company of merchants who were going thither. For it is their custom to join

[1] *Kimia* (Ar.) Alchemy; *Simia* (Pers.) Enchantment or fascination. *Limia* is probably a factitious word made on the jingling principle spoken of in note at p. 151.

D'Herbelot says, however, that *Simia* is that part of chemistry which refers to the preparation of metals and minerals, and that *Kimia Simia* is used to express chemistry in general. There is another *Simia*, he adds, which has for its subject a sort of divination by names and numbers; the word being connected with *ism*, a name.

[2] See Ibn Batuta, *infra*, Vol. IV.

together in large numbers, and to travel to the frontiers of that empire in a company. There is no passage for a small party that way, or at least it is very unsafe; for there are a number of treacherous tribes upon the way whose attacks the travellers have to dread at every moment. When they have got some distance from the Persian frontier they come to the cities of SAMMARCAND, BORCHARA, TASCHAN, and other places occupied by the successors of Demirlan[1]. After these there are extensive deserts and inhabited countries, some occupied by savage and inhospitable tribes, others by people of more civilised character, but everywhere scantily supplied with food and forage, so that everyone has to take his victuals and other necessaries along with him, and this involves a large number of camels to carry the loads. Such large companies of men and beasts they call *caravans*. After a fatiguing journey of many months they came to a defile which forms, as it were, the barrier gate of Cathay. For a great part of that empire consists of inland country, and here there was an inclosing chain of rugged and precipitous mountains, affording no passage except through a narrow strait in which a garrison was stationed on the king's part[2]. There the question is put to the merchants, 'What they bring, whence they come, and how many of them are there?' The answer being given, the king's guards pass it by signal—by smoke if in daylight, by fire if by night—to the next watch-tower; they to the next, and so on, till in a few hours the message reaches the king at Cathay: a thing which would by any other communication require many days[3]. The king sends back his orders in the same manner and with equal rapidity, saying whether all shall be admitted, or only a part, or the whole put off. If they are allowed to enter they proceed under charge of certain leaders, finding halting-places arranged at proper distances where everything needed for food or clothing is to be had at reasonable rates, until they reach Cathay itself. On arriving there they have each to declare what they bring, and then they make a complimentary present to the king, as each thinks fit. He, however, is accustomed to pay for what he wants at a fair price[4]. The rest of their goods they sell or barter, a day being appointed for their return, up to which they have full liberty to do business. For the people of Cathay do not approve of the prolonged stay of foreigners among them, lest their indigenous manners should be corrupted by some foreign infection. And so the merchants are sent back stage by stage along the same road that they followed in coming.

"This wanderer stated that they were a people of extraordinary accomplishments, highly civilised and polite in their mode of living, and had a religion of their own, which was neither Christian, Jewish, nor Mahomedan, but except as regards ceremonies came

[1] *Bokhara; Tashkana; Tamèrlane.*
[2] *Supra*, p. 274.
[3] *Infra*, II, pp. 233–4.
[4] *Supra*, p. 130.

nearest to the Jewish. For many centuries past the art of printing has been in use among them, and books printed with types, which he had seen there, sufficiently proved the fact. For this they made use of paper made from the slough and envelopes of silkworms, which was so thin that it bore the impression of the types on one side only, whilst the other side was left blank[1].

"There were many taverns in that city....[2] The odour of the perfume called musk which is the exudation of a certain little animal about as big as a kid. Nothing fetched so great a price among them as a lion; for this beast does not occur in those countries, and they look on it with immense admiration, and give any price for it.

"So much for the kingdom of Cathay, as I heard told by that vagabond; let him answer for its truth. For it might easily be that whilst my questions referred to Cathay, his answers referred to some other country thereabouts, and in fact that we were playing at cross purposes. But when I had heard so much, I thought I would ask if he had not brought back from his travels any curious kind of a root or fruit or pebble or what not? 'Nothing whatever,' he said, 'except this little root that I carry about with me, and if I am knocked up with fatigue or cold, by chewing and swallowing a tiny morsel of it, I feel quite warmed and stimulated[3].' And so saying, he gave it me to taste, telling me to be careful to take but the smallest quantity. My doctor William (who was alive then) tasted it, and got his mouth into a state of inflammation from its burning quality. He declared it to be regular wolfsbane." (From *Busbequii Epistolæ*, Amsterdam, 1661, pp. 326–330.)

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[1] This is well known as a characteristic of Chinese printing. Paper in China is made from bamboo, from the bark of mulberry, of a *hibiscus* (*Rosa Sinensis*), and of a tree called *chu* (*Broussonetia Papyrifera*). "All bark paper is strong and tough; it has rays crossing it, so that when torn you would think it was made of silk fibres. This is why it is called *Mien-chi* or silk paper" (Chinese author translated by Julien—see *Chine Moderne*, pp. 622 *seqq.*). Duhalde, however, does mention a kind of paper made from "the cods the silk-worms spin" (ext. in Astley, iv, p. 158). [It is also made from cotton. See a paper in *T'oung pao*, 1908, p. 589.]

[2] An unindicated hiatus in the original.

[3] This was certainly *Jinseng* (*supra*, p. 292).

NOTE XX.

ON THE MAPS IN THIS WORK.

I. MAP OF ASIA IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

This is intended to elucidate the narrative of the fourteenth century travellers, from John of Monte Corvino to Ibn Batuta, as far as was possible without attempting greater detail than my time or knowledge would permit. The basis is a trace from Keith Johnston's Map in the Royal Atlas; substituting for present political divisions the chief of those which existed at the period in question, and inserting (in general) only those names of places which occur in the narratives and notes of this collection. Before preparing the map, I had at different times consulted maps of the period by Klaproth (in *Tableaux Historiques de l'Asie*), D'Ohsson, and Sprüner (*Historical Atlas*, German), and at a later date the map attached to Pauthier's Marco Polo; but latterly none of these, except the last, have been within reach, and the map has in the main been compiled gradually along with the matter which it illustrates. The theory of the indications was to show all political divisions, and all names still extant, in *black*; obsolete names used by European writers in *red*; and obsolete names only used by Asiatics in *red* also, but with the slope of the letters *reversed*. I am afraid, however, that these minutiæ have sometimes been overlooked by myself.

II. CATALAN MAP OF 1375.

It occurred to me that an acceptable pendant to the map last noticed would be a copy of one showing the geography of the same period as it was conceived by the people of the time. The *Carta Catalana* of 1375, in the Imperial Library at Paris, as lithographed in vol. xiv, part 1, of the *Notices et Extraits*, with a description by MM. Buchon and Tastu, was the only model accessible; but at the same time it is probably the best that could have been taken for the purpose. The original, as shown in the lithographed facsimiles, is complicated and perplexed with many radiations of *roses des Vents* and other geometrical lines, with numerous rude drawings and long rubrics, and by the fact that to read half the names and inscriptions you have to turn the map upside down. All this, together with the character of the writing, renders the map as published difficult to appreciate without considerable study, and it is trusted that the trouble taken to present its geographical substance here in a more lucid and compact form will not have been thrown away[1].

[1] [The original Catalan Map of 1375 from the Library of King Charles V of France is now kept in the Mazarine Gallery, at the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris (No. 119 of Morel-Fatio's Catalogue of Spanish

Those sheets of the map which pertain to Asia have alone been copied. The scale is one-fourth that of the original. All the embellishments, geometrical lines, and long rubrics, have been omitted, preserving the essential points of the latter, where it has been possible to do so in few words. On the shores of the Mediterranean and Black Sea, which are thickly studded with names in the original, only a few have been selected, but in the remainder of the map scarcely any have been intentionally omitted except a few on the Caspian. In deciphering the names the printed transcripts of the French editors have been consulted, but not servilely followed[1].

It may be observed that in the original facsimiles the sheets do not fit to one another properly. This is especially the case with sheets III and IV, and is obvious even in my reduction, as may be seen in the fragment shown of the Arctic Sea, and in the faulty junction of the coast lines of the Peninsula of India. We find also a pair of duplicate names occurring in these two sheets (*Cḥabol* and *Camar*), besides other instances of apparent duplication from different authorities, and I have seen the same thing in sheet IV. This is probably the result of inexpert compilation in modern published maps of some pretension.

The date of the map has been fixed, on sufficient grounds I believe, to 1375; but the data from which it has been constructed are naturally not all of one period. Thus CATHAY is represented as the Empire of the Great Can HOLUBEIM[2]; *i.e.*, not *Olug Beig*,

MSS). Buchon made a preparatory study of this document for the *Notices et Extraits*, Vol. xiii, part II, but only a few copies were struck off; later Buchon, with the help of Tastu, resumed the work, which finally appeared in Vol. xiv, part II, of the same collection, with a very poor lithographic reproduction. Viscount de Santarem in his magnificent collection of maps reproduced in colour the Catalan Map (1841); again Léopold Delisle in his *Choix de documents géographiques* (Paris, 1883) gave a faithful reproduction of the map in heliogravure. I have myself given a good phototypic reproduction of two sheets from the original map in my paper *L'Extrême-Orient dans l'Atlas catalan de Charles V roi de France* (Ext. du *Buli. de géog. hist. et descriptive*, 1895), Paris, 1895, 8vo.]

[1] In the names extracted below there are I think scarcely any variations from the French readings, though corrections of the *original* have been suggested occasionally. But in Central Asia there are several open to amendment, as where they read *Fista* and *Evi* for *Sistā* and *Eri*, thus obscuring the otherwise obvious identification of the places *Seistan* and *Heri* or Herat.

[2] [This is the text concerning the Great Khan:

Lo maior princeps de tots los Tartres ha nom holubeim | q̄ uol dir gran Ca | A quest emperador es molt pus rich de tots los altres emperadors de tot lo mon | aquest emprador guarden XII *mil caualles | e han* IIIJ. *capitans | aquels ab* XII. *millia caualles | e cascu capitan va en la cort absa copayā per* IIJ *meses de l'any | e axi dels altres per orda.*]

as the French editors say (a Great Khan not known to history), but *Kúblái*, who died in 1294[1]; MEDEIA or the Middle Empire of the Tartars is shown as ruled by King CHABECH; *i.e.*, *Guebek* or *Kapak*, who reigned some time between 1310 and 1320; and SARRA or Kipchak is under the Lord JANIBECH; *i.e.* *Ianibec*, the son of Mahomed Uzbek, who reigned 1342–56.

One of the aids in compiling this map was almost certainly the Portulano Mediceo, now in the Laurentian Library, or perhaps it would be more safe to say that both copied from some common source. That they did so to a certain extent will be evident from a comparison of the coasts of Arabia and Persia and the west coast of India with the names entered, as they are on this map and on the map from the Portulano engraved by Baldelli Bóni in the Atlas to his *Il Milione*[2].

For Cathay and the countries adjoining[3] it we can trace Marco Polo as one of the authorities, and perhaps Odoric as another. To the former certainly belong Calajan (*i.e.* *Carazan*), Vociam, Zardandan, Michem (*Mien*), Penta (*Pentam*), and many more names found here; to the latter perhaps Zayton and Fozo. Cincolam and Mingio are found in Odoric and not in Polo, but they are located here with a correctness which seems to imply independent knowledge.

Much cannot be said, however, for correctness of detail in Cathay. We have a good approximation to its general form and position in the map of Asia; Chanbalech is placed correctly at the northern extremity of the empire[4], and Cincolam and Caynam (*Hainan*) at the southern, whilst Zayton and Mingio (Ningpo)

[1] Kúblái is called *Quokbey* in Wadding's version of Pope Nicholas III's letter to the Khan of 1278 (*infra*, III, p. 5).

[2] Baldelli's is not a perfect representation of the original, which contains half effaced traces of a good deal that he has not copied.

[3] [We find also Japan:

Japan insula, à M. Paulo
Veneto zipangri dicta,
olim Chrijse, a Magno
Cham olim bello petita
sed frustra]

[*Cjuitas de*
chanbalech magni
canis catayo.]

[This is the text concerning Chanbalech:
Sapiats q̃ de costa la ciutat de chanbalech auje vna gran ciutat antigamẽt
q̃ auja nota guaribalu | elo grã cha troba p̃ lestornomia q̃ a questa ciutat se
deuja reuelar cõtra el axi q̃ feula descobitare feu fer aqui esta ciutat de
Chabalech. E a enuirõ aquesta ciutat XXIIIJ. *legues | e es molt ben murada*
e es a cayre si qã cascun | cayre ha. VJ. *legues | e ha dalt* XX *passes. e* X
passes de gros | E ay XII. *portes e ay* I *gran tora*
en q̃ sta vn seyn q̃ sona ap u son o abans | axi pus
ha sonat no gossa anar negu p̃ villa | e a cascuna
porta guarden mill homẽs no p̃ tomẽssa
mas p̃ honor p̃ d'l Senyor.]

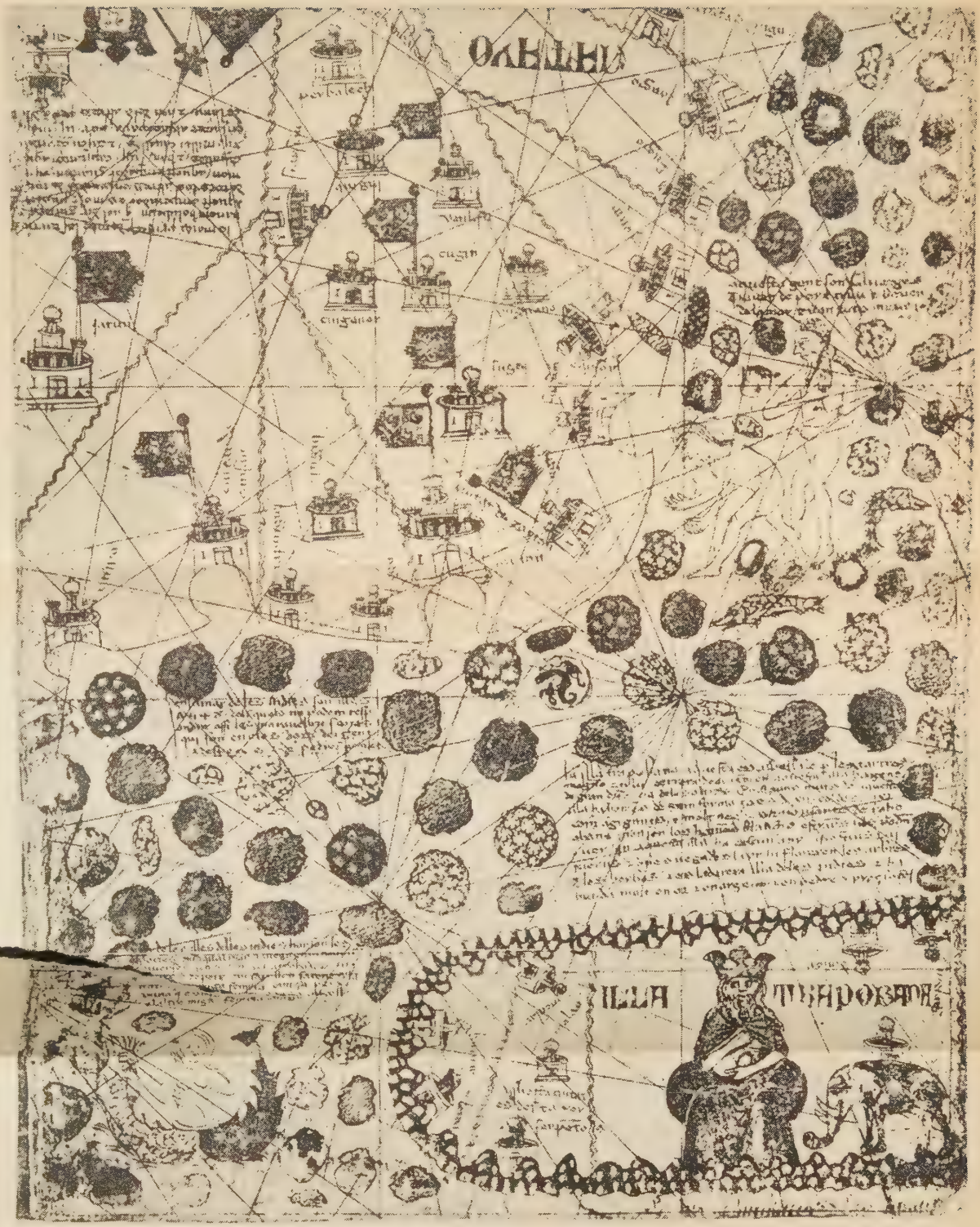
appropriately occupy intermediate positions. Vociam and Zardandan are rightly placed on the south-west frontier towards Michem (Ava), and Cansio (*Kanchau*) properly stands on the north-west frontier towards the desert. But in the rest of the details we have confusion or darkness. Many of the names in the interior can be recognised but doubtfully or not at all. I suspect, however, that most of them are from corrupt copies of Marco Polo. And it may be added that the representation of China and Cathay in the geography of Magini at the end of the sixteenth century is decidedly less correct in general position and almost as wild in details as this. [Yule has written since in *Marco Polo*, i, p. *134*: "In this map it seems to me Marco Polo's influence, I will not say on geography, but on map-making, is seen to the greatest advantage. His Book is the basis of the Map as regards Central and Further Asia, and partially as regards India. The names are often sadly perverted, and it is not always easy to understand the view that the compiler took of his itineraries. Still we have Cathay admirably placed in the true position of China, as a great Empire filling the south-east of Asia. The Eastern Peninsula of India is indeed absent altogether, but the Peninsula of Hither India is for the first time in the History of Geography represented with a fair approximation to its correct form and position, and Sumatra also (*Jaua*) is not badly placed. Carajan, Vocian, Mien, and Bangala, are located with a happy conception of their relation to Cathay and to India. Many details in India foreign to Polo's book, and some in Cathay (as well as in Turkestan and Siberia, which have been entirely derived from other sources) have been embodied in the Map. But the study of his Book has, I conceive, been essentially the basis of those great portions which I have specified, and the additional matter has not been in mass sufficient to perplex the compiler. Hence we really see in this Map something like the idea of Asia that the Traveller himself would have presented, had he bequeathed a Map to us." In my study of the Far East in the Catalan Map, I have come to the conclusion that the cartographer's knowledge of Eastern Asia is drawn entirely from Marco Polo. It is worthy of notice that *Manzi* does not appear in the Catalan Map. H. C.]

The 7548 islands ascribed to the Eastern Archipelago are certainly derived from Polo[1].

As in the geographical ideas of Ibn Batuta, and it would seem

[1] Murray's *Polo* (ii, c. 4) has 7448 islands; Pauthier's (p. 250) 7453. [This is the text concerning these islands:

En la mar de les indies son illes
7 5 4 8. delsquals no podem resp
ondre assi les marauelozes cozas
quj son 'en eles d'or z dergent
z despecies z de pedres p'ec'oses.]



THE FAR EAST IN THE CATALAN MAP OF 1375.

Eastern portion. Part of Section 8 of the whole

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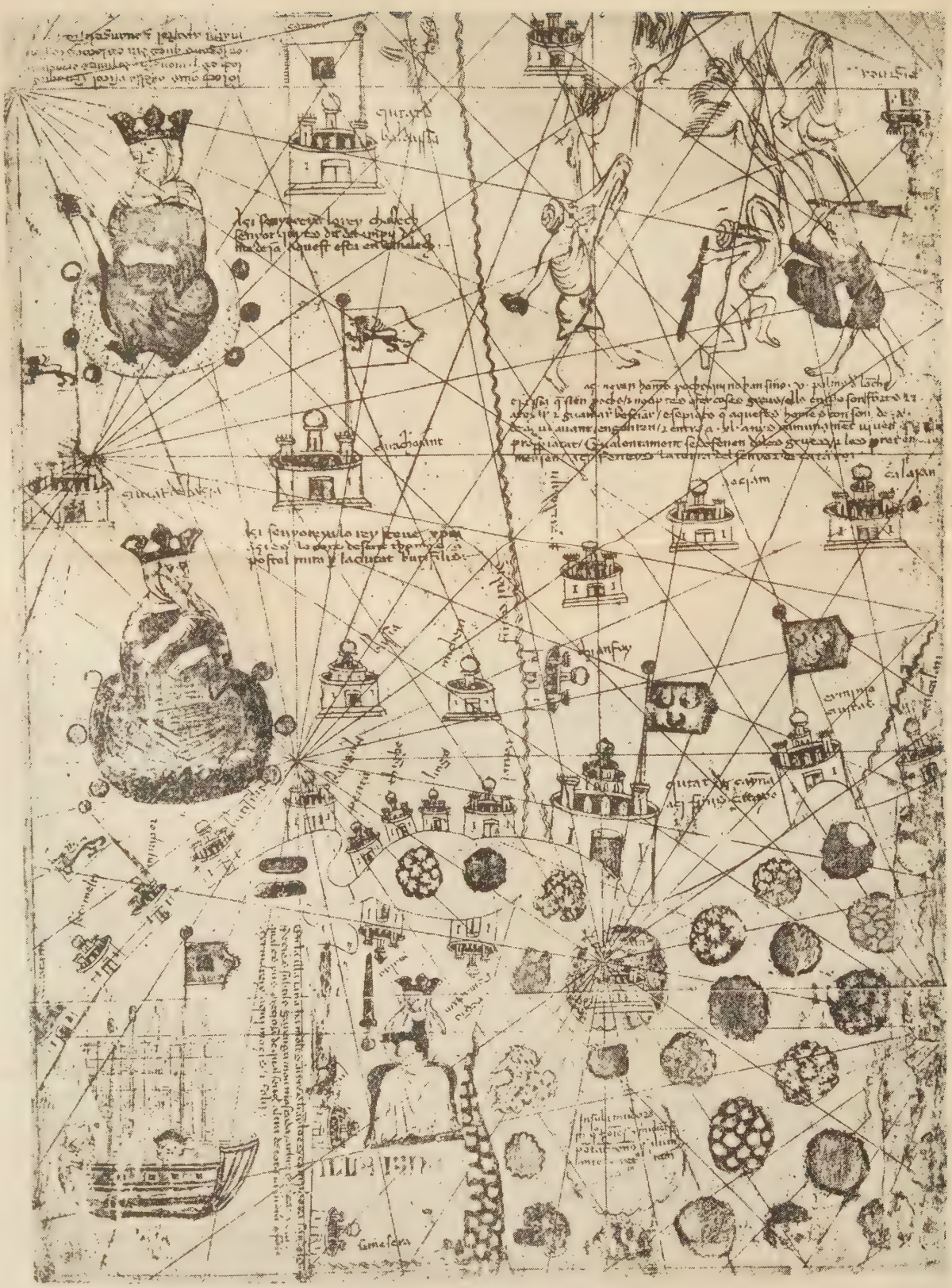

THE FAR EAST IN THE CATALAN MAP OF 1375.

Western portion. Part of Section 7 of the whole.

To face page 300.

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of Abulfeda, one great river with its radiating branches extends all over Cathay.

The eastern peninsula of India is omitted altogether, or confused with the Island of Java (probably Sumatra)[1]. In the extreme south-east is a great Island of TAPROBANE. It exhibits a number of cities, the names of which seem to be imaginary, and it is stated in the rubric to be the remotest island of the east called by the Tartars GREAT KAULI. Kac li was the Chinese and Tartar name for Corea[2], and this great Taprobane is perhaps a jumble of Corea and Japan[3].

The great river which separates India from China, rising in the mountains of BALDASSIA (*Badakhshan*), and flowing into the Bay of Bengal, appears to be a confusion between Indus and Ganges, a confusion still more elaborately developed in the map of Fra Mauro. BENGALA itself is placed with admirable correctness.

The width of the Great Desert of Central Asia is greatly over-

[1] In the facsimile the name is written *Jana*. The same clerical error occurs in Jordanus (p. 30), and perhaps he was one of the authorities used. For near it we have also the Island of the Naked Folk which that friar mentions. In *Jana* also the map shows us the *Regio Feminarum*, which Polo, Conti, Jordanus, and Hiuen Tsang all concur in placing in the western part of the *Indian* Ocean. But a Chinese authority quoted by Pauthier places it in the immediate vicinity of Java (*Polo*, iii, ch. 33; *Conti*, p. 20; *Jordanus*, p. 44; *Vie de H. Thsang*, p. 208; Pauthier's *Polo*, p. 559).

[This is the text concerning Jana:

"*En la illa Iana ha molts arbres leny ayloes, camphora, sandels, species subtils, garenga, nou moscada, arbres de canyela, laquel es pus preciosa de qual se vol altra de tota la India; e son axi mateix aqui maçis e folii.*"]

[This is the text concerning the Naked Folk south of Caynam:

Insula nudoꝝ
in qª hoies z muliers
portāt vñū folium
ante z retº alium.

Another text refers to the north of Taprobana:

Aquesta gent son saluaiges
q̄ uien de peyx cruu z beuen
de la mar | e van tots nuus.]

[On the Kingdom of Women [*Niu kwo*], see G. Schlegel, *Problèmes géographiques, T'oung pao*, III, 1892.]

[2] V. *infra*, III, pp. 113, 125.

[3] [This is the text concerning this island of Taprobana:

La illa taprobana | aquesta es appellade ꝑ los tartres magno caulij derrera de oriet | en aquesta illa ha gens de gran difē'ncia de les altres | En alguns mūts de aquesta illa ha homēs de gran forma, ço es de XII. *coldes | axi com. á gigants | z molt negres | z no usants sils podñ auer | En aquesta illa ha cascun any.* IJ *estius z* IJ *jueyns | z dues uegades layn hi florexen les arbres z les herbes | z es la derera illa de les indies | z ha bunda molt en or z en argent | z en pedres preciosos.*]

estimated, and this has the effect of shoving up KAMUL and other cities of Eastern Turkestan into immediate contact with Siberia and the Eastern Volga regions.

In the extreme north-east of Asia we have the nations of Gog and Magog, shut up within mountains by Alexander the Great to await the latter days[1].

The Orontes is represented as a branch diverging from Euphrates; and in this we are again reminded of a similar error of Ibn Batuta's[2]. The Tigris is connected with the Euphrates by a branch or canal (the traces of which seem really to exist) near Baghdad (BALDACH), but flows into the sea by a separate mouth. Another great river, a duplicate of Tigris, having no prototype in nature, but perhaps an amalgamation of the two Zabs and other rivers east of Tigris, flows from the seas of ARGIS and MARGA (Lakes Van and Urmia), and enters the Persian Gulf to the eastward.

The Oxus flows into the Caspian in the latitude of Urganj after passing that city (ORGANCI). There is no indication of the Aral[3].

Notwithstanding these and many other errors the map is a remarkable production for the age. The general form of Asia is fairly conceived; the Peninsula of India is shown I believe for the first time with some correctness of form and direction. In these respects the map is greatly superior to the more ambitious work of Fra Mauro in the following century. The Catalan geographer was probably more of a practical man, and did not perplex himself and distort his geography with theories about the circular form of the inhabited earth. Unluckily, however, he seems to have allowed his topography towards the north and south to be compressed, by no theories indeed, but by the limits of his parchment!

The following is an orderly list of the names shown on our

[1] The name given to the mountains (*Caspis*) shows the curious jumble between the Wall of Derbend and the Wall of China, between the Caucasian nations, the Tartars, and the Gog Magog of Ezekiel and the Apocalypse, which was involved in this legend. It is very old, for it is found in the Pseudo-Callisthenes edited by Müller (pp. 139, 143). [See *Marco Polo*, i, p. 56.] It seems that a prince of the Shut-Up Nations found his way out in the sixteenth century, but he had better have stayed where he was: "It is reported by certain writers that the King of Tabor came from those parts to seek Francis I of France and Charles V the Emperor, and other Christian princes, in order to gain them secretly over to Judaism. But by the command of Charles V at Mantua in 1540 *his temerity was punished in the fire.*" (Magini, *Geografia*, Venet., 1598, f. 171, *v.*)

[2] *Infra*, Ibn Batuta, Vol. IV.

[3] In the map of Marino Sanudo dating from the beginning of the fourteenth century, besides the Caspian, which he calls *M. Yrcanum*, we have a smaller sea in the position of the Aral called *M. Caspium*, and then yet another and still smaller into which the *Gyon* flows.

reduction of the map in some of its most interesting portions, with as many identifications as I have been able to suggest[1].

IN SHEET IV *bis*[2].

Countries North of the Black Sea.

"ROSSIA, BURGARIA, CUMANIA, GATZARIA, ALLANIA."

R. Tiulo	The Dniester; ancient *Tyras*[3]; *Turlú* of the Mahomedans.
R. Lussom	The Dnieper. Sharifuddín calls the Dnieper *Uzi*[4], which is perhaps the name here (*L'Uzi*).
R. Tanay	The *Don* (*Tanais*).
Torachi	*Torshok* N.W. of Tver
Rostaor	*Rostov*.
Tifer	*Tver*.
Perum	Novgoród? where there was a great idol called Perum[5].
Baitachinta	*Poltava*? Timur returning from the sack of Moscov took guides to travel across the steppes by way of *Balchimkin* (P. de la Croix, ii, 365). That translator gives as explanation of the name "les Palus Meotides"; but this is probably one of his random shots.
Branchicha	Somewhere near Czernikov, where we hear of a great forest of *Branki* (*Magini*). There was also a city *Bransko* in the same quarter.
Chiva	*Kiev*.
Canada	*Caminietz*?
Calamit	Eupatoria? on *Kalamita* Bay.
Cembaro	Balaclava (see III, p. 14).
Soldaya	*Sudak*.
CAFFA.	
Porto Pisano	Taganrog.
Tana	Azov.

[1] A few of these identifications only are given by the French editors. M. Elie de la Primaudaie, in his *Etudes sur le Commerce au Moyen Age*, has identified nearly all the names on the Black Sea and Caspian Coasts. These I have not repeated here.

[2] Sheets of L. Delisle's collection.

[3] "Nullo tardior amne Tyras" (Ovid, *Epist. ex Pont.*, IV, 10). For Turlu, see *Not. et Extraits*, xiii, 274.

[4] Pétis de la Croix, ii, 360

[5] Gwagnini, *Sarmatia Europ descripta*, Moscovia, f. 8–9.

Egypt.

Larissa	*El-Arish.*
Damiyat	*Damietta.*
Casar Bochir	*Abukir.*
ALEXANDRIA.	
Chayre	*Cairo.*
Babillonia	Old Cairo (III, p. 263).
Bussi	*Bûsh*, near Beni Suef (see Ibn Bat., II, 95).
Mijnere	*Minieh.*
Ieuch (read Seuth)	*Siût.*
Chossa	*Kûs* (see Ibn Batuta, IV).
Tegia	? near Luqsor. Possibly should read *Begia*, a station of the Bejah tribes of the Red Sea desert who held the emerald mines of Berenice; see quotation from Mas'ūdī, *supra*, p. 230.
Ansee	*Esneh.*
Lialeyse (read S—)	*Silsilah.*
Sohan	*Assuan.*
Hurma	*Darmut?*
DONCOLA	(Old Donkola.) The Dominican Bartholomew of Tivoli was made Missionary Bishop of Donkola in 1330 (Le Quien, iii, 1414).
Coale	*Ghulwa* of Edrisi (i, 33).
Dobaha	Al-*Dabah*, above Donkola.
Sobaha	*Sobah*, the ruins of which are near Khartum?
Ciutat Sioene Insula Meroe	From the ancients.
Ciutat de Nubia	*Nuâbah* of Edrisi, i, 25.
Al-Bayadi	Little Oasis?
Desert de Gipte	Libyan Desert.

Coast of Red Sea.

Mns. of Barchium.	
Meda	Suakin?
Lidebo	*Aidhâb.*
Chos	*Kosseir.*
Aydip	A double of Aidhab.
ELIIM	*Exodus* (xv, 27).
ESSIONGEBER	(*Deut.* ii, 8; 1 *Kings* ix, 26).
Guidè	*Jiddah.*
Camin	*Zabîd?*

Armenia, the Euphrates, and Interior Syria.

Poperti	*Baiburt.*
Savast	*Sivas* (*Sebaste*).
Scisia	*Sis* (III, p. 139).
Malmistra	*Mississa* (*Mopsuestia*).
Layazo	*Aias* (III, p. 139).
G. of Caramela	(Read *Cannamela*) G. of Scanderún. The castle Cannamella between Scanderún and Malmistra is mentioned by Wilibrand of Oldenburg, xi.
Malasia	*Malatia.*
Brisom	Castle of *Parshiam?* see Ritter, x, 866, 868.
Benzab	*Membaj* or *Benbij?*
Tira	(Read *Bira*) *Bir.*
Serug	*Seruj* or *Sarug*, S.W. of Urfa.
Domasch	*Damascus.*
Mt. Ermon	*Hermon.*
,, Sanir	*Shenir* of *Deuter.* iii; *Sanyr* of Friar Burchard iii, 7, 8, for the S. part of Hermon; see also *Prairies d'Or*, iv, 87.
,, Jilahd	*Gilead.*
,, PISGA.	
,, *Abari*	*Abarim*, see *Numb.* xxvii, 12, and *Deut.* xxxii, 49.
,, NEBO.	
,, de Rubeo	
Sea of Gamora	Dead Sea.

IN SHEET V.

Country North of the Caspian.

EMPIRE OF SARRAY.

R. Edil	The *Athil* or Volga.
COSTRAMA.	
Borgar	City of *Bolgar* (see IV, Ibn Batuta).
Jorman	*Julman* of Rashíd and *Masálak-al absár*, supposed the country on the Kama, asserted to be called also R. *Cholma* (see *Not. et Extr.*, xiii, 274). The Maps still show a place on the Viatka, tributary of the Kama, called *Churmansk.*
Pascherti	*Bashkird.*
Fachatim	*Viatka?*
Sebur	*Sibir*, ancient city near Tobolsk.

City of Marmorea	Mercator and Hondius (10th Ed., 1630) and N. Sanson (1650) show *Jorman* on the south of the Kama R., *Pascherti* in the position of Ufa, the present headquarter of the Bashkirs, *Sagatin* (= *Fachatim* of the text) at the head of the Ufa River, *Marmorea* on the Bielaya south of Ufa. Blaeu (1662) has these, similarly placed, except Jorman. He has, however, *Iurmen* as a tract between Astracan and the Iaik. I suspect these names in the main were mere traditions from old maps like the Catalana.
Mns. of Sebur	Altai and T'ien Shan.
Zizera	The *Jaziṙah* or Island on the Volga (nr. Zaritzin).
Berchimam	Probably the Upper City of Sarai.
City of Sarra.	Or Sarai (see III, p. 82).
Agitarchan	*Astracan.*

Countries South of the Caspian.

" ARMENIA MAJOR, KINGDOM OF TAURIS AND CHALDÆ

Three Churches	Echmiazin ? or Uch Kilisi (see III, p. 163).
Malascorti	*Malasjerda.*
Pasalain	Read *Rasalain*, the ancient Callirrhoe, on the Khabur.
Zizera	*Jaziṙah* on the Tigris.
Arbo [Orbo]	*Harba* (see Ibn Bat., II, 132, and *J.R.G.S.*, ix, 445).
C. of Baldach	*Baghdad.*
Tauris	*Tabriz.*
Sodania	*Sultania.*
Sea of Argis	L. Van.
Argis	*Arjish.*
Capreri	?
Sea of Marga	L. Urumia.
Marga	*Maragha.*
Ormi	*Urumia.*
Cremi	*Karmisin* is mentioned by Ibn Khallikan as a place in Kurdistan. (See Quatremère's *Rashid*, p. 266.) *Kirmesin* was a city from whose ruins arose Kermanshah. (see Rawlinson in *J.R.G.S.*, ix, 42).
Cade	*Hadith ?* at the confluence of the Gr. Zab and Tigris (see Assemani, p. 752).
Chesi	*Khuzistan.*

Rey	*Rai.*
Siras	*Shiraz.*
Abdeni	*Abadan*, on Island in mouth of Tigris
Bassora	*Basra.*
Taiwust	*Wasit?* called Madínat*a Wásit* ("The Two Cities Wasit," see Edrisi, i, 367).

Coast of Persia and India.

Serans or Seam	Siraf? But the Mediceo has *Sustar*, *i.e.* Shustar.
Ussn	*Husn Amárat?* (see Edri., i, 379). Any castle is *Husn.*
Creman	*Kirman.*
I. of Chis	*Kish.*
I. of Ormis	*Hormuz.*
Hormisiom	Old *Hormuz* on the Continent.
Nocran	*Mekran.*
Chesimo	*Kij. Mediceo* has *Chechi.*
Damonela	*Daibul.*
Femenat	*Somnath.*
Goga	*Gogo.*
BAROCHE.	
Canbetum	*Cambay.*
Cocintaya	*Med.* has *Cocintana*: the *Kokan-Tana* of Ibn Batuta (III, 335)[1]; the city of Tana (see II, p. 113), capital of Konkan.
Paychinor	*Faknur* of Ibn Batuta (see Vol. IV); Bakanur, but out of place a little.
Chintabor	*Sandábúr*, Goa (see IV, Ibn Batuta).
Nandor (Nanaor ?)	*Honore? Med.* has *Niandor.*
Pescamor	Perhaps Barçelor.
Manganor	*Mangalore.*
Elly	*Hili* (see IV, Ibn Batuta, Note D).
Columbo	*Kaulam*, but on the wrong side of the Peninsula.
Carocam	*Karikal?*
Setemelti	Seven Pagodas? (see *supra*, p. 81).
Mirapor	*Mailapúr*; Madras.
Butifilis	*Mutfili* of Polo (see III, p. 70); but by a misunderstanding the author puts St. Thomas's tomb here.
BENGALA	(See IV, Ibn Batuta.)

[1] Where Elliot, quoting Rashíd, has "Guzerat, which is a great country, in which are Cambay, Súmnáth, *Konkan*, *Tana*, and several other towns and cities"; and again: "Beyond Guzerat are *Konkan and Tana*," probably the original will be found to read as here, "*Konkan-Tana*" (p. 42; I quote an extract in Pauthier's *Polo*, p. 663, not having the passage in my own notes).

Interior of India.

Bijder	*Bidr.*
Diogil	*Deogiri* or Daulatabad.
Jaleym	*Jálna?*
DELLY.	
Neruala	*Anhilwara.*
Hocibelch	?
Bargelidoa	?
MOLTAN.	

III. SKETCH MAP TO ILLUSTRATE TRAVELS OF IBN BATUTA IN BENGAL.

This is little more than a diagram, for no accurate map of Bengal east of the old Brahmaputra has yet been published. Two or three of the positions wanted in the Silhet district are, however, given by Rennell's and other maps, and others have been inserted from the information quoted in Note E, Ibn Batuta, IV, to give an idea of the localities.

IV. MAP IN ILLUSTRATION OF THE JOURNEY OF GOES.

The following maps have been used or studied in the compilation of the map in question:

1. Wood's and other British surveys Kabul and on the Oxus, as embodied in a map by Mr John Walker (title and date missing in my copy).

2. Kiepert's large map of Asia, Weimar, 1864.

3. Tracing of part of a map of Central Asia, by Col. G. T. Walker, R.E. of the G. Trig. Survey of India.

4. Veniukov's Sketch of the Bolor, as given in *Petermann*, for 1861 (plate 10).

5. Extract of Schlagintweit's General Map, as given in the same place.

6. Kashmir, in *Petermann* for 1861, p. 1.

7. Tracing of Gen. Court's Map (*Itinéraire d'Afghanistan*), in vol. viii of the *J. As. Soc. Bengal.*

8. Austin's Map of Balti, etc., in *J. R. G. S.* for 1864.

9. Tracing of a map by Masson, from his Travels.

10. Map of the Scene of the Umbeyla Campaign, from a Parliamentary Report.

11. Macartney's Map in Elphinstone's *Caubul.*

12. Arrowsmith's Map to Burnes's *Travels.*

13. Map in the *Russians in Central Asia* (by Stanford apparently).

14. Keith Johnston's Map of India, extracted from his *Royal Atlas.*

I have also derived from Leech's *Reports on the Passes of the Hindu Kush*, and still more from Wood's *Journey*, names and indications that do not appear in any of the maps named; a chief object having been to make that part of the map which relates to the Hindu Kush and Badakhshan as complete as possible.

I have not been able to see a translation of Veniukov's paper on the Bolor (referred to in the Introductory Notice of Benedict Goës, Vol. IV, *infra*), excepting as regards some extracts from the journal of the anonymous German traveller, which have been kindly made for me by Mr. Moukhine, the Consul General of Russia in Sicily. Sir H. Rawlinson appears, however, to have completely demolished the claims of the German narrative to genuineness. We have seen such strange mystifications of a somewhat similar kind in our own day that it would be rash perhaps to say that the journey, or a part of it, was never made, but till the matter be more thoroughly investigated, none of his statements can be built upon[1]. Even if the German's MS prove entirely worthless, the Chinese itinerary referred to by Veniukov should be of great value.

How uncertain is still the basis of any map connecting the regions on the different sides of the Bolor, Karakorum, and T'ien Shan Ranges may be judged from the following statement of the longitudes assigned in the maps before me to some of the chief points, to which are added the data for the same as given by the Chinese missionary surveyors, and those of some of them deduced by Captain Montgomerie from the papers of his Múnshí Mahomed Hamid.

	Ilchi (Khotan)	Yarkand	Kashgar	Aq-sú	Issikul (W. End)	Sirikul (W. End)
Chinese Tables .	80° 21′	76° 3′	73° 48′	78° 58′	78° 12′[2]	...
Veniukov . .	...	76° 10′	73° 58′	...	...	73° 38′
Kiepert . .	79° 12′	74° 56′	72° 53′	78° 20′	77° 30′	73° 5′
Colonel Walker .	79° 13′	76° 24′	73° 58′	79° 40′	...	73° 30′
John Walker (*Wood*)	...	...	...	...	...	73° 33
Schlagintweit .	78° 20′	73° 58′	71° 50′	76° 27′	74° 6′	71° 28
Golobev . .	...	...	...	...	76° 17′	...
Montgomerie .	79° 0′	77° 30′	75° 20′	...	...	...
Greatest Differences	2° 1′	3° 32′	3° 30′	3° 13′	4° 6′	2° 10

It will be seen that the geographers who deviate most widely from all the rest are the Schlagintweits, who carry the whole of

[1] After this had gone to press I received a copy of Sir H. Rawlinson's remarks on the German narrative, and as M. Khanikov is stated to have taken up the defence, the question will doubtless be thoroughly discussed. A few memoranda that occur to me on the subject will be found at the end of this note.

[2] Only an approximate deduction from other data in the tables. I take them as given in the *Russians in Central Asia*, pp. 522–3. [I may note the following longitudes east of Paris for Khotan: Dutreuil de Rhins, 77° 37′ 5; Pievtsov, 77° 33′ 6.]

Turkestan from 2° to 3° further west than the Chinese tables. I have not seen any statement of the grounds on which this great change is based. It is certainly a bold one, for it throws over not merely the Chinese tables entirely, but the positions assigned by the Russians, north of the T'ien Shan, and by the British travellers on the Oxus. Our last intelligence affords no corroboration of this revolutionary map-making. On the contrary, Captain Montgomerie's data carry the position of Yarkand one degree more to the *east* than any previous map[1]. And it is not merely as regards calculations of longitude that the Schlagintweits reject the results of the British journeys on the Oxus. Captain Wood's latitude of Sirikul is treated with equal contempt; nor does that distinguished traveller seem to be considered competent even to take a compass bearing. For the Upper Oxus, the river which he represents himself as having travelled along for many days, and which his map shows as flowing from north-east by east to south-west by south, is made by Schlagintweit to flow from south by east to north by west. And the lake itself which Wood imagined that he saw lying east and west, is made by Schlagintweit to lie south-east and north-west.

The chief difficulty found in adjusting the longitude of the cities of Chinese Turkestan, in accordance with Captain Montgomerie's approximate determination of Yarkand, arises from the impossibility of reconciling this with the *difference* between Ilchi and Yarkand in the Jesuit Tables. This amounts in those Tables to 4° 18′; whilst the collation of Montgomerie's position of Yarkand with the Jesuit position of Ilchi reduces it to 2° 51′, and with the position which the former's own data induced him to assign to Ilchi it comes down to 1° 30′. It had indeed long been pretty certain that the Jesuit position of Ilchi was too far east; and a communication, for which I have had to thank Captain Montgomerie since this went to press, reports later data obtained by Colonel Walker (who will no doubt publish them in detail) as fixing Ilchi approximately to longitude 79° 25′ and latitude 37° 8′. This longitude I have adopted in my map, whilst in regard to Yarkand I have stretched Captain Montgomerie's data *westward* as far as their circumstances seemed to justify (perhaps further than he would admit), assigning to it a longitude of 77°. This is still 36′ *further east* than the assignment of any previous map, whilst it *reduces* the discrepancy from the Jesuit data in relation to Ilchi, though still leaving it inevitably large.

Next to this general uncertainty about the longitudes the

[1] The map had been finished when I saw in the *Times* the account of my brother officer Captain Montgomerie's paper, read at the R. Geog. Society in May 1866. I have since re-cast the part affected by that information, and I have to thank him for his kind readiness in answering questions which I sent him. But I have not seen Capt. Montgomerie's full paper, or his map.

great geographical puzzle about this region appears to be the identity of the main source of the Oxus. In addition to Wood's River, which he traced to the Sirikul Lake, most maps represent another, a longer and therefore perhaps greater, feeder from a more northern source under the name of the River of Bolor or Wakhsh. Nor has the narrative of Wood's journey through the district of Wakhán yet displaced from our maps another position assigned to Wakhán or Vokhán upon this northern river.

Wood unluckily never treats these questions at all. Finding Wakhán upon the Panja, just where Macartney's map led him to expect it, he notices no other place of the name, nor does he allude to any other great branch of the river. And it may well be doubted if there is in truth any other Wakhán than that which Wood passed through[1]. The position assigned to the northern Vokhán of the maps is due I believe to an entry in the Chinese tables. But it seems to be very doubtful if the Jesuit observers in person actually crossed the mountains[2]. This Northern Wakhán, if not a mere displacement, I suspect to represent *Wakhsh* or the Wakhshjird of the old Arab geographers.

The existence of a place called Bolor stands on better evidence; at least there is or has been a State so called, the chief inhabited place of which would appropriate the name in the talk of foreigners, according to a well-known Asiatic practice, whether rightly or not. It appears to be mentioned as a kingdom by Hiuen Tsang (*Pololo*)[3]; it is spoken of by Polo as the name of a province; it

[1] Edrisi speaks of Wakhán as the region in which the Jihun rises, lying towards Tibet. Abdul Razzak speaks of Mirza Ibrahim during a campaign in Badakhshan as advancing into *Saqnán*, *Ghand* (which Quatremère proposes to read *Waghand* or Wakhán), and *Bamir*, the exact order of Shagnán, Wakhán, and Pamir, as reported by Wood. Macartney's map, drawn up most carefully from information, many years before Wood's journey, gives Darwáz, Shagnán, Wakhán, exactly in Wood's order. Burnes, a few years before Wood, does the same. (Edrisi, i, 472; *Not. et Extraits*, xiv, 491.)

[2] [Felix da Rocha, named in Chinese *Fu Tso-lin*, a Jesuit, born at Lisbon on the 31st August 1713; entered the S.J. on the 1st May 1728; arrived in China in 1738; was vice-provincial, 1754–7, 1762; Superior at Peking, where he died on the 22nd May 1781. He was sent with the Chinese Armies to Central Asia in 1756. Da Rocha was accompanied in Central Asia by Father Joseph d'Espinha, another Portuguese Jesuit (died at Peking 10 July 1788), and four Chinese Geographers. See *Positions géog. déterminées par deux missionnaires jésuites dans le Turkestan oriental et la Dzoungarie en 1756...par* le P. Brucker, Lyon, 1880.]

[3] [" South of the valley of Pamir, and beyond a mountain range, is the Kingdom of *Po-lo-lo*, BOLOR, where is got much gold and silver, and which had been visited by the traveller [Hiuen Tsang] on his zigzag route when first entering India. It was then reached by him in five marches from *Talilo* or DARAIL (*Cunningham*); it had a circuit of forty days' journey (4000 *li*), being much longer from east to west than from north to south, etc. The particulars previously given, as well as the position now indicated, are in entire accordance with

appears as a geographical position in the tables of Nasiruddín, and reappears in the Chinese tables of the last century with exactly the same latitude. It is also mentioned in the *Tárikh Rashidi* of the sixteenth century[1]; and its prince appears as a tributary to China in the Chinese annals of some seventy years back[2].

But is there a great Wákhsh branch of the Oxus coming from those regions, and if so where does it join the Panja or river of the Sirikul? To the first question I would answer in the affirmative. The very name *Wakhsh* appears to be that from which the classical and Chinese names of the combined stream (*Oxus*, and *Potsu* or *Fatsu*) are derived. It is also spoken of both by Hiuen Tsang and by Edrisi, and by the latter is described as a very great river, though he evidently regards the Panja of Wood as the chief source.

Hiuen Tsang on the other hand appears to have regarded the Wakhsh branch as the main Potsu or Oxus. For after describing the Lake of Pamir, apparently the Sirikul of Wood, he says: "This lake discharges to the westward; for a river issues from it which runs west to the eastern frontier of the kingdom of *Tamositièli*, and *then joins the River Potsu*; their waters flow westward and are discharged into the sea[3]."

The following extracts show what Edrisi says on the subject:

"The Jihun takes its rise in the country of WAKHÁN[4] on the frontier of BADAKHSHAN, and there it bears the name of

Cunningham's view, that the country intended is BALTI, which he states to be still called *Bolor* by the Dard tribes. But doubtless, as he also remarks, the territory included Gilghit and Kanjút, the latter famous for its gold produce." Yule, *Notes on Hwen Thsang's Account of Tokháristán*, p. 117.]

[1] "*Malaur* is a country with few level spots. It has a circuit of four months' march. The eastern frontier borders on Kashgar and Yarkand; it has Badakhshan to the north, Kabul to the west, and Kashmir to the south," etc. (*Not. et Extraits*, xiv, 492). ["Balauristán is bounded on the east by the provinces of Káshgar and Yarkand; on the north by Badakhshán; on the west by Kábul and Lumghán; and on the south by the dependencies of Káshmir. It is four months' journey in circumference." *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*... transl. by E. D. Ross, 1895, p. 385.—On *Bolor*, see Yule-Cordier's *Marco Polo*, i, p. 178 *n*. "It can, I think, be demonstrated that Bolor, or Bilaur, was the name applied throughout the Middle Ages to the elongated belt of mountain country south of the main range of the Hindu Kush, including the valleys of Kafiristan, Upper Chitral, Yasin, Gilgit, and Hunza-Nagar (and in the pages of some writers having an even wider application)" Curzon, *The Pamirs*, p. 70.]

[2] See Pauthier's *Polo*, p. 133.

[3] *Vie de H. T.*, p. 272.

[4] Jaubert has *Uján*, or rather (as his transcription of the Arabic shows) *Waján*, an obvious misreading for *Wakhán*. I regret that I cannot show these corrections (without which it is useless to quote the French Edrisi) in Arabic letters, which would carry conviction of their fairness, but at my distance from the press it gives too much trouble to the printer.

Khari-ab[1]. It receives five considerable tributaries which come from the countries of KHUTL[2] and WAKSH. Then it becomes a river surpassing all the rivers in the world as regards volume, depth and breadth of channel.

"The Khariab receives the waters of a river called *Akhsua* or *Mank*[3], those of *Than*[4] of *Baiian*, of *Farghan* (or *Faughán*), of *Anjára* (or *Andijára'*), of WAKHSH-AB with a great number of affluents coming from the mountains of BOTM: (it also receives) other rivers such as those of *Sághanián*[5], and *Kawádián*[6], which all join in the province of the latter name and discharge into the Jihun.

"The Wakhsh-ab takes its rise in the country of the Turks; after arriving in the country of Wakhsh it loses itself under a high mountain, where it may be crossed as over a bridge. The length of its subterranean course is not known; finally, however, it issues from the mountain, runs along the frontier of the country of Balkh and reaches Tarmedh. The bridge of which we have spoken serves as a boundary between Khutl and Wakhshjird.

"The river having passed to Tarmedh flows on to Kilif, to Zam, to Amol, and finally discharges its waters into the Lake of Khwarizm (the Aral).

"Badakhshan is built on the west bank of the Khariab, the most considerable of the rivers that fall into the Jihun[7]. They bring to Badakhshan the musk of the regions of Tibet adjoining Wakhán. Badakhshan has on its frontier *Kanauj*, a dependency of India[8].

"The two provinces which you reach first beyond the Jihun are Khutl and Wakhsh. Although distinct and separate provinces they are under the same government. They lie between the Khariab and the Wakhsh-ab, the first of which rivers bathes the eastern part of Khutl, and the other the country of Wakhsh, of which we have spoken....Khutl is a province everywhere very

[1] This *Khari* is perhaps the *Icarus* of which Pliny speaks, on the authority of Varro (vi, 19).

[2] Jaubert throughout has *Jil*, a name that seems totally unknown hereabouts (*Jil* is another name for *Gilan*). There can be little doubt that it is misread for *Khutl* (sometimes called *Khutlán*), a province frequently mentioned as lying north to the Oxus towards Karategin. It is probably the *Kotulo* of Hiuen Tsang.

[3] Mank is afterwards described as a dependency of Jil (Khutl).

[4] Afterwards apparently written Tha'lán (beginning with the fourth Arabic letter), and I believe a misreading for *Baghlán*.

[5] Apparently the Kafirnihan of the maps.

[6] Perhaps the Tupalak of the maps.

[7] This does not answer to the position of Faizabad, the capital of Badakhshan, abandoned in Wood's time, but reoccupied by Mír Shah, the chief, in 1866.

[8] *Kanauj* is absurd. I suspect it should be read *Mastauj*.

mountainous except near Wakhsh and the country of *Akjar* which borders on Mank, a dependency of Khutl[1]."

Further on, in giving a route from Sághánián (*Cheghánián*) to Wasjird (*Wakhshjird*) he mentions that the road comes upon the Wakhshab between nine miles and thirty miles from the former place, and that the river has here a breadth of *three miles*.... "From Wakhshjird to the place where the Wakhshab loses itself under a mountain is one short day....

"On the borders of Wakhsh and Khutl are Wakhán and Saknia, dependencies of the Turks' country. From Wakhan to Tibet is eighteen days. Wakhán possesses very rich silver mines, producing ore of excellent quality. Gold is found in the valleys when the torrents have been in flood[2]....Musk and slaves are also exported. Saknia is a town in dependence on the Kuzilji Turks. It is five days from Wakhán, and its territories border on the possessions of China[3]."

In spite of the obscurities of these passages we can gather that the feeder of the Oxus which Edrisi's authorities regarded as the main one came from Wakhán, a country lying in the direction of Tibet, but that it received somewhere before reaching Tarmedh another great branch called the Wakhshab, so great as to be reported in one part of its course to have a channel three miles wide, and which rose in the Turks' country, *i.e.* at least as far off as the main chain of the Bolor; also that between those two great branches lay the provinces of Wakhsh and Khutl.

But where do these two streams join? Wood, the most competent to have settled the question, *in his book*, as we have seen, takes no notice of the Wakhshab at all. Nor is there any distinct trace of it in Macartney's map, though a tributary of the Oxus which he represents under the name of the *Surkháb* or R. of Karategín, entering the main stream a short distance above its

[1] *Mank* is perhaps the *Mungkien* (or Munkan) of Hiuen Tsang (see *Vie de H. T.*, pp. 269, 422).

[2] Wood mentions a torrent in Wakhán called *Zerzumen*, probably *Zar-Zamin*, "Gold-ground." He also says all the tributaries of the Oxus are fertile in gold (p. 382).

[3] This *Saknia* does not seem to be the Shagnán of Wood, which is below Wakhán. It appears to correspond to the *Shikini* of Hiuen Tsang.

["Northward across high mountains from *Tamosil'ieti* or Wakhán was *Shikhini*, having a circuit of twenty days' journey (2000 *li*). It consisted of a succession of mountains, valleys, and steppes covered with sand and stones. Much pulse and corn were grown, but little rice. The climate was very cold, and the people brutal, etc. Their written character resembled that of Tukhára, but their spoken language was different.

"Cunningham identifies this with Shighnán (or Shagnán) and there can be no doubt about it. The form *Shighnán* is no doubt a plural; the gentile adjective is *Shighni*, with which the Chinese form is identical." Yule, *Notes on Hwen Thsang's Account of the Principalities of Tokháristán*, p. 113.]

confluence with the Kokcha, has by later geographers (*e.g.* by the author of the map to *Russians in Central Asia*) been expanded into identity with the great Bolor-Wakhsh branch. But as Wood in his journey from Kila'h-Chap to Jan-Kila'h and Sayad *twice* passed the mouth of this Surkhab, so good an observer would scarcely have omitted to notice the confluence of a rival Oxus.

The gallant seaman is still more slightingly treated by Kiepert in his map of Asia. That geographer denies entirely the identity of the river which Wood ascended for thirty miles (as has just been mentioned) from the Kokcha confluence at Kila'h-Chap to Sayad, with that river which the same traveller had previously tracked from near the Ruby-Mines up to the Sirikul. The former river is conjured by Kiepert from the east to the west of the town of Sayad, and identified by him with the Bolor-Wakhsh River: the latter, under a new name, *Duwán*, due to the anonymous German, occupies quite a subordinate position, and is introduced into the Kokcha about half-way between Faizabád and Kila'h-Chap: a clandestine union surely! at a spot within a few miles of which Wood passed twice without being aware of it, and within five and twenty miles of which he lived for several weeks. Veniukov's treatment of this admirable traveller is equally violent, and we have already seen how he fares at the hands of the Schlagintweits. Surely this is geography run mad.

Perhaps Wood's own map suggests the real point of union, though without recognising its importance. In J. Walker's map of Wood's surveys we find the *Wagish* River indicated as entering the Oxus some twelve or thirteen miles to the *west* of Hazrat Imám, at a point of the river's course yet visited by no modern traveller. In my map I have assumed this to be the real Wakhshab, a hypothesis which has at least the advantage of not flying in the face of an honest and able traveller. [We have no room to discuss here anew the Oxus question; we refer the reader to our *Marco Polo*, to Yule's Introduction to the new edition of Wood's *Oxus*, 1872, and to G. N. Curzon's *The Pamirs and the Source of the Oxus*, 1896.]

Another vexed question embraced in this field is the course of the main feeder of the Yarkand river. According to Moorcroft's information, probably derived from Izzetoollah' (see *J.R.G.S.*, vol. i, p. 245), this rises in the north face of the Karakorum Pass, and flows in a northerly (north-westerly) direction to a point where it receives drainage from the (Eastern) Sarikul, and the Bolor Mountains, and then turns east (north-east) towards Yarkand. But, according to the best interpretation I can put upon the Chinese Hydrography translated by Julien (*N. Ann. des Voyages*, 1846, iii, 23 *seqq.*), the river rising in Karakorum, which I take to be that there termed *Tingdsapuho*, only joins the stream from Karchu and Sarikul *below* Yarkand. In the map I have hypothetically adopted the latter view, but with no great confidence

I may add that both the authorities just cited illustrate the name given by Goës to the mountain between Sarikul and Yanghi-Hisar (Chechalith, no doubt misread for *Chechalich*)[1], the Chinese terming it *Tsitsikling*, and Moorcroft *Chechuklik* or "Place of Flowers."

Before concluding, I venture to contribute two or three remarks in aid of the discussion regarding the anonymous German Traveller.

Abdul Medjid, the British messenger in 1860, made *nineteen* long marches from Faizabad to the Karakul. The German is only *eleven* days, less some days' halt, say only eight days, from Karakul to Badakhshan (Faizabad).

The German represents the city just named as on the *south* side of the river on which it stands. We know from Wood that it is on the *north* side.

But on the other hand the German narrative, whether fictitious or no, contains indications of special sources of knowledge. For example, the name *Chakheraller*, which it applies to a mountain north of the Karakul, will be found in the Chinese Hydrography recently quoted, applied in the same way. The German speaks of the *Duvan*, by which the main Oxus of Wood seems meant, as crossed by a bridge to the north of Badakhshan. Wood tells us (p. 398) that it is bridged in that quarter. And the German speaks of the river of Vokhan passing underground at a spot on the frontier of the district of Vokhan, a remarkable coincidence with the statement of Edrisi quoted at p. 315.

I would suggest to any one trying to settle the question about this narrative a careful comparison of its indications with the map which Klaproth published of Central Asia. To this I have no access. [Recent voyages, especially those made by Sir Aurel Stein and Prof. Pelliot, have thrown a good deal of new light on the roads of Central Asia, and we have made use of the information in the revision of the itinerary of Goës; we had access also to the more recent Russian Maps.]

[1] See Vol. IV, *Journey of Benedict Goes*

Bas-relief of Odoric from the shrine at Udine

CATHAY
AND THE WAY THITHER

BEING A COLLECTION OF
MEDIEVAL NOTICES OF CHINA

TRANSLATED AND EDITED

BY

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WITH A

PRELIMINARY ESSAY

ON THE INTERCOURSE BETWEEN CHINA AND THE WESTERN NATIONS PREVIOUS TO THE DISCOVERY OF THE CAPE ROUTE

NEW EDITION, REVISED THROUGHOUT IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT DISCOVERIES

BY

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VOL. II

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CATHAY AND THE WAY THITHER,

edited by Sir Henry YULE, was issued by the HAKLUYT SOCIETY, in 1866, and has been out of print for many years past; copies occasionally offered for sale have commanded a very high price. The preparation of a new edition was entrusted to me after I had brought out the third edition of the *Book of Ser Marco Polo.* Recognizing that a thorough revision of the work was necessary, I have, whilst keeping almost all the notes of Sir Henry Yule, supplemented them by new information which has greatly increased the bulk of the book. The new edition of *Cathay* will therefore form four volumes instead of two: Vol. I, with the *Preliminary Essay on the Intercourse between China and the Western Nations previous to the Discovery of the Cape Route*, will be issued last; Vol. II, the present volume, contains *Odoric of Pordenone*; Vol. III will include *Reports of Missionary Friars*, *Rashiduddin*, *Pegolotti* and *Marignolli*; Vol. IV will include *Ibn Batuta*, *Benedict of Goës* and the *Index*.

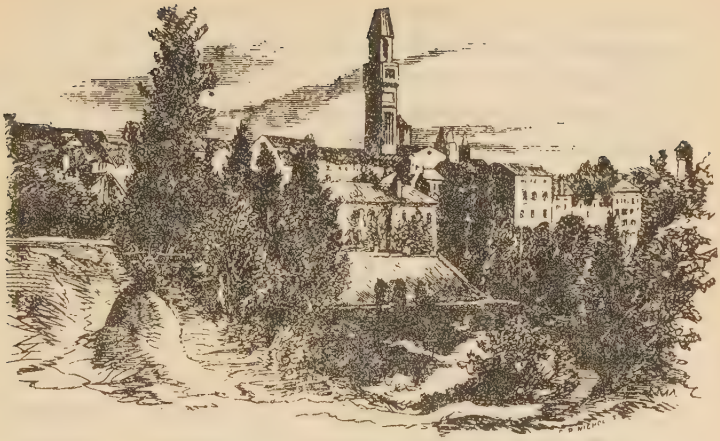
H. C.

October 1913.

I

ODORIC OF PORDENONE

C. Y. C.



View of Pordenone from near the Railway Station

ODORIC OF PORDENONE

BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL NOTICES

THE first place in this collection has been given to the narrative of Odoric of Pordenone, a Beatus or semi-saint of the Roman Church, not as the first in time, nor perhaps in value, but as on the whole the most curious and as that which was the original nucleus of the volume.

Odoric was a native of Friuli, a country which was perhaps better known to travellers before there was a railway through it. Few now, in passing from Trieste to Venice, or from Venice to Vienna, think it worth while to break their journey for the sake of seeing such places as Pordenone, Udine, or Cividale; and thus those interesting cities, though on or near a great thoroughfare, still keep a rare old-world flavour and simplicity.

This border land had in old times closer relations to Germany than to Italy. It has again close relations of

a certain kind to Germany, but in no region of Italy, it is believed, is the Italian feeling stronger.

The Patria del Friuli borrowed its name from Forum Julii, a city represented by modern Cividale, and became the seat of a dukedom [568] under the nephew of Alboin when the Lombards first burst into Italy.

Charlemagne extinguished the Lombard dukes, and from Friuli for a time was governed the Eastern March of the Frankish empire. In the end of the ninth century or thereabouts, the administration of the province fell into the hands of the Patriarchs of Aquileia, whose seat had been at Cividale since 737; and in 1029 the Emperor Conrad II formally conferred on the Patriarch Wolfgang Poppo the Duchy of Friuli and the Marquisate of Istria.

This ecclesiastical principality continued to exist, with territory of fluctuating extent, until 1420, when the Patriarch [Lud. II di Teck], engaging in war with Venice, lost his temporal dominion, and Friuli became subject to the Republic. It was remarkable as perhaps the only Italian state, excluding Sicily, which possessed a genuine Parliament. This consisted of three Estates, assembling in one house.

Friuli divides naturally into three zones. The first and widest is a great level, subsiding near the Adriatic into swamp, elsewhere well cultivated and fairly productive, but without irrigation, and far behind the wealth of the Lombard plain, excepting towards the west, where water lies nearer the surface, the streams have a more perennial character, and there is seen an almost tropical luxuriance of vegetation.

The second zone consists of undulating hills, dotted with white villages, and covered with fine grass carefully reserved for the scythe. The brilliant verdure of these undulating meadows, as seen under a July sun, was alike surprising and delightful. The third zone is that of the mountain country.

The dialect of the Friuli country is a Romance one, said to be very distinct from the Venetian, and to come very near to Provençal. Many of the local names are alleged to be quite French in character, and I remember one, *Martignac*, which struck me particularly. It may be only a fancy that this quasi-French idiom may sometimes be traced through the thin veil of Odoric's Latin.

The native district of Odoric was Pordenone, in that richer part of the Friulian plain which lies towards the river Livenza. Pordenone itself, called in Latin, I know not of what antiquity, Portus Naonis, [in German, Portenau] is a quaint but thriving little city of some seven thousand inhabitants, standing on the banks of the Noncello, a tributary of the Livenza, and by which boats ascend from the sea to the town. The beautiful gardens which environ it, and the very fine campanile which rises beside the cathedral, group into a singularly pleasing picture, even as seen by a railway traveller.

Odoric is said to have sprung from one of the garrison established in this district by Ottokar, King of Bohemia, to whom the territory had passed from his cousin Udalric, Duke of Carinthia and Lord of Pordenone[1]. A curious confirmation of this tradition is found in the manuscript from which we print the Latin text of his travels, for in it he is designated "*Frater Odericus* Boemus[2]." The name

[1] "*De reliquiis seminis eorum quos olim Rex Otakerus apud Portum Naonis ad custodiam deputavit.*" This is quoted from an anonymous chronicler of Laybach, in *Monumenta Ecclesiæ Aquilejensis*, etc., Argentinæ, 1740, p. 866. Ottokar succeeded to the throne of Bohemia in 1254; Rudolf of Hapsburgh was chosen King of the Romans in 1272; their wars about the Austrian provinces held by Ottokar, including part of Friuli, terminated in 1279 in the rout and death of Ottokar. See also *Venni*, p. 3.

[2] [Sig. V. Savi has taken a good deal of trouble in an article of the *Nuovo Archivio Veneto* (Anno VI, 1896, T. XI, Pt. II, pp. 301–325: *Della patria e della nazionalità del Beato Odorico da Pordenone*) to prove that Yule, J. von Zahn (*Revue historique*, XXI, II, mars–avril 1883, pp. 386–390) and myself (French ed. of Odoric) are wrong in saying that Odoric was of Bohemian origin. I do not think it

of his family is alleged to have been Mattiussi[1], and the place of his birth was Villa Nova, a hamlet of cottages dispersed among vineyards and mulberry trees, about a mile and a half from the town.

A substantial two-storied cottage is still shown at Villa Nova as the house in which Odoric was born; and in the half-open arcade which forms a part of the lower story, a rude old fresco, representing the friar holding forth the crucifix, much defaced by the contact of firewood and farming gear, is evidence at least of the antiquity of the

necessary to discuss the whole paper; only one point shall I refer to: the Latin MS. No. 2584 of the National Library of Paris beginning: *Descripcio Orientalium Partium Fratris Odorici Boemi de Foro Iulii* has been examined by M. Tille who found that the three passages, f. 118 *a*, f. 126 *b* (not *a*) twice wherein Odoric is called *boemus* had been erased and rewritten; M. Tille is apparently a Tcheque gentleman and though this nationality has nothing to do with the examination of a *Latin* MS., Sig. V. Savi exults and writes: "Di fronte all' adulterazione del MS. proprio nel punto sostanziale per la controversia, egli è chiaro che la testimonianza del Codice parigino non può essere più accolta perchè sospetta," p. 313. The MS. is not "suspect" in the least: the three erasures of the titles or passages in red ink have been made by a scribe contemporary of the MS., and probably by the same hand who wrote the running-title of the MS.; there is no argument to be drawn from this fact against the genuineness of the MS.: it is probable that the scribe had misread the text he was writing from and subsequently corrected his error. What could be the interest of a XIVth century scribe or of his employer to make Odoric of Bohemian origin: Italian patriotism was not yet awake; Odoric was not "tedesco" but "boemo," not German but Slav.

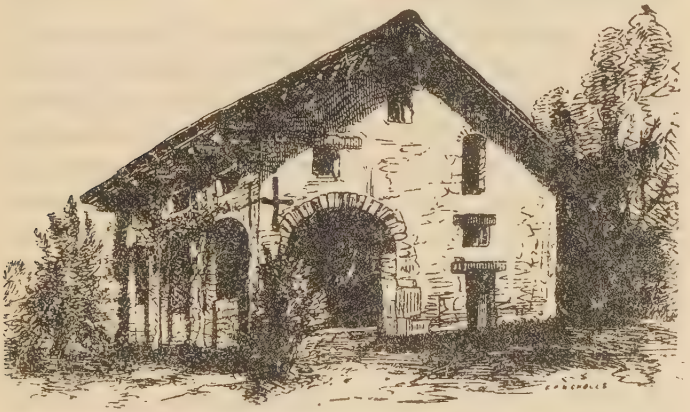
Savi winds up: "Finchè quindi lo Zahn ed il Cordier non porteranno innanzi più valevoli argomenti, sarà permesso e logico affermare che quelli da loro addotti non bastano per impugnare la nazionalità italiana di Odorico da Pordenone. Di lui noi italiani, e particolarmente noi veneti potremo dire, applicando al caso un' augusta espressione: *Odoricus noster est.*"

I wonder what patriotism has to do in this case: there was no Italian unity in the XIVth century, and it matters little that Odoric was of Bohemian origin, since he was a Friulan by birth, and Friuli being now part of the kingdom of Italy, well may he be claimed as an Italian. No one objects to this.—H. C.]

[1] This name does not seem to appear in print before the work of Gabelli in 1639. Zeno quotes as authority for it a MS. work on the Patriarchs of Aquileia by Jac. Valvasone (*Dissertaz. Vossiane*, 1751, ii, 297). It is also given by Asquini in his *Life of Odoric*, on the authority of a MS. of Lugrezio Treo, author of *Sacra Monumenta Prov. Forojulii* 1724.

tradition. Even the room is pointed out in which the traveller and saint was born! and the bed, a vast and ponderous expanse of timber, looked as if it also might have officiated at the auspicious event. The parish priest asserted that the house had passed through only a second transfer since it quitted the family of Mattiussi.

The name Odorico is the same that occurs north of the Alps as Ulric, and it is found in various shapes besides, such as Udalric, Vodaric, etc. It would seem to have been



Traditional Birthplace of Odoric

common in this region of the world, for it turns up frequently in old Friulan lists, and was borne by Aquileian patriarchs and Carinthian dukes. And it is said to be still common about Pordenone, both as surname and Christian name. Our friar, therefore, might come by it in many ways, but perhaps he got it actually from the patron saint of his parish church, for that is saint Udalric. One of the old Franciscan writers calls our traveller *Ludovicus* Odoricus[1], but it seems likely that this was a mistake.

[1] Bartholomew Albizzi of Pisa, in the work cited below, *ed. Mediolan.* 1510, f. cxxiiii.

The date of his birth is assigned to 1286, whilst the Patriarch Raymond della Torre was reigning in Friuli. In naming this date later writers appear to have followed Gabelli, who published a life of Odoric in 1639. Asquini, another biographer in the last century, quotes as authority for it "*Osuald. Ravenn.*[1]," a reference respecting the age or value of which I have no knowledge. Judging, however, from the effigies of Odoric on his tomb at Udine, I should have guessed the date of his birth to stand a dozen years earlier than that mentioned.

The authorities for the circumstances of Odoric's life, exclusive of such as can be gathered from the story of his travels, are the annalists or hagiologists of his order. Whether the man whom they describe after the regular saint-model of the middle ages answers in any degree to the author of the travels, as he indicates his own likeness however faintly, appears to me most questionable. The contemporary notices of him, except the local records of the miracles which were said to have followed his death, are very brief.

It is alleged that Odoric is treated of in a catalogue of Franciscan saints, written only five years after his death[2]; but I find no quotation from this work, and the earliest notice of him that I can discover (apart from the exceptions just specified) is in the chronicle of his German contemporary, John of Winterthur, who seems to have written about 1348–50, and whose reference shows that he was already acquainted with the Itinerary[3]. His travels,

[1] *Vita e Viaggi del B. Odorico*, etc., Udine, 1737.

[2] *Sbaralea, Supp. et Castigatio ad* Scriptores Trium Ordinum S. Francisci, etc. Romæ, 1806, p. 443.

[3] After giving a notice of the martyrdom at Tana, and some other circumstances related by our author, the chronicler adds: *Hæc testatur Sanctus Odoricus de Padua oriundus, qui peragratis cunctis regionibus orientalibus et incolumis ad terram nativam reversus, hæc et alia mira et stupenda illic visa et audita ab eo, rogatus et compulsus a suis confratribus minoribus in scripturam redegit; opusculum valde*

alleged missionary work, and miracles are also briefly spoken of by Bartholomew Albizzi, of Pisa, in his treatise concerning the *Conformity of the Life of St Francis to the Life of Our Lord Jesus Christ*, from which the passages are quoted in the *Acta Sanctorum*[1]. This work was written, according to Professor Kunstmann, about 1380, fifty years after Odoric's death, but the author was fully entitled to be termed a contemporary, for one of his works, cited by Wadding, was dated as early as 1347, and at his death in 1401 he is said to have been over a century old[2].

According to the ecclesiastical biographers, however, having in early years taken on him the vows of the Franciscans, and joined their convent in Udine, he speedily became eminent for ascetic sanctity, living on bread and water, going barefoot, scourging himself severely, and wearing ever next his skin hair-cloth or iron mail. His humility refused promotion, and with the leave of his superior he retired for a long time into the wilds to pass a solitary life. A local reputation for sanctity and miracles is ascribed to him before his wanderings began[3].

On these he tarted sometime between 1316 and 1318 (inclusive), and from them he returned shortly before the spring of 1330. That he was in Western India soon after 1321, that he spent three of the years between 1322 and 1328 in Northern China, and that he died in January 1331, are all the chronological facts that we know, or can positively deduce, from his narrative, and contemporary evidence[4].

solatiosum et delectabile, de hujusmodi raris et a seculo quasi inauditis, relinquens." (*Jean. Vitodurani Chron.* in *Eccard Corp. Historicum*, i, 1894.)

[1] *De Conformitate*, etc., bk. i, pa. 2, conf. 8.

[2] *Cave, Script. Eccles.*, App., p. 48; *Wadding*, vol. vii.

[3] *Acta Sanctorum*, January 14th; *Wadding*, vol. vi, under 1331; *Liruti, Notizie delle Vite ed opere scritte da' Letterati di Friuli.* Venez., 1760, i, 274 *et seq.*

[4] D'Avezac, in the very valuable dissertation prefixed to Carpini's account of the Tartars, says that Odoric reached Trebizond in 1317, and Tana in 1322; but I do not trace the authority for such precision.

I shall not here give any detailed view of his travels; the particulars of these, with the fullest explanations that I can provide, will be found in the ensuing text and notes. Suffice it to say that his route lay by Constantinople to Trebizond; thence to Erzerum, Tabriz, and Soltania; and that in all probability he spent a considerable part of the time previous to 1322 in the Houses of his Order in those cities. From Soltania he passed to Kashan and Yezd, and thence turning by Persepolis he followed a somewhat devious route, probably by Shiraz, and perhaps a part of Kurdistan, to Baghdad. From Baghdad he wandered to the Persian Gulf, and at Hormuz embarked for Tana in Salsette. Here, or from Surat, where Jordanus had deposited them, he gathered the bones of the four brethren who had suffered there in 1321, and carried them with him on his voyage eastward. He went on to Malabar, touching at Pandarani, Cranganor, and Kulam, and proceeded thence to Ceylon and the shrine of St Thomas at Mailapúr, the modern Madras. From this he sailed tediously to Sumatra, visiting various parts of the coast of that island, Java, probably Southern or Eastern Borneo, Champa, and Canton. Hence he travelled to the great ports of Fu-kien, and from Fu-chau across the mountains to Hang-chau and Nan-king. Embarking on the Great Canal at Yang-chau, he proceeded by it to Cambalec or Peking, and there remained for three years, attached, it may be presumed, to one of the churches founded by Archbishop John of Montecorvino, now in extreme old age. Turning westward at length through Tenduc (the Ordo country of our maps), and Shen-si, to Tibet and its capital Lhása, we there lose all indication of his further route, and can only conjecture on very slight hints, added to general probabilities, that his homeward journey led him by Kabul, Khorasan, and the south of the Caspian, to Tabriz, and thence to Venice by the way he had followed thirteen or fourteen years before, when outward bound.

The companion of Odoric on a part, at least, of these long journeys was Friar James, an Irishman, as appears from a record in the public books of Udine, showing that on the 5th April after Odoric's death a present of two marks was paid to the Irish friar "*Socio Beati Fratris Odorici, amore Dei et Odorici*[1]."

The assertion of Wadding and the other biographers that Odoric had sowed everywhere the seed of the Gospel, and had baptised more than 20,000 Saracens, would appear to rest on a basis of pure imagination only. No hint of such a thing appears in his travels, nor indeed any indication of his having acted as a Missionary at all; though probably in the years he spent at Cambalec, and perhaps also in Armenia, he may have taken part in the missionary duties of his brethren. In his contemporary Jordanus the spirit of the missionary breaks out strongly and clearly, showing his heart in the work. Odoric's narrative again gives one decidedly the impression of a man of little refinement, with a very strong taste for roving and seeing strange countries, but not much for preaching and asceticism. *Qui peregrinantur raro sanctificantur*, says Thomas à Kempis. And one wonders what odd chance picked out Odoric as the wanderer to be accredited with such exceptional sanctity. "*Molto diverso il guiderdon dall' opre!*" Had the simple and hardly bestead Jordanus of Séverac, or that zealous patriarch John of Montecorvino striving for the faith at the world's end to the age of fourscore years, been made a saint of, one could have understood it better.

Miracles also, and miraculous experiences, are assigned to the friar by his biographers, of which no trace will be found in his own story. Thus we are told that as he was on his way back from Tartary, commissioned by the Great Khan to call more brethren to the work of preaching to that monarch's subjects (a commission which seems again

[1] *Venni*, p. 27.

to be purely imaginary) he was met by the Great Enemy[1], who reviled him, and taunted him with the bootlessness of his errand, seeing that he was fated never to return. The assailant was repelled by the sign of the cross, but his words proved true.

So bowed and changed was Odoric by the hardships and starvation that he had endured in his years of wandering, say the biographers, that his nearest of kin could scarcely be brought to recognise him[2].

It was after visiting them no doubt that he betook himself to the House of his Order attached to St Anthony's at Padua, and there in the month of May, 1330, he related his story, which was taken down and done into homely Latin by William of Solagna, a brother of the Order; Friar Marchesinus of Bassano also afterwards lending a hand in the redaction, and adding at least one interesting anecdote from his recollection of Odoric's stories. Whether the traveller had not already written or dictated a brief sketch of his journeys will be spoken of below.

From Padua he is said to have proceeded to Pisa in order to take ship for the Papal Court at Avignon, that he might make his report of the affairs of the church in the far East, and ask recruits for the missions in Cathay. At Pisa he was sorely troubled by what he heard of the mischief wrought in the fraternity by the schisms of Cesanà and Corbara[3], and became all the more anxious to prosecute his voyage. But he fell into serious illness,

[1] *Wadding*, l. c. "Sub formâ mulieris gravidæ!" says Mark of Lisbon, quoted in the *Acta Sanctorum*.

[2] *Wadding; Petrus Rodulphius, Hist. Seraphicæ Religionis*, Ven., 1586, p. 125.

[3] Petrus Rainalduccius de Vico Corbario [Rainalluci, born at Corbara] was a Minorite venerated for his age, learning, and piety, who to the great scandal of his Order let himself be set up at Rome as Antipope by the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria. In 1330 he asked pardon of Pope John with a halter on his neck. Michael Cesana was the general of the order [elected 1316], who absconded from Avignon to take part with the emperor (*Wadding*).

and being warned in a dream by St Francis to "return to his nest," he caused himself to be transported back to his own province.

There at Udine, he took to his bed, to rise no more. Having confessed, on the priest's pronouncing the absolution, Odoric is related to have said: "Do thine office, reverend Father, for I desire like a humble child to submit to the keys of the church; but know that the Lord hath signified to me that he hath pardoned all my sins." And so he died on the 14th January, 1331[1].

The friars of the convent were about to bury him the same day privately, contrary to the custom of the country. But when this became known in the city, Conrad Bernardiggi, the Gastald or chief magistrate of Udine, who had a great regard for Odoric, interfered to prevent such a hurried interment, and appointed a solemn funeral for the next day. This was attended by all the dignitaries, and created a public excitement. The people began to push forward to kiss the hands and feet of the dead friar, or to snatch a morsel of his clothing. Rumours of miracles rose and spread like wildfire. A noble dame, the Patriarch's sister, who had long suffered from a shrunken arm, declared aloud that she had received instant relief on touching the body. The whole town then rushed to the convent church. Lucky were those who could put but a finger on the friar's gown, whilst those who had such a happy chance grasped at his hair and beard; just as I have seen the Bengalis snatch at the whiskers of a dead tiger, and from like motives. One

[1] This is the date given by the postscripts to Odoric's narrative, and all the subsequent accounts. Waddirg adds, "On a *Monday*, about the ninth hour." The 14th January 1331 might mean in modern style 14th January 1332, especially as the postscript to the narrative in the extracts published by the Bollandists specifies "*Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis*," which I believe indicates properly the year commencing on Lady Day. But it seems not to be so. For the date assigned fell on a Monday in 1331, and, moreover, the order by the Patriarch for an inquiry into the miracles is dated May 1331, which is not open to ambiguity.

virago made a desperate attempt to snip off the saint's ear with her scissars, but miraculously the scissars would not close! The public voice urged that such wonder-working matter should be kept longer available, and the interment was deferred for two days. The third day the body was buried in the church, but only to be taken up again on the day following. For the excitement had now spread far beyond the walls of Udine. The country gentlemen from the castles of the district with their wives and families began to throng in. Then came the nobles and burgesses of the neighbouring cities; the nuns of Cividale and Aquileia followed, walking two and two in procession; and, at last, the stream arrived from the remoter parts of Friuli, and from Carniola, and crowds continued to flock in, day and night, scourging themselves, and chaunting the praises of God and his servant Odoric. The great lady of the country, Beatrice of Bavaria, Countess Dowager and Regent of Goritz, came with a vast cortège; the Patriarch himself, Pagano della Torre, was present, and superintended the transfer of the body to another and more splendid coffin. The sanctity of the friar was now fully recognised, and the notion was at last taken up by his own community, who employed an eminent preacher to declaim to the people the history and pious deeds of this brother, whom it is most likely they had till now regarded only as an eccentric, much addicted to drawing the longbow about the Grand Cham and the Cannibal Islands[1].

The Patriarch, or the Municipality (for they supplied the funds), then gave orders for the construction of a noble shrine[2]; whilst three discreet persons, the Canon Melioranzi,

[1] *Wadding; Documenti per la Storia del Friuli, raccolti dall' Abbate G. Bianchi*, Udine, 1844-5, ii, 471.

[2] Records extant in the last century showed that the cost of the shrine, and of the formalities attending the miracle-commission, was defrayed by the city. (See *Tiraboschi, Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, 1789, vol. ii, pp. 124-129.)

Maffeo Cassini, and the notary Guecelli or Guccelli, were commissioned to investigate and compile the miracles ascribed to the deceased.

Seventy such miracles are alleged to have been authenticated[1]; and indeed so says the heading of the notary's report of the commission (which is extant), though (like the cotton reels of Manchester which profess to contain two hundred yards of thread), as a matter of fact it only enumerates twenty-seven. The miracles are all much alike, and substantially in this strain: "A. B. was very ill, and vowed a lump of wax to Odoric, and began immediately to mend, and is firmly convinced that it was all owing to Odoric."

Two alleged miracles which unfortunately have not found a place in this authenticated report, but only in recorded tradition, stand out from the rest as singular or startling.

In one case, Friar Michael, a preacher and doctor of theology at Venice, having suffered for seven years from a fistula in the throat, betook himself to Friar James, the Irish comrade of Odoric's travels, and from him got a letter of introduction to his defunct and sainted friend, begging him to do what was needful for the divine. This proved immediately effectual[2].

In the other case, it is asserted that a friar six days in

[1] There is a MS. copy, which I saw, in the Library at San Daniele in Friuli, a curious and valuable collection bequeathed by Archbishop Fontanini to the place of his birth; a place where the books enjoy almost undisturbed repose in a delicious atmosphere. The Report, however, is printed in the Roman *blue book* noticed further on. The heading runs: "*Hic inferius sunt scripta et annotata amplius quam septuaginta miracula quæ Deus operatus est per B. Odoricum*," etc. It would appear that the notary got tired of recording such matter, and perhaps trusted that no one would count them! Indeed he says in a document which is printed in Hakluyt as a postscript to Odoric's narrative: "*Scripsi sicut potui bona fide et fratribus minoribus exemplum dedi;* sed non de omnibus *quia sunt* innumerabilia, et mihi difficilia ad scribendum";—in fact "what no fellow could do."

[2] *Asquini, Vita e Viaggi*, p. 206.

his grave was raised to life by the power of the saint, in answer to the prayers of a sister[1].

The official detail of the miracles was sent to Guido Candidus (Bianchi?) Bishop of Udine, then at the Papal court, in order that the name of Odoric might be enrolled among the saints; but nothing was effected at that time, owing it is said to the death of the prelate[2]. Nor, perhaps, had Pope John any great zeal towards the exaltation of members of an Order which had bred such thorns in his side as Corbara, Cesana, and Occam.

In the very year of Odoric's death, we find recorded the bequest by a certain woman of Vercelli of a legacy to the altar of the Beatus at Udine; whilst a long chain of incidental notices of bequests, of repairs to his chapel, of celebrations of his festival, etc., show that his memory has been continuously preserved as sacred in Udine since his death[3].

But for four centuries his claim to the honours of beatification rested only on popular acclamation sanctioned by the Aquileian patriarch. It was not till 1755 that the question was formally discussed by the Roman court, whether the cult rendered to Odoric from time immemorial should be solemnly sanctioned by the Pontiff.

I have inspected the record of the process which then took place, a very curious ecclesiastical *Blue-book* of more than one hundred and twenty folio pages. The discussion is entitled "*Positio super dubio an sententia lata per Eminentissimum et Reverendissimum Ordinarium Utinensem super cultu ab immemorabili tempore prædicto Beato præstito, sive casu excepto a decretis sanc. mem. Urbani Papæ VIII*

[1] "Quem vidit suscitatum F. Henricus Generalis Minister, ut mihi Magistro Bartholomæo dixit ipse ore tenus" (*Barth. Pisanus* in *op. sup. citat.*; from the *Acta Sanctorum*). This legend was commemorated in an inscription which stood in the convent church at Pordenone, but dating only from 1591. (MS. copy of Gabelli's Panegyric on Odoric at S. Daniele.)

[2] *Asquini*, p. 199.

[3] Roman documents cited below.

sit confirmanda in casu, etc. The first part is entitled *Informatio super dubio*, etc. This alleges the grounds and maintains the validity of the Bishop's judgment, traces the worship of the Friar from the time of his death, and gives a long list of those who have borne testimony to his virtues. This is followed by a *Summarium super dubio*, etc., which is a sort of collection of *pieces justificatives* in which every creditable mention of Odoric is cited at length, with the whole detail of his alleged posthumous miracles, and the official report of a visitation of his shrine by Daniel [Delfin] Patriarch of Aquileia in 1749. The next document in the series consists of *Animadversiones R. P. D. Promotoris Fidei super dubio*, etc., being, in fact, the counterpleading of the official vulgarly termed the Devil's Advocate. He raises objections to the beatification, hints that Odoric and his sanctity were scarcely other than mythical, and almost sneers at the marvels of the Itinerary. In fact, this R P. D. is worse than a profane Lutheran in the way he treats the Beatus. There is then a *Responsio super dubio*, etc., which disposes of these gibes; and though the book in question does not contain the Pope's decision, we know that it was issued by Benedict XIV, July 2nd, 1755, fully sanctioning the beatification of Odoric[1].

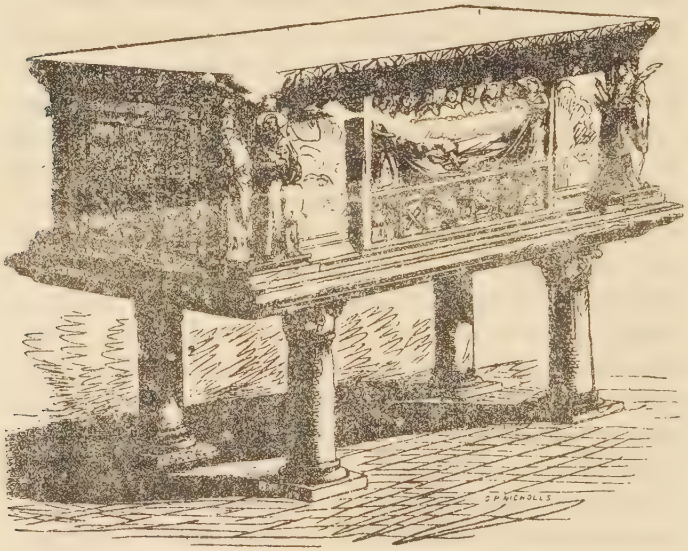
In May 1332, the monument, which had been commissioned by the authorities of Udine from Philip de' Santi at Venice, was completed, and a solemn transfer of the body was celebrated by the Patriarch, Pagano della Torre. The shrine consisted of a handsome sarcophagus of oriental

[1] The copy of the process in question which I examined was kindly shown me by Count Pietro Montereale of Pordenone. The Pope's decision is given by Venni, p. 32 [and by us at the end of these notices]. Authorities do not seem precisely to agree as to what constitutes beatification; an article in the *English Cyclopædia*, however, may be referred to for an explanation in what respects it falls short of canonisation. The word *canonisation* is indeed used in the Papal decision of 1755, but in terms it only sanctions the worship rendered to Odoric from time immemorial.

C. Y. C.

alabaster, adorned with small reliefs and statuettes, and elevated on dwarf columns of white marble[1].

In 1735, when the church of the Franciscans in Udine was "repaired and beautified," a new chapel was erected for Odoric, and a second solemn translation accomplished on the 27th February, 1735[2]. But he was not yet to lie quiet. In 1771 the Franciscans were compelled to remove to a house which had belonged to a suppressed Society of

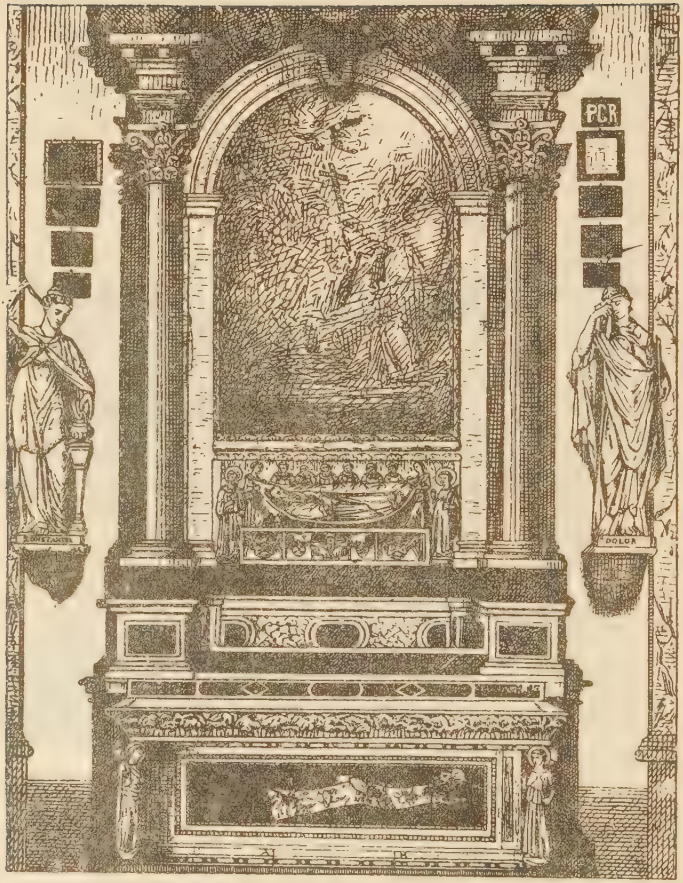


The Sarcophagus as it stood in the last century

Carmelites near the Aquileian gate, their own buildings being given up for a public hospital. In their removal they carried with them all their reliques, including the body of Odoric, which was accompanied in solemn procession by all the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, headed by the lieutenant of the Venetian Republic, to its new

[1] According to the process just quoted this elevation of the body above the ground was one of the honours paid to a beatified or canonised person.

[2] *Venni*, p. 29.



Altar containing Odoric's remains

resting place in the church of the "Beato Vergine del Carmelo[1]." The Franciscan Convent was also suppressed in the days of the first Napoleon, and the church was then made over to parochial use. Odoric still lies there, but shorn of his sepulchral glories. Whether to facilitate the removal, or by accident during that operation, the sarcophagus was broken up, and never again put together as such. Portions have, however, been built into an altar dedicated to Odoric, and within this his coffin is deposited[2].

I could hear nothing of the other reliques, such as fragments of an iron girdle, portraits, etc., which existed in the last century, before the removal of the convent. But the body is there still, and is still exposed, on every fourth recurrence of his festival, to the eyes of the congregation. Had I but known this when at Udine, perhaps my Protestant eyes also might have been permitted (for a consideration) to behold the very *corpus beatum* whose hands had presented the Grand Cham with a trencher full of apples, and whose stout heart carried him chaunting the *Credo* through the Valley Perilous! It is perfect, they say, except one leg, which was frittered away in reliques; Pordenone obtaining a tibia, and Villa Nova an ankle-bone.

[1] It is now called both the "Carmine" and "San Pietro." [Chiesa del Carmine e San Pietro, 49 Via Aquilea.]

[2] The information as to the past in this paragraph has been kindly supplied by Dr Vincenzo Joppi of Udine.

The altar of Odoric is the second on the left as you enter the church. [I have given in the French edition full particulars of the various transfers of Odoric's body to its last resting place in the Carmelite Church where I saw it in 1881; I think it unnecessary to reproduce these details here; they are accompanied by a number of illustrations.] It bears the following inscription, whatever may be the meaning thereof:

† "Altare hoc Omnipotenti Deo
In honorem B. Odorici Con: erectum
privilegio quotidiano perpetuo ac libero
pro omnibus defunctis ad quoscumq: sacerdotes
vigore Brevis Benedicti Papae xiv.
die iv. Octobris MDCCLII insignitum
atque a Ministro Generali Ordinis
die x. mensis Maij MDCCLIII designatum." †

The virtues of the Odorician reliques were still in high esteem in the last century, if they be not now. Venni assures us that in his day *Polvere del B. Odorico* was (like the James's powders of our youth) potent in fevers, and in demand as far as Florence.

Odoric seems to have been the subject of a good deal of bad verse in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the chief perpetrators being, in the latter age, John Baptist Gabelli, priest of Villa Nova, and in the former Girolamo Monteniani or Montignac, a zealous devotee, and syndic of the convent in Udine. This gentleman had the convent copy of the Friar's travels, with the documents about his miracles, etc., re-transcribed at his own expense in 1542. His hymns to Odoric are chiefly composed of prayers for his own unbounded comfort and prosperity.

> "Da nunc Alme tuis, da mihi jugiter
> Pacem, Divitias, Sæcula Nestoris!"

is but a sample of the demands he makes upon his local *divus*[1].

As there seems to be no doubt of the date of the sculptures which originally formed part of the sarcophagus, we have in them representations of our traveller erected in the year following that of his death, and executed by no incompetent hand. There are, or were, no less than three effigies of him upon the sarcophagus, and at least two of these remain upon the altar where his body now lies[2]. One of these represents him preaching to a crowd of Indians; in the other, he is being lowered into the tomb by the hands of the Patriarch, the Gastald, and the Brethren of the Order. In these two the heads are fairly

[1] Some of these verses, including that here quoted, are given in the *Vita e Viaggi* of Asquini.

[2] Possibly the third, but if so it escaped my notice. Unluckily my visit to Udine was on a local festival, when a constant succession of masses was going on in the church, and I had barely time to make the sketch given further on between two of them.

like each other; both presenting a bluff, benevolent, Socratic countenance, but they are certainly suggestive of sixty years rather than forty-six.

Another statuette stands in the church of his native parish of Villa Nova. It is of higher style than the sculptures at Udine, but of so much later date that it can have no authority as a likeness. The work was ascribed by the parish priest to an artist called Pilacorte, who carved the doorway of the Duomo at Pordenone[1]. It stands above the altar, paired with a corresponding statuette of St Udalric, Bishop of Augsburg, patron of the church. There are some splendid fresco heads of prophets and apostles overhead, remains of the work of John Antony Sacchiense, called Pordenone, which once covered the choir.

In the early part of the last century, there were extant other old effigies of Friar Odoric. One, in an altar piece which stood in the sacristy of the convent church, was said to have been painted only twenty-four years after his death[2]. And Venni says there was a portrait of him in the Loggia of the Parliament of Friuli[3].

Engravings of him, of course, can have no value except as they approach the old sculptures. There is one good vigorous woodcut in the old Italian style, purporting to be the *Vera B. Odorici Effigies*, in the *Historia Seraphicæ Religionis* of Petrus Rodulphius[4]. And Gabelli is said to have published a print of the "very old image of the Beatus preaching to the Indians and other barbarians, which is found in the church of S. Udalric at Villanova[5]." This would seem to be different from the work of Pilacorte. Gabelli's works will be noted below; but I have not

[1] John Antony Pilacorte was a native of Spilimbergo in Friuli. Many of his works exist in the churches of Pordenone; and the font as well as the doorway of the Cathedral are his work. The latter bears the date 1511. There is no Friulan sculptor known by name of earlier date than 1428. (*Maniago, Storia delle belle Arti Friulane*, Udine, 1823, pp. 158–9, 201.)

[2] *Asquini*, p. 214.

[3] *Venni*, p. 29. [4] Venice, 1586, p. 125. [5] *Acta Sanctorum*, l. c.

succeeded in finding any of them, nor do I know which has this engraving.

Some of the Franciscan authors assert that Odoric, besides his itinerary, left behind him various sermons and epistles[1], but if so, no one seems to know anything about them Wadding, in the *Annales Minorum*, also repeatedly quotes as the work of Odoric a chronicle extending from the beginning of the world to the death of Pope John XXII[2]; forgetting, it would seem, that the pope survived the saint three years. Indeed, the notion that the work was written by Odoric seems to have been altogether unfounded. This chronicle is the manuscript cited in the account of Jordanus[3] as *Liber de Ætatibus*, formerly at Rome, but now in the Bibl. Nationale at Paris. From it Wadding derived the interesting letters of Montecorvino, Jordanus, and Andrew Bishop of Zaitùn, which are given in the present collection; Sbaralea considers that the real author of the book was probably another Minorite, John of Udine, otherwise of Mortiliano, who died in Friuli in 1363, and who wrote a work called *Pantheon*, supposed to be lost[4].

Very recently another work has been published in Germany as Odoric's[5], on the authority of the closing paragraph of the manuscript from which it is printed: "*Istud scripsit frater Odoricus de Foro Iulii, cum remeasset de partibus infidelium ad suam provinciam, anno Domini* M°CCC°XXX° *temporibus domini Iohannis pape XXII.*" This is a manuscript of the fifteenth century in the Berlin library, entitled *De Terrâ Sanctâ*, consisting of short chapters, containing a detailed itinerary in Palestine with

[1] *Acta Sanctorum*, l. c.

[2] See *Annales Minorum*, tom. vi and vii, *passim*.

[3] See Preface to English Jordanus, p. v.

[4] In the work cited above (at p. 8), p. 443.

[5] See *Peregrinatores Medii Ævi Quatuor*, Lipsiæ, J. C. Hinrichs, 1864; edited by J. C. M. Laurent, and containing Itineraries in the Holy Land by Burchardus de Mte. Sion, Ricold of Monte Croce, this Pseudo-Odoric, and Wilbrand of Oldenburg.

the distances, etc., and is of very little interest. It ends with a chapter on "Machomet" of a short denunciatory kind. I do not believe the book to be Odoric's[1]. It is, of course, *possible* that he returned from the East through Palestine, as we are ignorant of his route from Tibet westward. But there is no hint whatever of his having visited that country, either in his own narrative, or in the biographies. And there is not the slightest likeness in the manner of the two books.

The numbers of manuscripts of Odoric's narrative that have come down to us from the fourteenth century show how speedily his work was spread abroad, and how popular it must have been. In the next century it is easy to trace the use made of his narrative in the great map of Fra Mauro at Venice.

Liruti speaks of Odoric's "love of letters and science," whilst Meinert calls him "one of the most learned of his Order[2]"—the Order that had produced, in one little country only, such men as Occam, Duns Scotus, and Roger Bacon! These statements are even more preposterous than the very opposite view expressed by the editors of that meritorious collection called *Astley's Voyages*, when they say of Odoric's narrative in the unpleasant tone of the last century, "This is a most superficial relation, and full of lies....In short, it seems plain from the names of places and other circumstances that he never was in those countries (China and Tartary), but imposed on the public the few informations he had from others, mixed with the many fictions of his own." Whilst in the Index to the work he fares as ill, his name being thus entered: "Oderic, Friar, Travels of, IV, 620 a. *A great Liar. Ibid.*"

[1] There is a MS. of "*Oderici de F. Julii Descriptio Terræ Sanctæ*," also in the Basel Public Library (*Haenel, Catalogi Libr. MSS.*, etc., p. 545). [See further on, p. 58, No. 49. It is a MS. of the genuine narrative of Odoric.]

[2] In his Essay on Marignolli; see Introduction to that Traveller's notices in this collection.

It is evident, however, from the formal affidavit which Odoric was called on to append to his narrative, as well as from the tenor of the apologies of his ecclesiastical biographers, that many of his tales were considered to try the faith of readers, even of his own time, and of his own cloth since. Thus Henry of Glatz in the note appended to his transcript of Odoric, declares that if he had not heard such great things of Odoric's perfections and sanctity, he could scarcely have credited some of his stories[1] Wadding, with scepticism scarcely disguised, says that much in the book will seem incredible, unless the holy character of the narrator find belief or force it[2]. And Asquini is reduced to plead that so saintly a man would never have told what was untrue, much less have taken his oath to it as Odoric has done[3]!

It is true indeed that our friar is not merely undiscriminating in the acceptance of what he has heard, but also sometimes looser in his statements of what he relates, or professes to relate, from actual experience, than other travellers of his day such as Jordanus and Marignolli. But this seems to come rather from the fact that Odoric is a man of inferior refinement, both morally and intellectually, than that he introduces wilful figments; whilst the notes attached to his narrative will prove I trust how certainly they are the footsteps of a genuine traveller that we are following. And in judging him we must not forget the disadvantages under which his story labours in coming to us by dictation, or mainly so, and that a dictation accomplished in illness[4], and taken down by a friar of probably still less literature than his own[5].

[1] In *Acta Sanctorum.*

[2] "*Nisi fidem exstruat vel extorqueat sanctitas auctoris.*"

[3] *Vita e Viaggi*, p. 13.

[4] "*Dum jaceret infirmus*," says Wadding after some older writer.

[5] It is singular that the narratives of Marco Polo, Odoric, Nicolo Conti, and Ibn Batuta, the four most remarkable Asiatic itineraries

I must, however, after the examination of a considerable number of versions and MSS., entirely reject the notion put forward so positively by Tiraboschi[1], and accepted by later writers, that Odoric's narrative has been largely interpolated with lying wonders by medieval editors and copyists. Though there are great differences of expression in the various MSS., and some unaccountable ones of fact, the *substance* of all the chief MSS. is the same, and especially in regard to the principal difficulties; whilst some of the stories that Tiraboschi brands as interpolations and fictions, are indeed the very seals of truth[2].

It may be well here to point out a few of those passages which stamp Odoric as a genuine and original traveller. He is then the first European who distinctly and undoubtedly mentions the name of Sumatra. He also (though on this the variety of readings may cast a shade of doubt) mentions the Rejang of the same island, a people not known to Europe otherwise for centuries after his time. The cannibalism and community of wives which he

of the middle ages, should all have come down to us under the disadvantages of dictation.

[1] See *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, Modena, 1789, v, pp. 124–129.

[2] I am excluding here those few Italian MSS. which are classified below as the fourth type of versions of Odoric. Some remarks will be made on them separately.

One of the examples of interpolation adduced by Tiraboschi is Odoric's account of the Tulsi trees before the doors of the Hindus, a passage, apparently, a little obscured by the misapprehension of the scribe. Another is the statement about the king of Champa's having fourteen thousand elephants, the printed version in Ramusio giving only fourteen. But here it is certain that it is the Ramusian version which has dropt the M, and not the others which have interpolated it. The region in question is the very metropolis of elephants, and for Odoric to have said that the king kept *fourteen* elephants would have been a ludicrous bathos.

On the other hand the real difficulties of Odoric's story are the accounts of the Islands of Nicoverra and Dondin, and the Passage through the Terrible Valley, with, perhaps, one or two more. The former of these are found in *all* the versions of Odoric, and the latter in all but the truncated narrative which we call here the *Minor Ramusian*.

attributes to certain races in that island do certainly belong to it, or to islands closely adjoining. And it is to be remembered that Odoric travelled with neither the scepticism of a man of science nor the experience of a man of the world. His good faith is indicated if his stories are those really current about the places which he visited. His description of sago in the Archipelago is not free from errors, but they are the errors of an eyewitness. His mention of the annoyance from leeches in the forests of Ceylon, and of a two-headed bird in that island, are shown to be the notes of a real visitor; so is his whole account of southern China. His notices of the custom of fishing with cormorants, of the habits of letting the finger-nails grow long, and of compressing the women's feet, as well as of the division of the Khan's empire into twelve provinces, with four chief Vizirs, are peculiar to him, I believe, among all the European travellers of the age. Polo mentions none of them. The names which he assigns to the Chinese post-stations, and to the provincial Boards of Administration; the technical Turki term which he uses for a sack of rice, &c., &c., are all tokens of the reality of his experience.

No two versions or MSS. that I have compared are exactly alike, and in all there are considerable differences of expression, difficult to account for unless we suppose that the practice in multiplying copies of such works was not to attempt verbal transcription, but merely to read over a clause, and then write down its gist in such language as came uppermost. Yet why should a practice have applied to the transcription of these narratives different from that which applied to the multiplication of the classics?

But apart from the slighter differences of expression and the accidental omissions which may be supposed thus to arise, the various versions of Odoric's story appear to divide themselves into *four* distinct types.

The first type is probably that which comes nearest to Odoric's actual dictation, or would do so if we had really good MSS. of it. It is represented by the Latin MS. in St Mark's library (No. 45 of the list below), and by the copious extracts which are given in the *Acta Sanctorum* from another MS. transcribed at Avignon the year after Odoric's death, by Henry of Glatz, a Silesian Franciscan. These copies make no mention of William of Solagna, but have two postscripts appended. The first, written by Friar Marchesino of Bassano, adds as a supplementary story, from his own recollection of Odoric's conversation, an anecdote[1] which the other versions introduce as part of the dictated narrative. The second postscript relates briefly the circumstances of the traveller's death.

The second type is that from which Venni published, and is that of the best existing MSS. both Latin and Italian, so far as I have seen them. It differs from the first in the points just noticed, and ends with a postscript, in which William of Solagna declares himself to have been the amanuensis of the traveller, whilst he, or some other, also records Odoric's death.

The third type is that of the MSS. in the British Museum (Nos. 5 and 7 below), of which one was published and translated by Hakluyt. These MSS. also contain the postscript of W of Solagna, but they differ a great deal from those of the two preceding types in expression, often substituting passages of more diffuse phraseology, which are in fact glosses on the narrative, but are often quite erroneous in the turn they give to the meaning.

The fourth type is that which appears in what is

[1] There is a freshness and simple picturesqueness about this little story which suggests the notion that perhaps Odoric was a higher style of man than we see him through the penmanship of William de Solagna; and that the tone of the latter scribe may have deteriorated the rest of the narrative.

quoted hereafter as the *Minor Ramusian* version. For Ramusio, or the editor who took up his work after his death[1], without preface or explanation gives two versions of Odoric's narrative, the second being much shorter than the first, and exhibiting some remarkable differences from it, whilst at the same time it contains some additional touches which carry with them a strong stamp of genuineness. I know of only two copies partaking of this type besides that printed in Ramusio, the original of which seems not to have been traced. These two are both at Florence, one a truncated copy in the Riccardian library, and the other in the Palatine; both in Italian. This last has some remarkable differences from the version of Ramusio, and is much fuller in the latter part, as if completed from a version of the first type.

The extracts given below from Latin copies of the first three types, and from a most careful Italian MS. at Venice, will illustrate what has been said of their variations in expression, though it is difficult to select one passage which shall well show the peculiarities of each.

From the version of Henry de Glatz in the ACTA SANCTORUM.

"Deinde magnas duas sportas accepit plenas, quæ mensæ superfuerant fragmentorum, et apertâ portâ nos in quoddam viridarium introduxit. Erat autem in eo monticulus quidam plenus arboribus amœnis: acceptoque vno tintinnabulo cœpit pulsare. Ad cujus sonitum

From Venni's published Text in ELOGIO STORICO DEL B. ODORICO.

"Tunc ergo duos magnos mastellos accepit plenos, hiis que superfuerant menssa; et aperiens cuiusdam iridarii portam in ipsum intravimus. In hoc viridario est monticulus quidam plenus arboribus amenis. Accepit ergo timpanum quemdam quem pulsare cepit; ad cuius

[1] Ramusio himself died in 1557, after having published only the first (1550) and third (1556) volumes of his *Navigationi*. The second volume came out under the editorship of the printer, Thomas Giunti, in 1559, but Odoric did not appear therein till the publication of the second edition in 1574. (*D'Avezac* in *Rec. de Voyages*, iv.)

mox animalia multa et diuersa de illo monticulo descenderunt, sicut essent simiæ, cati,...et plura alia, et quædam quæ faciem hominis videbantur habere. Et cùm videremus de bestiis vsque ad tria millia circa ipsum ordinatè conuenisse, ille paropsides posuit, et illis sportis secundùm naturæ suæ...distribuit illis cibum. Et cum comedissent, iterum cymbalum pulsans, animalia ad loca propria remeabant. Ego autem multùm ridens illi seni dixi: Edissere mihi, quid ista significent," etc. [P. 990.]

From Manuscript in British Museum (No. 7 below).

"Tunc accepit ille religiosus duo magna vasa fragmentis quæ superaverant de mensâ repleta, et duxit me ad unam cujusdam viridarii parvam portam. Quam cum clave aperiens viridarium intravimus illo simul. In illo autem viridario erat unus monticulus amœnis herbis et arboribus plenus. Sub quo dum ad invicem staremus, ipse unum cimbalum accepit et illum incepit percutere et pulsare. Ad cujus sonitum multa animalia varia et diversa, aliqua ut simiæ, aliqua ut cati et maymones, et aliqua faciem hominis habentia, de illo monticulo descenderunt. Et dum sic sonum multa animalia varia et diversa de hoc monticulo descenderunt, sicut sunt symie gati maymones, et multa alia animalia que faciem habebant humanam, que erant circa tria millia. Que circa se aptaverunt ad se invicem ordinata. Dum autem sic circa ipsum ordinata manerent, parassides possuit ante illa et sicut competebat eis comedere dabat. Que dum comedissent cimbalum pulsare cepit; et sic ad loca sua cuncta reversa sunt. Tunc multum ridere cepi, dicens: Dicas quid hoc indicare vellit?" etc. [P. 69.]

From Italian MS. in St Mark's Library (No. 63 below).

"Et allotta tolse duo grandi bigonci di quello che gl' era avanzato da desinare, et aperse la porta d' uno giardino per la quale noi entramo in quello giardino. Et in quello era un monticello pieno d' alberi dilettevoli. Et stando cosi et egli tolse uno cembalo e cominciollo a sonare. Al suono del quale molti e diversi animali di quello monticello discesono, fatti a modo di simie ghatti maimoni e molti altri animali et quali avenno faccia d' uomo. Et essendo venuti cosi questi animali ch' erano apresso di iii^{m}, et ordinatamente s' acconciorono intorno a costui, et essendo cosi

staremus animalia illa bene cciii millia se circa ipsum aptaverunt ad invicem ordinata. Quibus sic circum ipsum ordinatis et positis ipse paropsides ante ea posuit et ut competebat comedere eis dabat. Et cum comedissent cymbalum suum erum percussit et omnia ad oca propria edierunt. Tunc admiratus quæ essent animalia ista, quasi ridendo multum inquisivi," etc.

intorno costui egli mise le scodelle dinanzi di loro, e davagli mangiare come si conveni. Et quando ebbono mangiati egli cominciò a sonare il cembalo, et tutti ritornavano agli lor luoghi. Et io vedendo cosi queste cose cominciai a ridere dicendo: Dimmi che vuole dimostrare questo?" etc.

The differences exhibited by the Italian copies of the *fourth* type are much more perplexing. Many of these differences either show marked character which looks genuine, or contain true information not contained in the other versions, so that I am strongly inclined to believe that the basis of this type of narrative has been a genuine document, and very possibly one written by Odoric himself, prior to the dictation of his longer story at Padua. But it bears also traces of having passed through ignorant hands which have misrendered the narrative put into them. In a note below I give examples of what is meant under each of the characteristics that have been named[1].

The greatest difficulty in the whole of Odoric's narrative lies in his account of the Islands of Nicoverra and Dondin,

[1] 1. *Statements and peculiarities in the* MINOR RAMUSIAN *Version of Odoric that have a look of genuine character, whether true or not.* 1. The assertion that Odoric commenced his travels in 1318. 2. The repeated oaths (*per lo vero Iddio*) to the truth of the statements. 3. The story of a convent of loose women at Erzrum. 4. The Description of the Sandy Sea. 5. Description of a Marriage at Baghdad, and of another at Tana in India. 6. Comparison of the crowds in China to those in Venice on Ascension Day, etc.

II. *Statements of true or probable circumstances, not found in the Latin copies.* 1. Says nothing of going abroad for love of souls, but merely that he went with leave of his superiors. 2. Mentions mines of copper [and silver] near Trebizond. 3. Mentions that snow covers two-thirds of Ararat and renders it inaccessible. 4. Mentions Minorite

and the manner in which these are introduced in the longer versions of his story.

In the minor version of Ramusio no mention is made of Malabar or Maabar, though many particulars regarding the continent of India, which in the longer versions are connected with those two countries, are in the shorter embraced in the account of Tana.

Moreover the Minor Ramusian mentions intermediately between India and China only the islands of Nicoverra and Dondin, whereas the longer versions speak in detail of Sumatra, Java, Thalamasin (certainly a part of the Archipelago), and Champa. After Champa China should naturally follow; but here come in quite anomalously Nicoverra and Dondin, and between them *Ceylon*, which does not appear at all in the Minor Ramusian.

The only probable suggestion I can offer in explanation of this state of things is that the original incomplete sketch which forms the substance of the Minor Ramusian, whether written or dictated by Odoric, was handed over to the amanuenses to aid them in the redaction of the longer narrative, and that they interpolated this part about Nicoverra, &c., where they thought most convenient.

This notion is somewhat strengthened by the following circumstance. Under Malabar, in the longer narrative, the practice of Suttee is thus mentioned: "If the dead man had a wife, they burn her alive with him, saying that she

convent at Tauris. 5. [Mentions crossing Fiume Rosso (Araxes) before reaching Tauris.] 6. Locates the Wise Men of the East at Sabba instead of at Kashan, as the other copies do. 7. [The Sumpit or Blow-pipe in the Eastern Archipelago], etc.

III. *Instances of ignorant alteration or interpolation.* 1. Emperor of *Constantinople* substituted for Emperor of Trebizond, near the beginning. 2. Raisins of Yezd called very *big*, instead of very *little*, as in the other copies. 3. Houses in China said to be eight or ten stories high. 4. Assertion that he *saw* the plant called the Tartar Lamb, etc.

The references in brackets are to the copy in the Palatine Library at Florence.

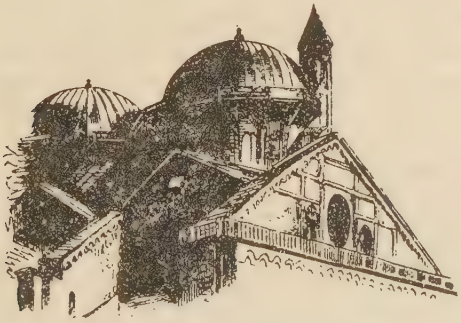
should abide with her husband in the other world." And again the same version, in concluding the account of Champa, says: "When a married man dies in this country his body is burnt, and his wife is burnt alive along with him; for they say that she should go with her husband, to keep him company in another world." And this is immediately followed by the account of Nicoverra.

Now a reference to the translation will show that the passage about Suttee in Champa comes in inappropriately, after the author had apparently done with that country. And I do not think we have any reason to believe that Suttee was practised in Champa or Cambodia, countries whose Indian religion seems to have been Buddhism and not Brahmanism[1]. The last extract, therefore, I conceive, may have been merely a portion of the shorter narrative relating to India Proper, which was accidentally interpolated into the longer narrative along with the account of Nicoverra and Dondin. And its appearance confirms in some degree my suggestion as to the fact of this interpolation. Other and minor difficulties or exaggerations are, I dare say, to be accounted for by accidents of dictation, and must not be judged too hardly. For instance, the narrative says that Odoric saw at Champa a tortoise as big as the dome of St Anthony's at Padua. The Friar, be it remembered, was in the convent of St Anthony, when he dictated the story; perhaps lying ill, as some of his biographers assert. He tells William de Solagna that he saw *a very big tortoise*. 'How big?' quoth Gulielmo all agape; 'Was it as big as the dome yonder?' 'Well, yes,' says the sick traveller, perhaps without turning to look, and certainly without making a very accurate comparison, 'I dare say it might be.' And down it goes in regular

[1] I find, however, since writing the above, that the *Sommario de' Regni* in Ramusio ascribes the practice of suttee to the people of Cambodia. (*Ramusio*, i, 336.) [Cremation was practised in Champa; see note to Chapter XXIII.]

narration: "*Vidi ibi testudinem majorem revolutione trulli ecclesiae Sancti Antonii de Padua.*"

Odoric's credit was not benefited by the liberties which Sir John Mandeville took with his narrative. Because ignorance formerly accused Herodotus and Marco Polo of multiplying falsehoods, the fashion of "rehabilitation" would extend itself too widely, and try to cover also such writers as Ferdinand Mendez Pinto and Mandeville. No one, of course, could regard Mandeville as throughout writing *bonâ fide*; but he has been treated by respectable authorities as if he had really travelled in the far East.



Domes of St Anthony's at Padua

Now the fact is that the substance of his travels to the Indies and Cathay is entirely stolen from Odoric, [and other writers][1], though largely amplified with fables from Pliny and other ancients, as well as from his own imagination, and garnished with his own wonderfully clear astronomical notions.

These *coincidences* were so obvious to former ages that Mandeville is, I think, said to have been termed on his tomb, *Odorici Comes*[2], whilst the MS. of Odoric in the

[1] [See French edition of Odoric, pp. xlix–lii; and our note in the third edition of *Marco Polo*, II, pp. 598–605.]

[2] This phrase is from the book *De Orbis situ ac descriptione*, quoted § 114 of the *Preliminary Essay*.

C. V. C.

library of Mentz Cathedral entitles the latter, "*Socius Militis Mendavill.*" Sir Thomas Herbert, too. calls Odoric "travelling companion of our Sir John."

I subjoin in a note details which will give an idea of the extent of these wholesale robberies[1]. Naturally Mandeville has often misunderstood what he appropriates, and that in a way which shows that he never travelled in the countries spoken of; of this many instances might be given if it were worth while. He is crafty enough now and then to suggest the probability of his having travelled in company with Odoric, and having thus shared his experiences. For instance he says, in describing the Perilous Valley (which loses nothing in his telling), that there were with him "two worthy men, Friars of Lombardy, who said that if any man would enter they would go in with us." (p. 269.)

Indeed his borrowings are so large, and date from a

[1] The following passages of Odoric are appropriated bodily by Mandeville. 1. The notice of Trebizond, and that of the body of Athanasius there. (*Mand.*, p. 202.) 2. The account of Erzrum (p. 203). 3. About Ararat, and including the difficult name of Sobissacalo (*ib.*). 4. Notices of Cassan and the Three Kings; of the Sandy Sea; of Comum or Cornaa and its ruins; and the land of Job (p. 205). 5. Of the Tower of Babel, and the dress of the men and women of Chaldæa (p. 206). 6. Of Ships without nails (with the addition of the legend of the loadstone rocks) (p. 211). 7. Notice of Thana (called Chana) *ib.* 8. All about Malabar, and the pepper, &c., with fictions added (pp. 213–14). 9. The odd passage of Odoric, about the women drinking and shaving, is repeated (p. 215). 10. Notice of Mabar; but giving the city of St Thomas the name of Calamy (the Calamina of ecclesiastical tradition) which is not used by Odoric (*ib.*). 11. Voyage to Lamori, &c.; Notices of Sumatra, Java, Sago-making, &c. (pp. 218–223). 12. Notice of Champa, with Odoric's stories of shoals of fish, of 14,000 elephants, &c., and fictions of his own added (pp. 224–5). 13. The accounts of Nicoverra, Ceylon, and Dondin, and *all out of place* just as in Odoric (pp. 226–8). 14. The whole account of Manzi and Cathay, &c., &c. It might be worth while if I had time and space to try to trace all the originals which Mandeville stole from. I suspect the knight would come out of the process almost in his buff. A large part is taken from Haiton, and something from Plano Carpini [and from Vincent de Beauvais, Jacques de Vitry, Boldensel]. It *might* even prove on examination that his minute account of the Holy Land, the best part of his book, is stolen likewise. (The preceding references are to Bohn's edition of Mandeville.) [See Warner's edition, Westminster, 1889, and my note in *Marco Polo*, II, p. 602.]

time so nearly contemporary with Odoric, that his *readings* of the proper names have some positive value for collation, and have occasionally suggested amendments of the text, which in some instances have afterwards been confirmed by superior MSS. of Odoric, and in others still need that corroboration[1].

DECRETUM

Utinen. canonizationis

BEATI ODORICI MATTHIUSSI

Sacerdotis Professi Ordinis Minorum S. Francisci.

Admissa ad relationem Eminentissimi et Reverendissimi Domini Cardinalis Prosperi Columnae de Sciarra Ponentis à Sacrorum Rituum Congregatione Ordinaria, ex dispensatione Apostolica absque interventu Consultorum, habita die 14. Aprilis 1753. Commissione Introductionis Causae Canonizationis praedicti Beati Odorici Matthiussi Sacerdotis Professi Ordinis Minorum Sancti Francisci, illaque subinde die 25. ejusdem Mensis, et Anni a Sanctissimo Domino Nostro *BENEDICTO PAPA XIV.* manu propria signata cum in ejus executionem instante Patre Fratre Laurentio Ganganelli ejusdem Ordinis Minorum Sancti Francisci Conventualium Postulatore, propositum fuerit ab eodem Eminentissimo Ponente in Sacrorum Rituum Congregatione Ordinaria, atque discussum Dubium : *An Sententia lata per Eminentissimum, et Reverendissimum Ordinarium Utinensem super Cultu ab immemorabili tempore praedicto Beato praestito, sive casu*

[1] Thus I first got the true name of the city *Chilenfu* (see § 34 of Odoric) instead of Chileso, Chilerapha, &c., from Mandeville, though I have since found it in MSS. of Odoric. And the Cornaa which Mandeville has instead of Comum (see § 3) has suggested another reading and identification.

Old Purchas's judgment of the relative claims of the two travellers is most unjust. Mandeville he calls next to Polo, "if next...the greatest Asian traveller that ever the World had"; whilst he has nought but ill to say of "Odericus, a Friar and Traveller, in whom perhaps some Friar hath travelled with him at least in this author [*i.e.*, Mandeville], whose age was before him, and therefore could not cite anything out of him" [the reverse of the truth]. *Purchas's Pilgrims*, iii, 65, 127.

excepto a Decretis san. mem. Urbani Papae VIII. sit confirmanda in casu, et ad effectum, de quo agitur. Sacra eadem Congregatio praevio maturo examine Processus informativi super praefato casu excepto in Civitate Utinen. ab Eminentissimo et Reverendissimo Ordinario ejusdem Civitatis constructo, ac audito R. P. D. Benedicto Veterani Fidei Promotore, qui suam sententiam scripto exposuit, rescribendum censuit: *Affirmativè*, si Sanctissimo Domino Nostro placuerit. Die 14. Junii 1755.

Et factâ deinde per me infrascriptum Secretarium de praedictis eidem Sanctissimo Domino Nostro relatione, Sanctitas Sua benignè annuit. Die 2. Julii ejusdem Anni 1755.

D. F. Card. TAMBURINUS *Praefectus.*
Loco ✠ Sigilli.

M. Marefuscus Sac. Rit. Cong. Secretarius[1].

FUNERALS OF BEATO ODORICO.

We give an account of the funeral expenses of our traveller from Dr V. JOPPI, of Udine; it was printed by Domenichelli, pp. 397–9, and reprinted with the corrections of Dr Joppi in the Introduction of the French edition of Odoric, pp. LX–LXIII.

Ex Quadernis Camerariorum Comunis terrae Utini, tom. X; in copia presso la Biblioteca Civica di Udine, Collez. Fabrizio.

MCCCXXXI. Expense Sepulture Beati Fratris Odorici.

Die XV mensis januarij, dedit de mandato dñi Gastaldionis et Consilij pro solutione Casse in qua fuit primo Beatus Frater Odoricus repositus. . . . denarios xvj.

Item, Pro Clavis positis in spangata facta in dicta Ecclesia occasione predicta. . . . . dñr. xvj.

Item, Dedit illis qui vigilaverunt Beatum Fratrem Odoricum, et fecerunt sepulturam ejus. . . . . dñr. xij.

Item, Magistro Nicolao Marangono, pro lignamine, agutis et vino expenditis per ipsum cum sociis suis, de mandato Andreottis et Federici notarii olim dñi Galvagni, deputatorum de mandato Consilii, fort. tres, et dñr. ij Aquilegenses.

[1] *Venni*, pp. 32–33.

Item, Pro seratura posita ad spaltum Sepulture Fratris Odorici. dñr. xij.

Item, Pro duobus doplerijs et candellis emptis per predictos Andreottum et Federichum ad dictum opus faciendum. dñr. xxiiij.

Item, Magistro Nicolao Marangono pro se et sociis suis et aliis qui laboraverunt ad dictum opus, pro labore suo. dñr. LViiij.

Item. Pro solutione secunde Casse in qua repositus fuit Frater Odorichus, et pro assidibus emptis que posite fuerunt super Sepultura corporis Beati Fratris Odorici. dñr. xxviij.

Item, Dedit pro conducturis assidum et lignorum positorum in spalto ante dicto. . . . . dñr. iiij.

Item, Pro lastra sive lapide empto a presbitero Martino, qui repositus fuit super sepulturam corporis Fratris Odorici, mediam marcham deñar.

Item, Pro uno doplerio empto pro opera supradicta. dñr. xviij.

Item, Marcho qui laboravit cir.a spaltatam predictam. dñr. iij.

Item, Pro vino dato laboratoribus qui laboraverunt ad spaltatam. dñr. ij.

Item, Zinando Marangono, qui fecit spaltatam ante altare majus et iuxta altare apud ejus sepulcrum. . . dñr. xvj.

Item, Marcho qui iuvit dic'.m Magistrum laborari ad dictam spaltatam. . . . . dñr. iij.

Item, Filio Comassij, qui conduxit calcem et sabolonum pro dicta sepultura. . . . . dñr. sex.

Item, Menaccio Fabro genero Ortasij pro agutis positis in dicta opera. . . . . dñr. x.

Item, Magistro Jacobo Fornesario pro duobus ceuris calcine, et pro uno curru saboloni positis ad sepulturam predictam. dñr. xij.

Item, Magistro Rizardo staderario pro tribus seraturis et ferris positis ad Arcam Fratris Odorici. . . dñr. xxxvj.

Item, Magistro Petro Fabro pro agutis positis ad spangatam factam in dicta Ecclesia, et pro laqueis Arche Fratris Odorici. . . . . dñr. xLiij.

Item, Magistro Burlo muratori, qui laboravit per unum diem circa dictum Monimentum Fratris Odorici. . . dñr. sex.

Item, Dedit pro dimidio miliare de modonibus, et tribus ceuris de calce emptis a magistro Jacobo Fornesario. dñr. xxxv.

I give now the cost of the monument erected in 1332, from Domenichelli, pp. 399–400, corrected by my friend Dr V. Joppi, of Udine.

1332

Ex quadernis Camerariorum Comunis terrae Utini, etc.

Die tertio januarij Benevenuto notario qui exemplavit Miracula Beati Fratris Odorici ad petitionem dñi Gastaldionis de mandato Consilij, marcham unam.

Die X januarij dedit de mandato dñi Gastaldionis et Consilij Wecilo notario ex provisione sibi facta per Consilium pro testimonijs miraculorum que ivit scribendo per provinciam. . . . . marchas iij.

Item, Manfeo dñe Bertoline eadem de causa. . marchas ij.

Item, Dño Meliorantie simili de causa. . . marchas ij.

Mense Aprili. Ratio incastri Beati Fratris Odorici.

Dedit dictus Camerarius magistro Mene Marangono qui laboravit iiij diebus in faciendo incastrum ad Archam Beati Fratris Odorici. . . . . denarios xxxvj.

Item, Danieli Marangono de Grazano, qui duobus diebus laboravit ad dictum opus. . . . . dñr. xij.

Item, Duobus Manualibus, qui eos iuverant in tribus diebus. dñr. xviij.

Item, Romano manuali pro iiij diebus . . dñr. xvj.

Item, Pro uno curru qui duobus diebus laboravit conducendo lignamina et alia. . . . . dñr. xvj.

Item, Pro vino predictis. . . . . dñr. v.

Item, Pro laqueis ferri qui fuerant librarum viij onziarum iij ad dictum opus. . . . . dñr. xiij.

Item, Pro faciendo spizari clavos ad dictum opus. dñr. v.

Die X maij Fratribus Minoribus pro provisione eis facta per dñum Gastaldionem et Consilium. . . . marchas xij.

Item, Dedit Iuratis et Notario Comunis quando elegerunt homines debentes custodire apud ecclesiam Sancti Francisci in festo translationis beati Fratris Odorici, et apud dñum Gastaldionem pro potu. . . . . dñr xvj.

Item, Quibusdam pueris qui iverunt dando scripta per terram electorum predictorum. . . . . dñr. xij.

Item, Dedit magistro Philippo de Venetiis qui fecit Archam Beati Fratris Odorici de mandato dñi Gastaldionis et Consilij. soldos x grossorum.

Die XV maij dedit Magistro Rizzardo staderario, qui fecit retem ferream circa Archam Beati Fratris Odorici. marchas ij.

The MSS. of Odoric's Travels scattered over Europe are numerous, as has already been mentioned. Here is a list of those which I have seen personally or found notice of.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A.—LIST OF MSS. OF ODORIC'S NARRATIVE SO FAR AS THEY ARE KNOWN

See the numeration of the MSS. on p. 75.

I.—LATIN MSS.

A.—Great Britain.

1-1-1-**Cambridge**, *Corpus Christi College*, CCLXXV.

Vellum, sm. fol., 2 col., 42 lines, xvth cent.—Contains 21 pieces, of which (13) *Itinerarium fratris* Odorici *ordinis fratrum minorum de mirabilibus orientalium Tartarorum*, fol. 149. Cf. pp. 316-17, *Cat. lib. ms. quos Collegio Corporis Christi et B. Mariae Virginis in Acad. Cantab. legavit Rev. in Christo Pater M. Parker, archiep. Cantuariensis*, ed. J. Nasmith...Cantab., 1777, 4to.—English handwriting; the works are written without any interruption of text.—This MS. was marked 1280, 4 (11) of *Lib. Ms. Collegii S. Benedicti* in the *Catalogi*, Oxon., 1697, fol.—The late Henry Bradshaw wrote to me that this MS. is No. 21 of the collection of books left to *Corpus Christi College* by Thomas Markaunt, of Cambridge, in 1439; a catalogue of the whole library will be found in the 4to collection of publications of the Cambridge Antiquaries.

Odoric begins f. 149: *Incipit Itinerarium.... Licet multa et varia de ritibus et condicionibus huius seculi enarrentur a multis. Ego tamen frater Odoricus de Foro-Iulii de P'tu Vahonis volens ad partes infidelium transfretare...* and ends f. 162: *...qui pulsant*

citharas vt homines alliciant intrare et interficiant, Hec de visis certitudinaliter Ego frater Odoricus hic inscripsi et multa mirabilia omisi ponere quia homines non credidissent nisi vidissent. Explicit Itinerarium fratris Odorici, etc.

This MS. does not include the supplementary pieces of the other Corpus Christi MS.—The present MS. is probably one to which Yule refers, p. 30, No. 4, in these words: "Asquini in his life of Odoric says that the old MS. of his narrative, which formerly existed in the Convent at Udine, was sold in his own day to an English gentleman passing through Friuli, by the heirs of a priest to whom it had been lent, and he understood that it was preserved in St Benet's College, Cambridge. The MS. in question, however, only dated from 1448 (see *Venni*, p. 38)."

2–2–2–Cambridge, *Corpus Christi College*, CCCCVII.

[Yule, No. 4.]—Vellum, 8vo, end of xivth cent.—Contains six pieces: 1. *Itinerarium fratrum Symonis Semeonis et Hugonis illuminatoris, ordinis fratrum minorum professorum ad terram sanctam* A.D. 1322.—2. *Itinerarium fratris Willelmi de Rubruk de ordine fratrum minorum anno gratiae MCCLIII ad partes orientales* (incomplete at the end).—3. *Itinerarium fratris Odorici ordinis fratrum minorum de mirabilibus orientalium Tartarorum.*—4. *Liber de terrae partibus et diversis provinciis.*—5. *Liber secreti secretorum* sive *de regimine principum et dominorum ad instantiam Alexandri magni ab Aristotele editus.*—6. *Aliud documentum de complexione humana.* Cf. Nasmith's *Cat.*, pp. 384–5.

English Handwriting.—Odoric, which is the third of the collection, is from W. of Solagna's version; two small 4to quires, 6 ff., narrow, on a single column, 30 lines a page. Begins, f. 1 recto: *Incipit Itinerarius*... ends f. 21 verso: ...*nisi vidissent*; then *De honore et reverencia factis dño Kano.* Vnum tamen referam de magno Kane quod vidi. Consuetudo est in partibus illis... then comes *De morte fratris Odorici* and ends f. 23 recto ...*difficilia ad scribendum*; ff. 23 v. and 24 are blank.

This is one of the MSS. used by Francisque Michel and Thomas Wright for their edition of W. of Rubruck. (*Rec. Soc. Géog.* IV. p. 209); they gave a fac-simile.—See pp. xviii–xxiv, *The Texts and Versions of John de Plano Carpini and William de Rubruquis...edited by* C. Raymond Beazley, Lond., Hakluyt Soc., MDCCCCIII, 8vo; Beazley says it is of the earliest xvth century.

3–3–3–**Cambridge,** *Gonville and Caius College.*

[Yule, No. 5.]—Contains seven pieces: 1. *De ortu, processu, et actibus Machometis;* 2. *Wilhelmus Tripolitanus de statu Saracenorum, et de Machomete;* 3. *Paulus Venètus de conditionibus et consuetudinibus Orientalium regionum;* 4. ODORICUS *de ritibus Orientalium;* 5. *Petrus Archiepiscopus, de Russia, et de ortu Tartarorum;* 6. *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanorum. Ad finem tractatus habetur dimensio sepulchri Dominici;* 7. *Historia Hierosolymitana, et Orient. regionum.*—Cf. No. 1100. 46 of *Lib. MS. Colleg. Caio-Gonvilensis* in *Cat. lib. ms. Angliae et Hiberniae in unum collecti,* Oxoniae, 1697, fol.—No. 162, pp. 80–1 of *A Cat. of MS. in the Lib. of Gonville and Caius College,* Cambridge, by the Rev. J. J. Smith, Cambridge, 1849, 8vo.—*Marco Polo,* II, p. 533, No. 12.

4–4–4–**Middlehill** (Worcestershire).—Library of Sir Thomas Phillips. Bart.

[Yule, No. 8.]—Described in 1827 by Haenel, col. 859: "1789. 650. *Palladii Rutilii Tauri Æmiliani opus agriculturae; fr. Oderici de Foro-Iulii, ordinis Minorum, itinerarium in partibus infidelium a. 1331 compositum;* saec. XIV. membr. (Ex libris *Ioannis Iulii.*)"

5–5–5–**London,** *British Museum, Royal Collection,* 14. C. XIII.

[Yule, No. 1.]—Handsome fol. vol., vellum.—*Incipit itinerariū frīs Odrici ordinis frm̄ mion̄ de mirabi*[bs] *Orienta*[ē] *Tartaro*[m].—Contains: *Cronica Ranulphi monachi Cestrensis, siue Policronicon.—Praefationes historiographorum.—Historia vaticinalis Gyraldi Cambrensis de conquestu Hyberniae.—Libellus de mirabilibus scāe terrae.—Itinerarium fratris Odrici de mirabilibus orient.—Itinerarium fratris Willmi Rubrik de gestis Tartarum Orient.—Libellus Marcij Pauli de mirabilibus Orient.—Versus Magistri Michaelis Cornubiensis.—Expositio Triuet poemata et histor tact. in libro Ciuitate Dei.*—Odoric's Itinerary begins on f. 216 and ends f. 224 verso (9 ff.); it seems to be the MS. reproduced by Richard Hakluyt: *The second volume of the Principal Navigations,* Lond., 1599, pp. 39–53: *Incipit itinerarium fratris Odorici fratrum minorum de mirabilibus Orientalium Tartarorum.—Marco Polo,* II, p. 530, No. 3.—Beazley, p. xviii, 1.

6–6–6–**London**, *British Museum, Cottonian, Otho*, D. I.

[Yule, No. 3.]—One of the MSS. damaged by the fire at Ashburnham House, Westminster, on the 23d October 1731; leaves mounted on sheets of strong paper; large folio, of course in a very bad state of preservation.—Contains among other pieces: *Tractatus Bedae* and *Rog. Bacon.*, *Ranulphi Cestrensis Polychronicon*, etc.

7–7–7–**London**, *British Museum, Arundel*, No. 13, fol. 38 verso.

[Yule, No. 2.]—Small 4to, vellum, pale ink and much discoloured; 51 ff.; xivth cent. Yule says: "In the earlier part the agreement with the MS. Royal Coll., XIV, C. XIII, Brit. Mus., is pretty close; afterwards the variations are greater. The two MSS. have, however, a great general conformity and marked peculiarities common to both. 'These two MSS. are pronounced on good authority to be of the earlier half of the xivth century, and most probably a short time after the death of the author.' (*Major's* Preface to *Herberstein.*) However that may be, they afford a version which has been in some manner and degree tampered with. I have examined this MS. and had a transcript before me."

This is the text of Hakluyt with variants.—In the French edition I gave an heliogravure of the beginning.—Marked in our notes ARUND., and B. M.: Odoric (Latin) takes f. 38—f. 51 verso.

8–8–8–**London**, *British Museum, Harleian*, No. 562, f. 22 verso.

Not mentioned by Yule.—Incomplete Latin MS.—Includes with slight modifications the text of Hakluyt from the beginning until the passage in which Odoric relates that he collected the bones of the four Tana Martyrs (*Navigations*, II, pp. 39–43). The MS. then reproduces the paragraph relating to Tana (p. 41 of Hakluyt) until *dummodo adhibeatur sibi aqua*, when the copy stops at the top of a blank page.

Vellum, 4to; 30 ff.; the beginning includes *Topographia Urbis Romae*; Odoric begins f. 22 verso.

9–9–9–**Oxford**, *Bodleian Library*.

[Yule, No. 6.] Vellum, 8vo, xivth cent.—*Codices Digbeiani*, No. 11, Piece No. 3, f. 44.—This collection includes 31 pieces, 8vo, vellum; Odoric's relation is followed f. 59^{b} by Carpini's.

Incipit Itinerarium fratris Odorici de ordine Minorum, approbatum sub manu notarii publici, de mirabilibus Indie.

Incip. prol.: *Noverint universi quorum interest quod quidam frater ordinis Minorum, Odoricus nomine.* Incip. liber: *Licet multa et varia de condicionibus hujus seculi enarrantur a multis.* Expl. lib.:—*In quibus vivere et mori me dispono, si placuerit Deo meo altissimo.* Expl. append.:—*Sed non de omnibus, quia sunt innumerabilia, et mihi difficilia ad scribendum.*

Cf. *Catalogi Cod. MSS. Bib. Bodleianae Pars nona, Codices a viro clarissimo Kenelm Digby, Eq. Aur., anno 1634 donatos, complectens.* Confecit G. D. Macray, Oxon., 1883, 4to, p. 7.

10–10–10–**Oxford,** *Bodleian Library.*

[Yule, No. 7.] *Codices Digbeiani* (cf. *Cat. ut supra*, p. 166), No. 166, Piece No. 10, f. 36.—Includes 55 pieces folio, vellum, and of the xiith and xivth cent.; Odoric's relation is followed f. 46 by *Epistola Sathane ad universalem ecclesiam.*

Narratio Odorici, fratris Ordinis Minorum, provinciae Paduanae, de mirabilibus quae vidit in partibus Orientis.

Hic desinit ad finem narrationis martyrii quatuor fratrum Minorum.

11–11–11–**Glasgow,** *Library of the Hunterian Museum.*

Vellum, $10\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$, ff. 340, originally ff. 352, well written in single cols. of 36 lines.—xvth cent.—No. 84.—See *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of the Hunterian Museum... planned by...* John Young...*continued...by* P. Henderson Aitken.—Glasgow, 1908, 4to, pp. 89–90.—Includes six pieces: 1. Guido de Colonna's *Destruction of Troy*; 2. Julius Valerius' (?) *History of Alexander the Great's Exploits*; 3. Archbishop's Turpin's *Itinerary* (*Exploits of Charlemagne*); 4. Marco Polo's *Travels, &c. in the East*; 5. Friar Odoric; 6. Sir John de Mandeville's *Travels.*

84–5. Frater Odoricus Forojuliensis (Imperfect).

Begins (33, 4 [f. 254 (260)] r°. lines 1–3): *L* [illuminated initial] *Icet multa et varia de ritubus et condicionibus | huius mundi a multis enarrentur. sciendum est | tamen quod ego frater Odoricus de foro Julij.*

Ends (35, 8 [f. 268 (280)] v°. lines 12, 13): *bat sic iste scribebat ad hoc vt omnes facilius intellegerent que dicerentur. Deo gracias Amen.*

12-12-12-**Glasgow**, *Library of the Hunterian Museum.*

Vellum, $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, ff. 134, well written in French hand, in single cols. of 27 lines.—xivth cent. No. 458.—See *Cat....of the Hunterian Museum*, as above, pp. 378–379.—Includes two pieces: *Marco Polo* and *Odoric.*

458–2. Friar Odoric of Pordenone's Travels in Tartary and the East:

Begins (15, 1 r°. lines 1–6): *Incipit liber fratris ordorici de foro Julio de | ordine minorum de mirabilibus tartarorum | et orientalium Regionum*...[rubric] *Q* [gilt historiated initial with gestures] *Vamuis alia multa et ua | na de conditionibus et ritibus | huius mundi a multis enar.*

Ends (18, 3 v°. lines 20–24): *intelligerentur que dicuntur. Amen* | [one line vacant] | *Explicit liber de mirabilibus tartarorum compositus | a fratre Odorico de foro iulij ordinis fratrum | minorum...* | [one line vacant] | *V* [ornamental initial with grotesque head and wine cup] *Inum scribenti : debetis de meliori.*

B.—Germany.

13-13-1-**Berlin**, *Royal Library*, Latin MS., theol. 4to, No. 131.

[Yule, No. 15.]—Paper MS., pp. 440; title on the back: *Vitae Sanctorum et alia*; xvth cent., says Laurent (*Peregrinationes medii aevi quatuor*); more probably xivth cent.—Ff. 1–17 contain a description of the Holy Land supposed to be written by Odoric; it has been published by Laurent, *l.c.*; but it includes also from f. 49 the text of Odoric's Itinerary published by Hakluyt; it begins: *Licet multa*, etc.; the death of Odoric appears on pp. 94–95; it is the version of Henry of Glatz; in the French edition we have given facsimiles of ff. 93, 94 and 95; mentioned by Pertz, *Archiv*, VIII, 1843, p. 846; marked in our notes Berlin.

14-14-2-**Bremen**, *Stadtbibliothek*, MS. b. 2.

[Yule, No. 22.]—xivth cent., parchment, 4to, bound in vellum; pale yellow ink. Contains: I. *Hist. SS. trium regum.* —II. *Nobili viro domino suo carissimo domno Engelberto comiti de Marka Leuoldus de Northof...* —III. Fol. 111: *Ista infrascripta sunt mirabilia que vidit frater* Odoricus *de foro Iulii ordinis fratrum Minorum ultra mare et que idem frater ad pre-*

ceptum sui provincialis...scribi fecit per...fratrem Guillelmum de Solagna, ejusdem ordinis sub anno, mense et die infrascriptis.—Licet multa et magna de ritibus.... —Fol. 135: *Exprimebat. Anno domini Millesimo Trecentesimo tregesimo, de mense Madii padue In loco sancti Antonii confessoris. Nec curavit de latino difficili et ornato set sicut ille enarrabat sic iste scribebat. Ad hoc ut ipsum omnes legentes facilius intelligerent. que dicuntur supra dictus frater Odoricus transiuit de hoc mundo ad deum in conuentu Utini. Anno domini 1330 die 4. Ianuarii qui postmodum coruscat miraculis. Amen.*

Mentioned by Pertz, *Archiv*, VII, 1839, p. 700.—26 ff., long lines.

15–15–3–**Breslau**, *University Library.*

Not mentioned by Yule.—*Fratris Oderici de Foroiulii itinerarium.*—Pertz, *Archiv*, XI, 1858, p. 700.

16–16–4–**Mentz**, Library of the Chapter of the Cathedral, No. 52.

— *Incipit Itinerarius fidelis Fratris* ODERICI, *socii Militis* MENDAVIL, *per Indiam; licet hic prius, et alter posterius peregrinationem suam descripsit.*

"*Licet multa et magna de ritibus et condicionibus huius mundi enarrentur*; tamen sciendum est, *quod ego Frater Odericus* de *Foro Iulii*, volens transfretare, et ad partes infidelium dirigere gressus meos, ut fructus aliquos lucrifacerem animarum; multa, magna, et mirabilia vidi et audivi, que veraciter possum enarrare. Nam primo, cum transirem mare maius, me transtuli ad terram Trapesundam, que Pontus olim vocabatur. Hec terra valde bene situata est...(*quae superflua sunt*). In hac eciam terra vidi unum, quod valde placuit michi; nam vidi hominem secum perducentem plus quam quatuor milia perdicum. Iste homo per terram veniebat, perdices vero per aera volabant, iuxta quoddam castrum quod vocatur *Zanega*, distans a Trapesunda tribus dietis: He perdices erant huius condicionis et proprietatis: Nam cum ille homo vellet quiescere vel dormire, omnes perdices se ponebant iuxta eum more pullorum gallinarum; et sic isto modo ducebat eas Trapesundam, usque ad pallacium imperatoris. Que cum essent ante eum, de eis tot accipiebat quot ipse volebat; a quo autem ad locum a quo ipse prius illas acceperat, perducebat.

"In hac civitate positum est corpus B. *Anastasii*, qui fecit

Symbolum *Quicunque vult salvus esse.* Inde redii in Armeniam maiorem ad quandam civitatem, que vocatur *Arciron*, etc., etc."

In fine huius operis: "Ego Frater *Odericus* de *Foro Iulii*, de quadam terra que dicitur sive vocatur *Portus Naonis*, de Ordine Fratrum Minorum, testificor, & testimonium prebeo Reverendo Fratri et Domino meo Fri *Gvvidoco*, Provinciali S. Anthonii in Marcha Travisana, cum per eum fuerim requisitus per obedienciam, quod omnia que superius scripta sunt, propriis oculis vidi, et quedam audivi a fide dignis, ut predixi. Communis eciam locucio illarum contentarum est, ut illa que non vidi, non testarer esse vera apud homines, nisi illa propriis oculis conspexissem. Ego autem de die in diem me preparo ad illas contratas ire, in quibus dispono me mori et vivere, ut illi placuerit, a quo bona cuncta procedunt.

"Predicta autem fideliter Fr. *Guilhelmus* de *Solagna* in scriptis redegit, sicut predictus *Odericus* ore proprio exprimebat. anno Domini MCCCXXX die mensis Maii, *Padue*, in loco .S. Antonii Confessoris, nec curavit de Latino difficili et ornato; sed, sicut ille sibi narravit, sic ipse scripsit; ad hoc, ut omnes hec legentes facilius intelligerent que dicuntur. Qui Fr. *Odericus* transivit de hoc mundo ad Deum in Conventu *Utini*, anno Dni MCCCXXX, die XIIII Ianuarii, qui postmodum choruscat miraculis multis.

"Explicit Itinerarius *Oderici*[1]."

This MS. is the second of fol. LII including: (*a*) *Marco Polo*; (*b*) *Odoric*; (*c*) *Ricold*; (*d*) William of Boldensêl.

With regard to the text of this voyage, V. F. de G. remarks:

"Nota; iste Fr. *Odericus* non scripsit libellum hunc de mirabilibus Asie; sed ad preceptum superioris sui referente, aliqui Fratres Minores ex ore eius scripserunt. Et inde venit, quod libelli huiusmodi frequenter in aliquibus verbis et clausulis sint differentes; quia plures scribentes non potuerunt eundem ordinem verborum, pronuntiando, in mente servare, sine aliqua variacione."

I have vainly looked for this MS. at Mentz; it may have been destroyed in the bombardment of 18th June 1793.—Yule, No. 21. —*Marco Polo*, II, p. 549, No. 81.

[1] *Sylloge I variorvm Diplomatariorvm monvmentorvmqve vetervm ineditorvm adhvc, et res germanicas in primis vero Mogvntinas illvstrantivm*...Decrevit Val. Ferd. de Gvdenvs immed. ordinis eqvestris imperii Circ. Rhen. svper. Francofvrti ad Moenvm, Anno MDCCXXVIII, 8vo, Voir p. 381/3.

17-17-5-**Wolfenbüttel,** *Ducal Library,* No. 40, *Weissemburg.*

[Yule, No. 24.] Latin MS.; paper; xvth cent.; fol., long lines; from the abbey of Weissemburg, in Alsace; seals of the Wolfenbüttel and Paris Libraries; the foot of the pages is damaged by water. Contains:

(1) ff. 1–57 verso. *Marchi Pauli de Venetiis de conditionibus et consuetudinibus orientalium regionum* (Pipino's version).

(2) ff. 57 verso–73 verso. *Itinerarius fratris Oderici per Indiam.*

Begins: *Incipit itinerarius fidelis fratris Oderici socii militis Mandauil per Indiam. Licet hic prius et alter posterius peregrinacionem suam descripsit. Licet multa et magna de tribus et conditionibus huius mundi enarrentur, etc.*

Ends: *Qui frater Odoricus transivit de hoc mundo ad deum in conventu Utum anno domini millesimo tricentesimo tricesimo, die decima quarta Januarii, qui postmodum choruscat miraculis multis. Explicit itinerarius Oderici.*

(3) ff. 73 verso–95. *Itinerarius Richoldi ordinis fratrum predicatorum.*

(4) ff. 95–110. *Itinerarius nobilis viri Wilhelmi de Beldensele compillatus anno millesimo tricentesimo tricesimo sexto.*

Laurent, *Peregrinatores.—Marco Polo,* II, p. 548, No. 74.—In the French ed. of Odoric, a facsimile has been given of the page relating to the Great Khan.—Marked in our notes WOLF. 40.

18-18-6-**Wolfenbüttel,** *Ducal Library,* No. 41, *Weissemburg.*

Not mentioned by Yule; Latin MS., paper, xvth cent., fol., long lines, at times, text on 2 col.; same origin as No. 40. Contains:

(1) ff. 1–50. *Ciceronis orationes in Verrem.*

(2) ff. 51–88 verso. *Chronicon Flandriae.*

(3) ff. 91–120 verso. *Rogerus Bacon, de regionibus ad papam Clementem,*

(4) ff. 122–160 verso. *Marcus Paulus, itinerarium de regionibus et partibus majoris Asiae.*

(5) ff. 160 verso–179. *Ricoldi frat. ord. min. itinerarium.*

(6) ff. 179 verso–224. *Jacobus de Vitriaco, descriptio terrae sanctae.*

(7) ff. 224–235 verso. *Itinerarius Odorici.*

Begins: *Licet multa et varia de ritibus et condicionibus huius mundi narrentur...*

Ends: *Predictus frater Odericus transivit de hoc mundo ad deum in conventu vinci anno domini M°CCC°XXXI, die* XIIII *Januari. Qui postmodum multis et magnis miraculis choruscavit. Deo gratias. Explicit itinerarius fratris Oderici de partibus transmarinis et remocioribus.* (Added with a different hand and a small writing: *Qui Odericus fuit frater ordinis minorum.*)

(8) ff. 236–253 verso. *Johannes de Plano Carpino libellus Mongolorum, qui Tartari appellantur, vel de moribus Tartarorum.*

The MSS. 40 and 41 Weiss. are bound in calf.—The name of William of Solagna appears in the declaration at the end of both MSS.—A facsimile of the last page of Odoric is given in the French edition.—Marked in our notes WOLF. 41.—*Marco Polo*, II, p. 549, No. 75.

C.—ALSACE.

19–19–1–**Strasburg,** *University Library.*

Oderici ord. minorum itinerarium a. 1340 (A. VI. 7).

Pertz[1], *Archiv*, VIII, 1843, p. 461.—Yule, No. 11.

20–20–2–**Strasburg,** *University Library.*

Incipit peregrinacio fratris Odorici de ordine minorum: "*In nomine patris, etc.*" Paper, s. XV, in-fol.

Pertz, *Archiv*, VIII, 1843, p. 466.—Yule, No. 12.

21–21–3–**Strasburg,** *Public Library.*

MS. 4to: *Vita Romoaldi; Relatio Oderici ae terris ignotis; hist. de Alexandro M.; vita Nic. de Tolentino; Fr. Petrarca de insigni obedientia et fide uxoria Ioan. Boccaccii; Lotharii Abactoris lib. de miseria conditionis humanae.* (Haenel[2], 1828, col. 462. —Yule, No. 13.)

It is probable that these three MSS. are to-day destroyed.

[1] *Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde zur Beförderung einer Gesammtausgabe der Quellenschriften deutscher Geschichten des Mittelalters* herausgegeben von G. H. Pertz,... Hannover...8vo.

[2] *Catalogi lib. manuscriptorum, qui in bibliothecis Galliae, Helvetiae, Belgii, Britanniae M., Hispaniae, Lusitaniae asservantur*, nunc primum editi a D. Gustavo Haenel. Lipsiae, I. C. Hinrichs, 1830, 4to.

D.—Austria.

22-22-1-**Admont**, Styria, *Archiv der Abtei.*

No. 583, 4to, vellum; xvth cent.; fol. 49^{b}–76^{a}: *Odorici de Foro Julii Historia orientalis.*—Begins: *Cum multa et varia narrantur...*

Pertz, *Archiv*, x, 1851, p. 641.

23-23-2-**Admont.**

No. 639, 4to, vellum; xivth cent.; fol. 80^{a}–94^{a}; title *ut supra*; begins: *Licet multa et varia de ritibus hominum et condicionibus huius mundi a pluribus enarrentur...*

24-24-3-**Melk.**

H. 17. ch. f.; xivth. cent.—*Fr. Odorici descriptio partium Orientis.* Licet multa et varia. Kr. p. 35.—Saec. xv. *Burckardi de Monte Syon Descr. Terrae Sanctae*, ib. p. 52. *Descriptio Terrae S.* in 158 chap. Terra sancta promissionis Deo amabilis, ib., p. 58.

Pertz, *Archiv*, x, p. 603.

25-25-4-**Prague,** *Doms Capitel.*

[Yule, No. 18.]—Paper MS., xivth cent., sm. fol., text on 2 col.—Odoric's Itinerary takes 6 ff.; differs greatly from Hakluyt's version.—*Marco Polo*, II, p. 550, No. 82.

Yule and Domenichelli, after Pertz, have mentioned *two* MSS. of Odoric in the Library of the Chapter of Prague; but when I visited this library, the keeper told me that there was but one MS. —Pertz, *Archiv*, IX, 1847, writes, p. 474: *Odorici de Foro Iulii descriptio Tartarorum*; and p. 476: *Fr. Odoricus de moribus hominum.*

26-26-5-**Prague,** *Böhmisches Museum* (Am Graben).

[Yule, No. 20.] Vellum MS. mentioned by Pertz, *Archiv*, IX, 1847, p. 478: *Oderici fratris itinerarium in Orientem.*

27-27-6-**Vienna,** *Palatine Library*, No. 545.

Latin MS., vellum, 4to. xivth cent., includes several pieces: 1. *Chronica Hungarorum* (without beginning); 2. *Gesta Alexandri Magni*; 3. *Notata de Germaniae ducibus*; 4. *Odoricus*...followed by several treaties of no interest to us and among them a *Tractatus de Urina.*—Odoric takes ff. 80 recto–103 verso; differs greatly from Hakluyt's version.—Version of W. of Solagna; does not

contain M. of Bassano.—Includes interesting variants, those of the Farsetti made use of by Yule, pp. 43–4: *Wherefore I purpose to relate...fourteen years*, etc.; *the galleys from Venice*, etc.

28-28-7-Vienna, *Palatine Library*, No. 3559.

Latin MS., fol., paper (exc. 1st f. vellum); 2 col.; xvth cent.; contains seven pieces, the last of which, Odoric, takes ff. 165 recto–179 verso.—Complete until the death of Odoric (there are 2 ff. numbered 165).—Begins: *Incipit frater Odericus de terra magni chani. Licet multa...*

29-29-8-Vienna, *Palatine Library*, No. 4459.

Latin MS., fol., paper; xvth cent., contains a great number of pieces of all kinds, a Latin *Mandeville* among others.—Odoric is the 23rd and last piece of this collection and takes ff. 190 recto–200 verso. Begins: *Infra scripta sunt mirabilia q. vidit frater Odoricus de Foro julii...Licet multa et magna*...This is the MS. marked No. 14, by Yule, p. 31, who knows but two of the Palatine MSS.

30-30-9-Vienna, *Palatine Library*, No. 4761.

Latin MS., 4to, paper; xvth cent.—Includes a number of pieces of various nature such as a *Tractatus medicus de Gonorrhoea*, a *Descriptio Urbis Romae*, a *Soliloquium de arrha animae* by St Bernard, etc. Odoric is the seventh piece, ff. 160 recto–172 verso.—Same text with different abbreviations as MS. 3559.

E.—Bavaria.

31-31-1-Eichstaett, *Bischoeflichen Seminar zu Eichstaett.*

Odorici itinerarium de mirab. mundi.—Pertz, *Archiv*, IX, 1847, p. 559.—Yule, No. 23.—See French ed. of Odoric, pp. lxxx–lxxxi.

32-32-2-Munich, *Royal Library*, Cod. lat. 903.

Latin MS., 4to, paper, of 1422; brought from Ireland to Bavaria in 1529.—Contains 24 works; Odoric, ff. 153–173.—Text of Henry of Glatz.—Published by Marcellino da Civezza, *Storia univ. delle Missioni Francescane*, III, pp. 739–781; reproduced by Domenichelli, pp. 153–200.—Marked in our notes Civ. et M. da Civ.—Yule, No. 16.

33-33-3-**Munich**, *Royal Library*, No. 21,259.

Latin MS.; vellum; xivth cent.; 2 col. fol.; 296 ff.—Odoric, ff. 13-28; the other pieces are of a quite different nature.

Odoric begins f. 13: *In nõie p̄ris & filij & sp̄s st̄i. Amen. Multa et varia scribunt a diversis maxime qui terras ignotas perambulaverunt maria navigaverũt. prop. q. et ego frater Odoricus de ordine minorum volo et ego ea q̃e vidi in scriptis redigere ad pluriu solacione.*

After Odoric's declaration, *Ego frater Odoric*, comes the anecdote of the Great Khan, and then the note, f. 24: *Predicta frater q̃da dicete fre Odorico redegit ī sc̃pto Anno dn̄i M°CCC°XXX° in mse Maij Padove in loco S̄a Anthonij. Infradictus aut̄e frat. Odoricus post Anno Dni M°CCC°XXXI° Januarij die xiij migravit ad dn̄m i Coventu fratru Minorum Vtini. In foro Iulii*...Then a description of the seventh wonder of the world.

Some allusions to Essling, Worms, Mentz, show that the scribe was a German, probably from Swabia.—Marked in our notes MUN.—Yule, No. 17.—See t. II, Ps. III of *Cat. Cod. latin. Bibl. regiae Monac.*, 1878, 8vo, p. 303, 21,259 (Ulm. 59).

34-34-4-**Nürnberg**, *City Library*.

Latin MS., bad handwriting; contains: Marco Polo, St Brandan, Mandeville, Odoric, Schildtberger.

F.—FRANCE.

35-35-1-**Paris**, *Bibliothèque nationale*, lat. 2584 (olim Colbertinus).

Latin MS., vellum, fol., 2 col., 196 ff.; xivth cent. Contains 25 pieces, of which Odoric is the fourteenth, letters or treaties of various Saints. Cf. *Cat. Cod. MSS. Bibl. Reg. Pars tertia*, t. III, Paris, 1744, p. 300. It is a handsome vol.; in a good state of preservation in full red morocco, with ornamented letters.

Odoric begins f. 118 recto: *Descripcio* Orientalium Partium Fratris Odorici *Boemi* de Foro Julii, and it ends f. 126 verso: *Ego frater Odoricus Boemus de Foro Julii.*

This version is very important, showing Odoric's nationality. Yule printed it in *Cathay*, App. I, pp. i-xlii; we also reproduce it in the App.—Marked in our notes B.N. and B.N. lat. 2584.—Yule, No. 9.

36–36–2–Paris, *Bibliothèque nationale*, lat. 3195 (olim *Mazarinaeus*).

Latin MS., vellum, small fol., 2 col., 64 ff., xvth cent.—Contains four pieces, of which Odoric is the second; the first is *Petri Amphusi clericalis disciplina*; the third *Marco Polo*; the fourth *Bernardi cujusdam ad Raymundum Castri Ambrosii epistola de modo rei familiaris utilius gubernandae.* Cf. *Cat. Cod. MSS. Bibl. Reg. Pars tertia*, t. III, Paris, 1744, p. 385. This MS. is dirty and some ff. are damaged, *i.e.* ff. 56 and 57.

Odoric begins f. 19 recto with the table of 37 chapters and *Licet multa et varia de ritibus*, etc., and ends f. 26 recto (verso is blank). The end is so damaged as to be hardly legible.—Marked in our notes B.N. lat. 3195.—Yule, No. 10: "I believe it is one of what I have called the *first type*, after Henry of Glatz."—*Marco Polo*, II, p. 538, No. 24; this is the old Latin version published by the Société de Géographie.

37–37–3–Paris, *Bibliothèque nationale*, *Dupuy Collection*, No. 686.

Latin MS., paper, fol., long lines, 76 ff.; xviith cent. F. 1 recto: "*Itineraria in Tartariam: Fr. Ioannis de Plano Carpini Ordinis Minor.*, p. 1; *Fr. Simonis de S. Quintino ordin. Praedicator.*, p. 19; *Fr. Gulielmi de Rubruquijs ordinis Minorũ.*, p. 38; *Fr. Odorici de Foro julij ord. minor.*, p. 60; CIↃIↃCXLVII. P. Dupuy, 686."

This MS. is mentioned: Vol. 686, *Itineraria Variorum in Tartariam*, p. 1286 of the MS. Vol. *Catalogue des Manuscrits de M. Dupuy.* [Bib. nat., *Catalogues*, 217, A], and under the title of: 686. *Voyages en Tartarie*, p. 548, of the *Cabinet historique*, sér. nouv., I, 1882, Inventaire abrégé de la collection Dupuy (by M. Léopold Delisle).

Odoric begins f. 60 verso: "Incipit Itinerarium Fratris Odorici fratrum Minorum de mirabilibus Orientalium Tartarorum.—Licet multa et varia de ritibus et conditionibus huius mundi ennarrentur a multis ego tamen frater Odoricus de Foro Julij de Portu Nahonis volens ad partes infidelium transfretare, magna et mira vidi et audiui, quae possum veraciter enarrare. Primo transiens mare Maius me de Pera iuxta Constantinopolim transtuli Trapesundam..."

Ends: "De Morte fratris Odorici. Anno igitur Domini 1331, disponente se praedicto Fratre Odorico ad perficiendum iter suae peregrinationis prout mente conceperat, et etiam ut via

et labor esset sibi magis ad meritum decrevit primo praesentiam adire Domini et patris omnium Summi Pontificis Domini Joannis Papae 22. cuius benedictione, obedientiaque recepta cum societate fratrum secum ire volentium ad partes infidelium se transferret. Cumque sic eundo versus Summum Pontificem, non multum distaret a civitate Pisana.....

"Anno Domini 1331 decima quarta die mensis Januarij, obijt in Christo Beatus Odoricus ordinis fratrum Minorum, cuius precibus omnipotens Deus, multa et varia miracula demonstravit, quae ego Guecelus notarius communis Utini, filius Domini Damiani de Portu Gruario de mandato et voluntate nobilis viri Domini Conradi de Buardigio (*read* Bernardigio) Castaldionis, et Consilij Utini, scripsi, sicut potui bona fide, et fratribus Minorum exemplum dedi; sed non de omnibus, quia sunt innumerabilia, et mihi difficilia ad scribendum."

Not mentioned by Yule.

38–38–4–**Paris, Cat. Saulcy**[1], **No. 308.**

Peregrinatio fratris Udalrici trans mare magnum.— Visio sancti Brandonis.

MS., paper, fol., beginning of the xvth century.—Sold francs 20.

39–39–5–**Saint Omer,** *Library*, **No. 737.**

MS., paper, fol., xvth cent.—*Incipit Itinerarium fratris Oderici, ordinis fratrum Minorum, de Mirabilibus orientalium Tartarorum.* "Licet multa et varia de ritibus et conditionibus," etc. Finit: *Innumerabilia et mihi difficilia ad scribendum.*

Abbaye de Saint-Bertin.—Quire of 18 ff. in a bad state, damaged by water, written in gothic, with summary and red initial letters. At the end: "Et ego Michael de Lira scriptor nil plus inveni in exemplari, et explicit hic iste liber, quem scripsi Mechlinie in domo habitationis mee, anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo quadragesimo octavo, XXI° die mensis februarii, secundum stilum et modum scribendi curie Cameracensis diocesis." This itinerary of Odoric has been published by the Bollandists. V. *Acta Sanctorum*, Januar., t. 1, p. 986, col. 2. (*Cat. des Mss.*

[1] *Catalogue de livres anciens et modernes sur la Terre Sainte et les Indes orientales* formant la riche collection de M. F. de Saulcy, membre de l'Institut, dont la vente se fera le mercredi 27 novembre 1872 et les trois jours suivants...Paris, Tross. 1872, 8vo.

de la Bib. de Saint-Omer, pp. 328/329 of vol. III of *Cat. des Ms. des Bib. des Dép.*, Paris, 1861, 4to.)

Not mentioned by Yule.

G.—Italy.

40-40-1-**Assisi**, *Biblioteca comunale*, No. 343, late No. 20.

Latin MS., fol., parchment, XIVth cent. Begins f. 1 recto: *Incipiunt hic multae et diversae hystorice Beati Odorici Fratris Minoris, de ritibus et conditionibus huius mundi et de martyrio IIII fratrum minorum.*—Then, *Licet multa et varia de ritibus et conditionibus hujus mundi a multis enarrentur tamen est sciendum quod ego fr. Hodoricus de Foroiulii volens transfretare et ad partes infidelium volens ire, etc.*—F. 3 recto: *hic superius incipit hystoria martyrii IIII fr. minorum*;—F. 8 recto: *hic explicit martyrium istorum quatuor fratrum minorum.*—Ends f. 23 v°. . *et obtulimus eis de predictis pomis, qui cum maximo gaudio ipsa recipientis, ita videbantur letari ac si eis plurebuissemus familiariter magnum manus.* —Then follows: *Ego fr. Odoricus de Foroiulii de ordine fratrum minorum testificor et testimonium perhibeo reverendo patri fratri Guideto* [sic] *ministro provincie S. Anthonii, cum ab eo fuerim per obedientiam requisitus, quod hoc omnia que superius scripta sunt aut propriis oculis ego vidi aut ab hominibus fide dignis audivi..... autem illarum...illa quae non vidi testantur esse vero. Multa etiam alia dimisi que scribi, non feci, cum ipsa quasi incredibilia apud aliquos viderentur nisi illa propriis oculis perspexissent*—(the ...show the words which are not legible). *Predicta autem ego fr. Guilgelmus de Solagna in scriptis redegi sicut fr. Odoricus ore proprio exprimebat an: dom. MCCCXXX de mense maii Padue in loco S. Anthonii; nec curavi de latino difficili et ornato, sed sicut ille narrabat sic ego scribebam ad hoc ut omnes facilius intelligerent que scribuntur vel dicuntur. Supradictus autem fr. Odoricus postea ex hoc seculo, transivit ad dominum in conventu Utini an dom. MCCCXXXI die* XIII (sic) *ianuarii* (cf. Venni, p. 82).—It has been added f. 24 r°: *antiphona et oratio de b. Odorico confessore ord. min.*—F. 25 r°: *hic inferius sunt scripta amplius quam septuaginta miracula que annus operatus est per beatum Odoricum fratrem minorem hic in Utino sepultum apud fratres minores.*—Begins: *Miraculum Fantusii de Murruciis apud Tercium.*—Ends f. 57 r°: *postquam mater sua duxit eam Utinum ad corpus b. Odorici sanato*

est.—Then in another hand: *Hic sunt septuaginta duo miracula scripta que deus operatus est per b. Odoricum, et alia multa fecit que non sunt hic scripta.*—Finally, in a more modern writing, f. 57 v°: *In isto libro sunt multae hystoriae b. Oderici de ordine fratrum minorum de Foroiulii qui est sepultus in conventum Utini; et est etiam hic possio et martyrium quatuor fratrum minorum, et plus quam septuaginta miracula que operatus est deus per b. Odericum; et etiam est hic cingulus ferreus inter reliquios quem portavit ad carnem, et capellus de capite suo et etiam alie res sue.*

Dominichelli writes that this MS. was in the convent of Udine, and that Venni's MS. *Udinese* seems to be a copy of it, as except the title, the two MSS. are similar.

41-41-2-Milan, *Ambrosian Library*, H. 188, P. Inf.

Paper, sm. fol., xvth cent.; 109 ff. c.—Contains seven pieces, one of which is *Mandeville* in Italian and the table of Mandeville's Travels. Odoric in Latin is the fifth piece; it takes ff. 80 recto–91 verso. The initial letters have not been written, so the paragraphs begin with the second letter of the first word, i.e. *icet* [for *licet*] *multa*, etc. Belonged formerly to the Convent of St Ambrose, Milan.—Yule, No. 25.—*Begins:* "Licet multa et varia de moribus hominum et mirabilibus mundi a diversis et solempnibus sive diversimode facta, ad majorem tamen fidem faciendam posteris ego frater Odoricus de Foro Iulii ordinis fratrum minorum de quamplurimis mirabilibus, quae oculis clarius vidi in diversis mundi partibus ultramarinis. Ego quidem predictus frater Odoricus volens me ad partes infidelium transfretare, ut fructus ibidem facerem animarum, multa magna et mirabilia audivi et vidi, quae veraciter possum cum attestatione narrare." (Antonio Ceruti, *Appunti di Bibliografia storica veneta contenuta nei mss. dell' Ambrosiana*, in *Archivio Veneto*, XI, 1876, Venezia, p. 195.)

42-42-3-Milan, Library of Count Girolamo d'Adda.

Latin MS., beginning of the xvth cent.—Varies greatly with Ramusio's text.—Mentioned by Dominichelli.

43-43-4-Roma, *Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana*, Fondo Vaticano, No. 5256.

Latin version following an Italian version.—See Italian versions, No. 61-11-9, p. 63.

Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum Manuscriptorum nova*, 1, Paris, 1739, p. 17, mentions: No. 171, *Odericus de Ordine Minorum, descriptio de partibus Infidelium.*

44–44–5–**Roma**, *Biblioteca Casanatense*, Cod. B, IV, late 13; now No. 276.

Latin MS. small 4to, parchment, xivth cent. F. 1 recto (in red): *Incipit liber Fratris Odorici de foro Julii provintie sancti Antonij de quadam terra que dicitur Pontus* (sic) *Naonis.* Then follows the table of chapters ff. 1^a, 2^b; the text of the itinerary begins in the second column of f. 2^b with the first chapter entitled *De pernicibus que per aerem ducebantur* which includes also the short prologue; and ends with chapter xxxviij *De reverentia quam Magnus Canis fecit sanctissimo signo crucis* followed by the passage containing the author's attestation.

This MS. includes five different MSS. of which Odoric is the last, 28 ff.

45–45–6–**Udine**, *Biblioteca de l'Archivio Capitolare della Città.*

In vol. XXII of *Miscellanea*, with sundry other opuscula; 4to MS. of 26 ff., the last lines of which are lost; begins: *Istoria beati Odorici. Licet varia et multa de ritibus*...great similarity with the text given by Venni.—This Latin text follows an Italian text of the itinerary, apparently of the xvith cent.—Yule, No. 28.

46–46–7–**Udine**, Library of the heirs of Count Jacopo de Concina, at San Daniele del Friuli.

MS. 8vo, paper, first half of the xvth cent.; binding of the time in red leather; contains 38 ff.; the text is carefully written; begins: *Incipit opusculum Peregrinationis Fratris Odorici Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, etc....Ends: *Magnis corruscavit miraculis.* Then follow an *Antiphona* and an *Oremus* reproduced by Domenichelli, p. 403. The MS. ends:

Qui scripsit scribat semper cum Domino vivat
Vivat in celis semper cum Domino felix.

47–47–8–**Venice**, *Biblioteca Marciana*, Clas. XIV.—Cod. XLIII.

Latin MS., xivth cent. (xvth wrote Sig. Veludo to me); paper; 4to, 171 ff., h. 0^m 27; wide 0^m 21. Contains a number of pieces having nothing to do with Odoric whose itinerary takes ff. 73 recto–96 verso. A note at foot of f. 96 says that copies

of this MS. have been taken by Prof. F. Kunstmann of Munich (in May 1857), and by Col. Yule (August 1864). Yule writes (*Cathay*, I, p. 33, No. 26): "I have had a transcript of it in preparing this translation, but it has not proved so useful as I expected."—Described (No. LXXII) in *Biblioteca manoscritta di Tommaso Giuseppe Farsetti*, Venezia, 1771, 8vo, I, p. 116.—It passed to the Marciana Library from the Farsetti Family. Title: *Opera Frīs Odorici Ord. minor.*

Begins: "Quamvis multa et varia de ritibus et conditionibus hujus mundi enarrentur a multis, tum sciendum est quod ego frater Odoricus ordinis minorum de natione forojulii (*volens*) transfectare et ad partes infidelium transmigrare, ut fructus aliquos lucrifacerem animarum, multa magna et mirabilia audivi et vidi quae possum veraciter enarrare. praesens itaque opuschulum in capitula dividens de multis gestis quae vidi et audivi in oriente, septentrione et meridie, etc."

Ends: "Nam ipse beatus frater Odoricus, cum de ultra marinis partibus ad suam provinciam remeasset, marchiam scilicet tarvisanam presentiarum (*sic*) summi pontificis adire volebat ut ab eo hoc etiam peteret, quod L fratres de quacumque provincia essent dummodo ire vellet secum ducere posset, recessit de foro Julii unde ipse natus est. dum esset pisis gravi infirmitate correptus quamobrem compulsus est ad propria remeare, qua propter in utino de foro Julii civitate anno ab incarnacione domini M.CCC.XXXI. pridie idus ianuarii de hoc mundo triumphans pervenit ad insulam beatorum, ubi virtutibus et miraculis quam plurimis corruscat. nam per eum ceci claudi muti surdi sunt permittente domino restituti. deo gratias. amen."

48–48–9–Venice, *Museo Civico e Raccolta Correr.*

MS. formerly 2389, now 2408; paper; large 4to.—This MS. belonged to Gian-Giuseppe Liruti, a Friulan scholar, and to E. A. Cicogna. It is covered with parchment and contains two works; the first is an abstract of the Voyages of *Marco Polo* from p. 1 to p. 36. See *Marco Polo*, II, p. 541, No. 35.—From page 37 to page 43, it contains *Novitates quas notavit frater Odoricus in peregrinatione sua.* It was written in 1401, as may be read twice, on p. 36 and p. 46 verso.

This MS. was used for the edition of Odoric printed at Venice in 1766, by the care of Giuseppe Venni, M.C. See preface,

p. 39 and p. 45.—In the same MS. are verses having nothing to do with the Voyages.

Odoric's Itinerary begins: *Licet multa et varia de ritibus* and ends: *corruscat miraculis*; then follows a note (*explicit*) of the scribe, who after the praises to the Lord signed: *Ego Philippus* natus Ser Petri de Faganea [Fagagna, in Friul] publicus ac imperiali auctoritate notarius scripsi istos libros...et ipsos complevi die martis 16 [Venni, 15] mensis februarii die carnis privii hora tercia dum morabar Padue pro afirmatore Antoni fili quondam nobilis viri Raymundi Sulumani in contrata heremitarum tempore quo studebam in rethoricali scientia legente magistro Marino de Rachanato. Currentibus annis Domini 1401 (*sic*) indictione secunda? [Venni, *nona*, which is exact] die ut supra.—Cf. Venni, pp. 82–3.—See Yule, No. 27.

H.—Switzerland.

49–49–1–**Basel**, University Library, D. IV. 8.

Latin MS. 4to; xivth cent., vellum; wood binding covered with leather; 60 ff.; described by Haenel, p. 545, and by Pertz, *Archiv*, VII, 1839, p. 174, under No. E. III. 20.

1° *Epla Dñi Gwilhelmi de Boldensèle preclarissimi viri r gr̃iosi militis ad dñm petrū abbatem aule regie De descripc̃one terre sancte*, ff. 1–26 recto; 2° *Epystola ad dñm petrum abbatem aule regie*, ff. 26 recto–26 verso; 3° *Descpc̃o qrūdā miracl'orum peractorū in Waltsassen*, ff. 26 verso–34 recto; ff. 34 verso–36 blank; 4° *Des'cpc'o terrae sanctae fris Odi'ci de foro julij*, ff. 37–60 recto.

Begins: *Licet multa et varia de ritibus*, etc.

50–50–2–**Bern.**

—Liber Sancti Odorici fratris minoris de ticino ordinis fratrum m̃inorum de exitibus diversarum gentium. *Licet multa et varia de exitibus et condicionibus mundi a multis enarrentur tamen sciendum est—in illa ualle dicebant esse homines cum demonibus dampnatos. Explicit liber Sancti Odorici fratris minoris.*

MS. No. 141 (327), f. 1ª–f. 11ª—xvth cent.—parchment.—With *Excerpta ex fabulis Æsopi quas Romulus de Graeco in Latinum transtulit*, f. 11ᵇ–f. 12ᵇ.

Catalogus Codicum Bernensium (Bibliotheca Bongarsiana).—Edidit et Praef. est H. Hagen, 1875, p. 203.

II.—ITALIAN MSS.

A.—Great Britain.

51-1-1-**Cheltenham**, Library of Sir Thomas Phillips, Bart., Middlehill (Worcestershire).

MS. xivth or xvth cent.; thick paper; 7 ff. ½. Begins, f. 1: *Anno MCCCXVIII, jo frate Oderigo de Frioli, dell' ordine de Frati Minori, della provincia di Padova, partivi della dicta provincia e veni Ingonstantinopoli* (sic)... This MS. catalogued at Cheltenham, under No. 8268, was marked in Heber's Catalogue (1836, Pt. XI, MS.), No. 1165; it belonged formerly to Lord Guilford. Ff. 8–13 last, have nothing to do with Odoric and offer no interest whatever.

B.—France.

52-2-1-**Paris.**

"Inchominccia la storia di frati odorico. Ani domini Mcccxviij, Jo frate odoricho da friolli delordine de frati minori de la provincia di padova partimi dela deta prouincia zuani i Chostantinopoli, etc." 25 ff.—"Inchominccia la storia di tra monacci chandaro nel paradiso terestro (Holy Land), etc." 8 ff. 4to.

Fine MS., xivth cent.; thick paper; bound in velvet.
Catal. Saulcy, No. 307, Paris, 1872.

C.—Italy.

53-3-1-**Florence,** *Biblioteca Riccardiana*, No. 683.

MS. paper, small 4to; xvth century, with the title: *Oderigo de Frigoli, Viaggio da Padova a Costantinopoli e alla terra del Ponto.* The MS. is incomplete. Yule writes, No. 3, p. 33: "This is one of the peculiar type which I have classed with Ramusio's Minor Version. It seemed to me, as far as I went through it, to be the same as the next on the list (Pal., Florence, E. 5, 9, 6, 7), but it is truncated, going no further than the sons and daughters of the King of Champa."—Brunet, *Man. du Libraire*, IV, col. 160, writes: "Oderico en écrivit d'abord une ébauche en italien (vers l'année 1318), dont le ms. est conservé dans la Bibliothèque Riccardienne à Florence." Fancy the date 1318!

Lami in his *Cat. Cod. MSS. qui in Biblioth. Riccardiana Florentiae adservantur*...Liburni, 1756, fol., gives, p. 203, the following description of this MS.:

"Frigoli, o Friuli. F. Oderigo de. Descrizione del suo Viaggio in Costantinopoli e Trabisonda, e altrove. M. IV. *Codex chartac.* in-4, n. XXXIII.

"*Initium exhibimus:*

"Anno MCCCXVIII. io Frate Oderigo de' Frigoli dell' ordine de' Frate Minori della provincia di Padova volendo fare memoria de' paesi e provincie, le quali trovai partendomi di Padova, e venni in Costantinopoli, e di quindi passai il mare maggiore, e venni in Trebisonda nella contrada detta Metropoli di Ponto, nella qual terra giace il corpo di S. Atanasio, che fece il Simbolo. E in questa terra viddi una mirabil cosa, che un uomo menava più di due mila pernice, le quali il seguitavano per mirabile modo, perchè andavano e volavano e stavano con lui per più diete, e ubbidivallo, e parea quasi che parlassero con lui nella lingua sua; e quando andava allo Imperadore, lo 'mperadore prendea delle pernici quante ne voleva, e l' altre se ne venivano con lui quasi per quattro diete a Trebisonda insino al castello chiamato Zavecca. Da Trebisonda andai a Zavecca, ch' è castello dello Imperadore e quasi inespugnabile, e quivi si cava l' ariento, ed eziando il cristallo, secondo che dicono alquanti. Quindi andai in Ermenia maggiore, e pervenni ad Arzelone, dove presso a una dieta è il fiume del Paradiso detto Eufrates. In questa terra sentì che una grande donna lasciò per suo testamento, che de' beni suoi si facesse un munistero di meritrici, che sempre fossero apparecchiate a servire a gli uomini in ogni carnalitade, e questo fece per l' anima sua maladetta. Di quindi venni al monte dove è l' Arca Noè, e volentieri sarei salito alla cima del monte, avvegnachè mai non si trovò chi vi potesse salire, ma perchè non volli aspettare la carovana, non me ne volli provare. Quello monte è altissimo e bellissimo, e sempre ve l' aveva insino alla terza parte del mondo ec."

See Lucca, infra, No. 58–8–6, p. 61.

54–4–2–**Florende**, *Biblioteca Nazionale, sezione Palatina*, E. 5, 9, 6, 7.

xivth cent.; 8vo. "Containing only Odoric and a short narrative about three monks who visited the Terrestrial Paradise.

According to the Ms. Catalogue by G. Molini it is of the 14th century. It is written somewhat carelessly, and in a most barbarous style, but has remarkable peculiarities. The earlier part coincides with the Minor Ramusian (not minutely), and traces of the same basis appear throughout, but also many things that are in no other copy that I know of. For this reason it has been thought desirable to print it." Yule, *Cathay*, I, p. 34, No. 4.

Printed by Yule, *Cathay*, App. II, pp. XLIII–LXIII, and reprinted in our Appendix.—Partly reproduced by De Gubernatis, *Storia dei Viaggiatori italiani*, pp. 138–141.—Marked PAL. in our notes.

55–5–3–**Florence**, *Biblioteca Nazionale*, Cod. Magliabech., ch. XIII No. 68.

Quoted by Domenichelli: "E la versione italiana pubblicata da noi, pigliandola dal Codice di Venezia, Biblioteca Marciana, Cl. VI, n° 102, ed ha il titolo: *Viaggio in Tartaria di Odorico da Udine.*"

At the end: "Compiuto di scrivere lunedi sera a dì ventisette d' Ottobre 1377." (DOM., p. 255.)—Marked MAGL. in our notes.

56–6–4–**Florence**, *Biblioteca Nazionale*, Cl. XXII, cod. 20.

Itinerarium Fratris Odorici de Foro Iulii, quoted by Domenichelli.

57–7–5–**Genoa.**

MS. paper, xvth cent.—*Viaggi del Beato Oderico da Pordenone.*

Quoted by Amat di S. Filippo, from the *Atti della Società ligure di Storia patria.*

58–8–6–**Lucca**, *Biblioteca governativa*, Col. Lucchesini.

Paper, xvth cent.; 4to; ff. 75.—Yule, p. 34, No. 5.—Contains: *Marco Polo* and *Odoric* in the Venetian dialect.—See Lazari, *Marco Polo*, p. 452.—*Marco Polo*, II, p. 544, No. 49.—This MS. had No. 26 in the Giacomo Lucchesini collection, and it has now No. 296 at Lucca. Its title is *Viaggi di frate Oderigo del Friuli e di Marco Polo.* The vol. begins with the table of contents, then comes: "Libro delle meravigliose cosse vedute per frate Odericho dell' ordine de' frati Menori della patria di

Friuli con i suo' compagni dicesse aver trovato oltra mare in le terre de le tre Indie, et in molte altre region e paesi ne li quali el feze dimora anni xiiij: el qual frate Odoricho al suo fine fu Sancto canonizato con miracoli in Udene ne li anni del nostro Signor Misser Jesu Cristo MCCCXXXI a di xiiij di Zenaro et in Udine jace el suo corpo.—Conzo sia che per molti sia narrato e scrito diverse nuove e stranie cosse." Ends somewhat like the MS. of the Riccardiana described by Lami in his *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum qui in Bibliotheca Riccardiana Florentiae adversantur*, Liburni, Santinij, 1756, p. 203, and is marked by Zambrini, *Opere volgari*, p. 715, see *infra*.

"Io frate Odericho di Friul di una terra chiamata Porto Neone appresso Udene e la provincia della Marca Trivisana, e de la diocesi di Aquilezia de l' ordene de frati menori testifico e con verita rispondo al mio ministro per vera obedientia che tute le cosse che sono scrite in questo libro parte le vidi con li ochi mei e parte le audi dire ad homini degni di fede come di sopra le ho notate, e quale che non vidi pareno che sia vere. Molte e molte chosse io ho lassiate, ch' io non o' fatto scrivere perche sono quasi incredibile a chi con proprii ochi non le vedesse. E de in di in di io me aparechio d' andare a quele contrade, ne le quali mi dispono di vivere a morir secondo la volonta di Dio. Amen, Amen, amen."

The text varies somewhat from the texts of Ramusio and of the Riccardiana. Marco Polo's text is practically Ramusio's, Baldelli-Boni's and Bartoli's but differs as to the language and is shorter. At the end: "*Complito el libro de le cosse mirabile vedute per lo nobile homo Messer Marcho Polo gientelomo de Venesia a di 12 de Marzo 1465 per' mi Daniele da Verona in sul Ponte de' Berettari al onore e laude dell' Omnipotente.*"

Sig. Amat di S. Filippo mentions two Italian MSS. in the Public Library at Lucca, but the Librarian, Sig. Boselli, speaks of one only.

59-9-7-Pisa, Private Archives of Count Alfred-Augustine Della Seta.

Small fol., xvth cent.—Contains: "Il libro delle nuove strane e maravigliose cose che Frate...Hodoricho di Friuli dell' Ordine Minori disse che avea trovate ultra mare nelle tre Indie e in molte altre regioni e paesi nelle qualli elli fue personalmente quattordici

anni." Mentioned by Domenichelli from a description of Sig. Cesare Guasti; he adds: "Nelle carte precedenti è copiato il *Libro lapidario* che il Re d' Etiopia inviò a quello di Armenia, tradotto già dell' Indiano al latino da Fra Tommaso de' Minori di Pisa, e che parla delle pietre preziose che si trovano nell' India."

60-10-8-**Roma**, *Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana*, Fondo Vaticano-Urbinate, No. 1013.

Paper; small fol., xvth cent.

Begins: "Cominceno i capitoli de lo libro de le nove strane e meravïose cose che frat. Odorigo de Friul de lo ordine di fra minori...." There are fifty chapters, with a good many illustrations.

Ends: "E anchora io me apparecchio d' andare ị quelle contrade ĭ le qual mi despono de viver e de morir alla voluntade de Dio, Añ. Añ."

Then follow some other works.

61-11-9-**Roma**, *Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana*, Fondo Vaticano, No. 5256.

Paper; 4to; xivth cent.—*Begins:* "Libro de le cose meravigliosse chosse le qual vide frate Oderigo de Friul."

Ends: "me apparecchio de andare in quelle contrade ne le q̃le me dispongo de vivere e morire secondo la volontade de Dio. Amen."

After this is to be found the Latin version of William of Solagna: "*Incipiunt diversae historiae* B^{a}. Odorici de Utino ordinis Minorum: Supradict̃us aut̄ fr. Odoricus postea ex hoc seculo migravit ad Dñ in conventu Utini Anno MCCCXXXI die xiiij Jan. qui postmodum multis et magnis coruscavit miraculis."—At the end: "*praedicta autem ego fr.* Guilielmus de Solagna in scriptis redegi sicut praedictus fr. Odoricus ore proprio exprimebat, anno Dñi mill. trecent. vicesimo, de mense Maji. Paduae in loco S^{ti}. Antonii."

62-12-10-**Roma**, *Biblioteca Casanatense*, Cod. E, V, formerly 1; now No. 1548.

Paper; xvth cent.; Odoric, pp. 174–211.

Begins f. 174^{a}: "Questo libro trata de Frate Odorico, de diverse bele e stranie cosse lui ha visto per molti strani luogi

del mondo." *The text begins* f. 175[a]: "Avegnadio che molte e diverse instorie dele cosse e dele condizion de questo mondo da molti sien raxonade..." *Ends* f. 211[a]: "Molto si me honoravano digandome che io scia cristiano batizato e queli li quali sono in quela vala morti lor dixerano che queli omeni sono demoni infernali."

The first leaves of the MS. contain an Italian transiation in *ottava rima* of the *Pharsalia* of Lucan ascribed to a "L. di Montichilto cardinalem dignissimum."

63–13–11–**Udine**, Archiepiscopal Seminary.

Paper; 8vo; 182 ff., of which 54 contain the *Vita del Beato Odorico della Patria del Friuli de' Minori...per il Padre Maestro Cornelio di Navarra, Ferrarese, Vicario generale del Santo Ufficio*, 1671.—See Domenichelli, p. 145 and p. 366.

64–14–12–**Udine**, Library of the *Archivio Capitolare della Città*.

See *supra*, Latin text 45–45–6.—I presume it is the text marked by Domenichelli, p. 366, No. 46: "Biblioteca del Capitolo.—MS. cartaceo, contenente una versione italiana dei Viaggi del Beato Odorico preceduta da un testo latino."

65–15–13–**Venice**, *Marciana*, It. Cl. VI. Cod. CII.

Paper; 8vo; xivth cent.; 31 pages numbered, 26 to 28 lines; 0^{m} 20 × 0^{m} 14.—Belonged formerly to the family Nani; it has been described by J. Morelli in *I Codici manoscritti volgari della Libreria Naniana riferiti da Don Jacopo Morelli*...Venezia, Ant° Zatta, 1776, 4to, XCV, pp. 90–1.—Yule says, p. 33, No. 1: "It is the most careful and intelligently executed copy of Odoric that I have seen. I have examined the MS. and used a transcript of it in preparing this work."—Printed by Domenichelli, pp. 201–255.

Begins: "Aveggia che molte et varie cose de costumi et de le conditioni di questo mōdo da molte altre p'sone siano state ditte et narate percio e da saper, etc."

Ends: "et presentamogli di quelle pome et eglino, con grāde alegreza, recevendole cosi si pareano alegrare, come, se noy glavessimo fatto un gran dono, etc....Et io frate Odorigo di friuli duna tēra che chiamata porto di naone, ec. Molte altre cose io o lasciate, le quali, io no feci scrivere, p'chelle parebbono incredibile apresso alchuna p'sona, che nolle vedesse cōn li ochi.

Et io de di in di maparechio dandare in quelle contrade nele quale io oe diliberato, di vivere et dimorare si come piacera a cō lui dal quale tutti e beni p'cedono."

66-16-14-**Venice**, *Marciana*, It. Cl. IV. Cod. CCVIII.

Paper; 4to; xvith cent.; ff. 260, 30 to 36 lines; 0^m 22 × 0^m 16; the title of the MS. is *Viaggiatori antichi* (*i.e.* Miscellanea di viaggi) *ed al. . cose ascetiche in fine.*

After the index, come pp. 1–18: "Incomenza el tractato over el viazo lo qual fece el beato Udorico da Utine frate de l' ordine de sancto francesco d'le cose che lui vide e parte udite da p'sone digne d' fede quādo lui fo nele p'te d' oriēte. E queste cose sono vere, e fu nel 1322."

Begins: "Benche varie e molte cose di costumi e cōdictione de questo mōdo multi habiano nārato, niēte di meno, ec. ec."

Ends: "e donassemo a loro d' q'lli pomi e loro li ricevetono cū tāta alegreza. como fosse stato qualche grā presente.—Questo he q'to io frē Udorico d' la patria del friul ho veduto e parte udito da p'sone digne d' fede. E d' q'sto vēdo dio p' testimonio avāti al prē frē guidoto, mist° d' la p'vicia d' s'cto Ant° q'ste cose esser vere, cum sit ch esso mistro me comando p' obīa che de questo dovesse dir la vita, senza fallo alcuno. Et fratre *Udorico* (this name written by another hand) da Salogna ho scripte le presente cose, secondo chel sudicto fratre Udorico me le dicea cum la propria bocha nel año del segnor 1324 del mese de mazo nel loco de scto Ant° de Padua. Da poi el sopradicto fratre Udorico passò di questa vita nel 1331 a 14 de zenaro nel convento de Udene, el qual in vita e da puo la morte resplende de molti miracoli. A laude del segnor."

After the martyrdom and the miracles of the friars.—This MS. belonged to J. Morelli. Yule, p. 33, writes: "The volume contains other matter, including Polo, Alonzo Cadamosto, Voyages of Vasco da Gama and Columbus. It is noticed in Marsden's Polo, p. lxii. I have examined it, but made no use of it." See *Marco Polo*, II, p. 540, No. 34.

Domenichelli, p. 367, writes: "Il Cicogna nel Catalogo dei suoi libri rammenta un codice italiano dei viaggi del Beato Odorico, esistente nella Marciana, e segnato classe VI, No. 109, marca 103, 1." Sig. Veludo, the late chief of the Marciana to whom I owe the description of the MSS. entrusted to him, wrote

to me that he may assure me that the cod. 109, cl. VI (marca 103, 1) contains only: *Giovanni Michele Vanslebio. Relazione dello stato presente dell' Egitto scritta nel* 1668 *a Ferdinando II. Gran Duca di Toscano*; and that only four MSS. of Odoric, three Italian and one Latin, are kept in the Marciana.

67–17–15–**Venice**, *Marciana* (R. Biblioteca Nazionale di S. Marco), It. Cl. XI. Cod. XXXII.

Paper; fol.; xvth–xvith cent; ff. 466; 0^m 32 × 0^m 24; miscellanies with the title *Estratti d' opere varie ec.* Odoric (xvith cent.) takes ff. 231–242 verso: "Chominziamo lolibro dele nuove et stranie et maraviglosse chosse che fratte Odoricho di friuli delordene de minori disse ch' aveva trovate oltra mare nelle tre indie et in molte altre regioni et paesi neli quali elli fue santo ch'o molti miracholli, in udine di friulli. ne l' anno domini MCCCXXXI adi XIIII di genaro et quine (*i.e.* QUI) giaze lo suo chorppo."

Begins: "Chonciosia chóssa che p' molti sia narrato et deto diversse et nuove et stranie chosse delusãze et chondicioni et riti del mondo darovi adintendere et asapere io frate Odorigo di friulli del ordene de minori, che io trapassai lo grande mare et andai in trapezonda che antichamente hera chiamata ponto; la quale trapesonda, etc."

Ends: "et p' questa chagione tutí issarazinii maveano in grãde reverencia dicendo che io era batezzato et sancto. E quelli che erano morti in quela vale erano stati hõi del diavolo dello inferno.

"Io frate Odoricho ec. ec."

The preface differs from that of Cod. CII, but the text is the same.—Belonged to Amadeo Svaier, a wealthy Venetian merchant during the xviiith century.

68–18–16–**Venice**, *Museo Civico e Raccolta Correr.*

MS. new 2613.—Described, p. 354 of *Saggio del Catalogo dei Codici* di Emmanuale A. Cicogna (*Archivio Veneto*, t. IV, Venezia, 1872); formerly No. 2611; 4to; 0^m 29 × 0^m 22; paper; xvth cent.; contains a *Cronaca Veneta* from the origin to the year 1405, with some additions till 1425; at the end is Odoric. *Ends:* "Io frate Odorigo de Friul de l' ordene de' frati menori rendo testemonianza al reverendo padre frate Guidoto ministro de la provenzia de santto Antonio siando da quela p. obidienzia

requirido che tutto quelo che io ne la presedentte opera o ditto io veramente e lo visto con li miei ochj propri e veramente loldido dire da persone degne di fede de queli paixi moltte altre chosse o viste et aldide le qual a schriverle pareriano chose inchredibile et pero non le o voiude schrivere. Laus Y^u X^o dno. nro. amen. Finitto."

This MS. belonged to Count G.-D. Tiepolo; it was purchased in 1837 by Cicogna.

III.—FRENCH MSS.

A.—Great Britain.

69-1-1-London, *British Museum, Royal Coll.*, 19. D. 1.

MS. large fol., 267 ff., text on 2 col.; xvth cent.—Mentioned by M. Paul Meyer[1]; unknown to Yule.—Contains eight works: *Le livre d'Alexandre;* Jehan le Venelais, *la Vengeance d'Alexandre;* Marc Pol; Odoric; Ascelin, *Mission chez les Tartares; le Directoire;* Primat, *Chronique des règnes de Louis IX et de Philippe III; Extraits de la Bible.*

Odoric *begins* f. 136: "Ci commencent les merveilles de la terre d'Ou // tremer..." (*See* p. 2 of French ed.).—*Ends* f. 148 c: "Frere Guil // laume Sollengin de l'ordre des meneurs mist // loiaument en escript toutes les devant dites // choses si comme le dit frere Odoric li devisa de sa // propre bouche en l'an de Nostre Seigneur mil CCC. // et XXX. el mois de mai en la cité d'Espade [read *de Pade*] el // lieu Saint Anthoine ne li chaloit de par // ler latin fors curieus et ordené et tout aussi // comme frere Odoric le racontoit, frere Guilleme escri // voit en tel maniere qué touz entendissent // legierement les choses dites, Et le dit frere O// doric trespassa de cest siècle en nostre Seigneur // assez tost apres c'est assavoir l'an de nostre Seigneur // mil CCC.XXXII[2]. et. xiiii iour de ienvier el convent // de Venise[3]. et est ennobli el dit convent par moult // de grans miracles."

It is a very handsome MS.—The translation of Jean de Vignay is a poor one.—Cf. French ed. of Odoric, p. cvi.

[1] *Documents manuscrits de l'ancienne littérature de la France conservés dans les bibliothèques de la Grande-Bretagne.* Rapports à M. le Ministre de l'Instruction publique par M. Paul Meyer. Première partie. Paris, Imp. nat., 1871, 8vo, pp. 69–80.

[2] Read 1331.

[3] Read *Udine.*

70-2-2-**London**, *British Museum*, 18 *Cotton.*, *Otho*, D. II.

French MS.; small fol.; 2 col.; miniatures.—Contains Voyages to the Holy Land, etc.; and an Itinerary of Odoric, unfortunately too damaged by fire to be of great use.

B.—FRANCE.

71-3-1-**Paris**, *Bibliothèque nationale*, *Français* 1380 (late 7500 C.).

Small fol.; vellum; xvth cent., 2 col.; from Bigot's collection, 165; f. 1 recto, coloured drawing; the place of the other drawings, blank. The Table in the three first preliminary leaves:

1° *Begins* recto f. 1: "Ci commence vn traittie de l'estat et des condicions de xiiij. royaumes de ayse et des empereurs qui puis lincarnacion de ñre seigneur ont regne en y ceulx et regnent encore et du passage doultre mer a la terre sainte. Et de la poissance du soubdam de egipte que nous appellons le soudam de babiloine. Et fut ce traittie fait premierement en latin par tres hault et tres noble home monseigneur Aycon Seigneur de courcy cheualier et nepueu du roy darmenie la grant..."

2° *Begins* verso f. 53: "Ci cõmence la itinerance de la peregrinacion et du voiage que fist vn bon preudome des freres prescheurs qui ot nom frere Bicult..."

3° *Begins* recto f. 95: "Ci cõmence le chemin de la peregrinacion et du voiaige que fist vns bons hõms dè lordre des freres mineurs qui ot nom frere Odric de Foro julii ne dune terre que on appelle port de Venise..."

Ends recto f. 117. See French edition, pp. 491/2.

4° *Begins* recto f. 119: "Cy commence vn traictie de lestat de la terre sainte et aussy en partie de la terre de Egipte & fut fait a la requeste de tres Reuerent seigñr mons. Talairãt de pierregort..."

5° *Begins* verso f. 138: "Cest la copie des lettres qui li empereres souverains des tartres le grant caan de cathay envoia au pape Benoit xij^e^ de ce nom..."

6° *Begins* recto f. 142: "Cy commence de lestat et de la gouu'ance du grant caãn de cathay..."

The MS. ends f. 146 verso; these translations by Jenan Le Long are reproduced in *l'Hystore merueilleuse...du grant Empereur de Tartarie*, 1529, see later on.

72–4–2–**Paris,** *Bibliothèque nationale, Français* 2810 (late 8392).

MS. fol., bound arms of France, La Vallière morocco, contains the following works: *Marco Polo, Odoric, Taleran de Pierregort, L'Estat du grant Kaan, Lettres du Pape, Mandeville, Hethum and Ricold.*

This magnificent MS. written in gothic letters on vellum was executed by order of the Duke of Burgundy and given by this prince to his uncle the Duke of Berry at the beginning of the xvth century. One of the miniatures at the beginning of Hethum's story, f. 226, shows the Duke of Burgundy receiving the book; the shield of Jean Sans Peur is drawn in the miniature above the doorway: *Écartelé, au 1. et 4. semé de France, à la bordure componnée d'azur et de gueules, qui est* BOURGOGNE MODERNE; *Au 2. et 3. bandé d'or et d'azur de six pièces à la bordure de gueules qui est* BOURGOGNE ANCIEN. *Et sur le tout, d'or au lion de sable armé, et lampassé de gueules qui est* FLANDRE. It bears the title

"Ce Liure est des // Merueilles du Monde. Cest assavoir de la Terre // Saincte. Du Grant Kaan Empereur des tartars. // Et du pays Dynde. Le Quel // Liure Jehan Duc de Bourgoingne donna // a son oncle Jehan fils de Roy de // France Duc de Berry et Dauviergne, Conte // de Poitou, Detampes. de Bouloigne. et Dauvergne. // Et contient le dit Liure six // Livres. Cest assavoir. Marc Pol. Frere Odric de lordre des // Freres meneurs. Le Liure fait à la requeste du Cardinal Taleran de // Pierregort. L'Estat du Grant Kaan. Le Liure de Messire Guillaume // de Mandeville. Le Liure de Frere Jehan Hayton de lordre de premonstre. // Le Liure de Frere Bicul de lordre des Freres Prescheurs // — Et sont en ce dit Liure Deux cens soixante six // hystoires."

Signed by: N. FLAMEL.

Then follow:

1° *Marco Polo:* "Cy apres commence le liure de Marc Paule des merveilles daise la grant et dinde la maiour et mineur Et des diuerses regions du monde."—*Begins:* "Pour sauoir la pure verite de diuerses regions du monde. Si prenez ce liure cy et le faictes lire. Si y trouuerez les grandismes merueilles qui y sont escriptes..."

Ends (fol. 96 verso): "Et a tant fine messire marc pol son liure de la diuision du monde et des merueilles dicelluy."

2° *Odoric:* Folio 97: "Cy cõmence le liure Frere audric de lordre des Freres meneurs. Cy commence le chemin de la peregrinacion et du voyaige que fist vn bon homme de lordre des freres meneurs. nomme frere Odric de fore iulii. ne de vne terre que on appelle port de Venisse qui par le cõmãt du pappe ala oultre mer pour preschier aux mescreans la foy de Dieu. Et sont en ce liure contenu les merueilles que li dis freres vit presentement. et aussy de pluseurs autres lesquelles il oy compter en ces parties sus dittes de gens disgnes de foy. Mais celles quil oy racompter et quil ne vit point. ne racompte il point pour verite fors pour oir dire. et le sõne en son langaige quant a ce vient. Et fut ce liure fait en latin par ce frere deuant nomme en lan de grace mil. CCC. XXX. p'fais le xiij iour de ianuier Et fu cilz liures translatez de latin en francois por frere Iean le lonc. dit et ne dyppre moisne de saint bertin en saint Aumer, en lan de grace M. CCC. lj."

Ends (fol. 115 r. and v.): "Explicet le yteneraire Odric de Foro Julij de lordre des freres meneurs qui fist cest liure en lan de grace mil trois cens et trente. Et puis la mort dieux a fait par lui maint miracle. Et fu cilz liures translatez par frere iehan le lonc ne dyppre et moisne de saint bertin en saint aumer. En lan de grace mil. iijc. lj. acomplis."

The MS. of Odoric begins f. 97 verso and ends f. 215 v. See p. 492, note *d* of French edition; it is illustrated with 17 (85–101) miniatures: *1. Departure, f. 97 verso (two friars); 2. Chaldaea, f. 98 verso; 3. Reception of the Reliques, f. 102 recto (two friars); 4. Gold Idol, f. 103 recto; 5. Natives of Lamory, f. 104 recto (two friars); *6. Bread Trees, f. 105 recto; 7. Champa Fishes, f. 105 verso; *8. Dog-headed men, f. 106 recto; 9. Ceylon, fishing precious stones, f. 106 verso; 10. Dondin Anthropophagi, f. 107 recto; 11. Zaïtun, f. 108 recto; *12. Fishing by hand, f. 108 verso; *13. Man-headed animals, f. 109 verso; *14. Caravan, f. 110 verso; 15. The friars travelling, f. 113 recto; 16. The rich Man of Manzi, f. 114 recto; *17. The terrible Valley, f. 115 recto. Seven of these miniatures marked *, plus three from the Book of Marco Polo in the same MS., in all 10 miniatures have been reproduced in black in the French edition of Odoric. Some of the miniatures have also been reproduced by Count de Bastard, *Librairie du duc de Berri* (1834), pl. 6–14; Silvestre, *Paléographie universelle* (1841), pl. 148; Madden, *Universal Palaeography*

(1849), pl. CXCII; Charton; *Voyageurs anciens et modernes* (1855), t. II, pp. 258 seq.; Yule-Cordier's *Marco Polo.* The whole of the 266 miniatures of the MS. have since been reproduced in facsimile in black by Berthaud frères, Paris, in two vols., with an introduction by M. H. Omont.

3° Folio 116: "Cy commence Le Liure de Taleren de Pierreguort..."

Ends (folio 132 verso):

"Par Guillaum- de Boldesele."

4° Folio 133: "Cest la coppie des lettres que ly empereres souuerains des tartars le grant kaan de katay enuoya au pappe benoit le .xij^e. de ce nom en lan de grace mil trois cens. XXXVIII. enuiron la pentecouste et furent par le commandemēt dudit pappe translatees en latin, et furent translatees du latin en francois par frere iehan le lonc dit et ne de yppre moisne de saint bertin en saint aumer. en lan de grace. M. iij^c. lj."

Ends: "Escript en Cambalec en lan du s. rat. le sisiesme mois. le tiers iour de la lunison."

Followed by a commentary.

5° Folio 134: "Cest la teneur des lettres et de la responce que ly pape renuoya a ces principaux amis demourans en Cambanlech dessoubz lempereur desus dit."

Ends fol. 136: "Donne en avignon. le xiij. iour de Juing. le. v^e annee de n're regnacion de n're pappa. Explicit, etc."

6° *Estat du grant Caan:* Folio 136 verso: "Cy commence le Liure de lestat du grant Caan. Cy commence de lestat et de la gouuernance du grant kaan de cathay souuerain empereur des tartres. et de la disposicion de son empire. et de ses autres princes. Interpreté par vn arceuesque que on dist larceuesque Saltensis. au commant du pappe iehan. xxij^e de ce nom. Translate de latin en francois p' frere iehā le lōc dyppre moisne de s'. b'tī en s'. aumer."

Ends folio 140 verso: "Explicit de la gouuernance et de lestat du grant kaan souuerain empereur des Tartars."

7° *Mandeville:* Folio 141; "Cy commence le liure mesire guillaume de mandeuille — Comme il soit ainsi que la terre doultre mer cest assauoir la sainte terre de promission. entres toutes les autres terres cest la plus excellente. et la plus digne et dame souueraine de toutes autres terres. Et benoite et saintefie

et consacree du precieux corps et du precieux sang ñre seigneur Jesu Crist."

Ends verso folio 225.

8° *Hethum :* Folio 226 : "Cy commence le liure frere ienan hayton de lordre de premonstre cousin germain du roy darmenie qui parle des merueilles des .xiiij royaulmes daise. Le royaume de cathay est tenu pour le plus noble royaume et le plus riche qui soit ou monde et est sur le riuage de la mer occeane."

Ends folio 267 "Cy fine le liure des hystoires des parties dorient compile par religieux hõme frere hayton frere de lordre de premonstre iadis seigneur de core. cousin germain du roy darmenie sur le passaige de la terre sainte. p'. le commandement du souuerain pere ñre seigneur lapostole clement quint en la cite de poytiers. Le quel liure ie nicole Falcon escrips premierement en fracois. si comme le dit frere hayton le ditoit da sa bouche. sans note ne exemplaire. et de romans le translatay en latin. En lan ñre seigneur. M. CCC. sept ou mois daoust. Deo gracias."

9° "Cy cõmence Le Liure de Frere Bicul : de lordrè des Freres prescheurs."

Begins folio 268 : "Ci comence le itineraire de la peregrinacion et du voiage que fist ung bon preudõme des freres precheurs qui ot nom frere bicul. qui par le comant du saint pere ala oult' mer p' prechier aux mescreans la foy de dieu."

Ends verso of folio 299 : "Explicit le ytineraire de la peregrinacon frere riculd de lorde des freres precheurs et sont en ce liure contenu par sobriesce les royaumes et les gens lez prouinces lez loys lez sectes lez heresies, lez monstres et les merueilles que lidis freres trouua es p'ties dorient. et fu cilz liures t'rslates de latin en françoys par frere i'han de yppre moisne de saint bertin en saint omer. En lan mil. ccc. li. acomplis."

The letters Nos. 4 and 5 have been published by E. Jacquet in the *Nouv. Journ. Asiat.*, VII, 1831, pp. 417 seq. under the title : *Notice sur quelques relations diplomatiques des Mongols de la Chine avec les Papes d'Avignon.*—Pauthier made usé of this MS. for his edition of Marco Polo; marked *B.*—Since M. Louis de Backer has published Odoric, Hetum, the Letters of the Pope and the *État du Grand Khan* under the following title : Louis de Backer *L'Extrême-Orient au moyen âge* d'après les manuscrits d'un Flamand de Belgique, moine de Saint-Bertin à Saint-Omer, et d'un prince

d'Arménie, moine de Prémontré à Poitiers. Paris, Ernest Lerour, 1877, 8vo, pp. 502.—Yule (*The Athenaeum*, No. 2598, 11th August 1877) and myself (*Revue critique*, 19th May 1877) have been very severe on this bad book.

This MS. 2810 is marked No. 116 in the Catalogue of the Library of John, Duke of Berry, at the castle of Mehun-sur-Yèvre, 1416, and No. 196 of the Library of the same, p. 186 of *Le Cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibl. nationale*, par L. Delisle, III.

Domenichelli writes, p. 365, No. 33: "Manoscritto *latino* No. 8392, Supp. français"!

73-5-3-**Paris**, *Bibliothèque nationale, Français* 12202 (late Supp. fr. 1103).

Paper MS.; xivth cent.; fol. long lines, 184 ff.; contains in the version of John le Long: Hetum, Ricold, etc. Odoric begins f. 108 verso, and ends f. 134 verso: *tous diables en enfer. Explicit.* See p. 492 of French ed., slight variants. Domenichelli has: "Manoscritto *latino* No. 1103, Supp. *français*."

C.—Switzerland.

74-6-1-**Bern**, *City Library*, No. 125.

Parchment; xivth cent.; fol., 286 ff.—Belonged to J. Bongars of Orleans; contains: 1. Itineraire de Marco Polo; 2. Jehan de Mandeville, de l'estat de la Terre saincte et des merveilles que il y a vues; 3. Itinéraire de Ordric; 4. Traittie de la Terre saincte de Guillaume de Bouldeselle; 5. Coppie des lettres que l'empereur des Tartres le grand Kaan de Catay envoia au pape Benoist le XII en l'an 1338; 6. L'estat du gouvernement du grand Kaan de Cathay et de la disposition de son empire, etc.; 7. Livre des hystoires des parties dorient compilé par Jehan Hayton, etc.; 8. Livre de peregrinacion de litineraire et du voiage que fist ung bon preudomme frère Ricul.

This MS. seems to be incomplete, as fol. 180 begins with these words: "seroient longues à recompter Cy nous dit de Somdoma la cite autres lapelent Sottoma. De ceste cite de thoris men party et vins lespace de dix journees en une cite qui a nom Somdoma."

Ends f. 196^b: "Mais touz ceulz qui estoient la demourez estoient touz deables d'enfer.

"Explicit le yteneraire Odric de foro Julii de lordre des freres meneurs qui fist ce livre en lan de grace mil cccxxx. Et puis sa mort dieu a fait par luy maints miracles. Et fut cé livre translate par frere Jehan le long ne dypre et moynne de Saint Bertin en saint aumer En lan de grace mil ccc cinquante et ung."

This collection is similar to the *Livre de Merveilles*, No. 70; it is mentioned, p. 458, by V. Lazari, *I Viaggi di Marco Polo*, Venezia, 1847.

IV.—GERMAN MSS.

A.—Austria.

75-1-1-**Nikolsburg** (*Moravia*), Library of Prince Mensdorf-Pouilly.

German translation of Odoric's voyage, made in 1359, by a priest called Corrado Steckel.—Mentioned by Domenichelli.

B.—Bavaria.

76-2-1-**Nürnberg**, Library?

Paper; xvth cent..; 19 ff. numbered 168–186; titles of chapters in red; the first letter of *Ich* has not been written.—Begins: "Ich Brüder Ulrich von Friaul geporen, etc."—I have been unable to find in my notes in what library this MS. is kept.

General Distribution of MSS. of Odoric

	Latin	Italian	French	German	Total
Great Britain					15
Cambridge	3				
Cheltenham ...	1	1			
London	4		2		
Oxford	2				
Glasgow	2				
Germany					6
Berlin	1				
Bremen	1				
Breslau	1				
Mentz	1				
Wolfenbüttel ...	2				
Alsace					3
Strasburg	3				
Austria					10
Admont	2				
Melk	1				
Nikolsburg				1	
Prag	2				
Vienna	4				
Bavaria					5
Eichstätt	1				
Munich	2				
Nürnberg	1			1	
France					9
Paris	4	1	3		
St Omer	1				
Italy					25
Assisi	1				
Florence		4			
Genoa		1			
Lucca		1			
Pisa		1			
Milan	2				
Rome	2	3			
Udine	2	2			
Venice	2	4			
Switzerland					3
Basel	1				
Bern	1		1		
	50	18	6	2	76

B.—BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PRINTED EDITIONS

1.—Odorichus de rebus incognitis. Pesaro [per Girolamo Soncino], 1513, 4to.

Odorichus de rebus incognitis.

Small 4to; 23 ff. or 46 pages; on f. 1, title *ut supra*; then a preface of 4 pages with the title: *Ponticus Virunius Paulo Danielo Mantuano bene agere.*; the first of these pages is reproduced in the French ed. of Odoric and in my *Bibliotheca Sinica*, col. 2006; this preface ends by *Ex Isauro idibus. feb. MDXIII.* Then the relation in Italian of Odoric's voyage begins: *In questo breuissimo curriculo de miserabel tempo del. M.CCC.XVIII.*...This page and the last reproduced also in the French Odoric and in the *Bib. Sinica.* After the voyages comes a Latin note showing that this text was printed from the copy of Francisco Olivieri, of Jesi; the whole ends: *Impressus Esauri. M.D.XIII. idibus Martii. Laus Deo: & Curiae coelesti-semper.*

There are but two copies known of this edition: one in the "Reale Biblioteca Palatina" of Parma described here; one belonging (Cat. 1900, No. 431) to the bookseller Joseph Baer. of Frankfort a. M.

On this book, written in a language *inculta* and *rozza* says Apostolo Zeno, see long note in French edition of Odoric.

2.—LHystore merueilleuse || Plaisante et Recreatiue du grād Empereur de Tar || tarie seigneur des Tartres nōme le grād Can. Cōtez || nāt six liures ou parties: Dont le ¶ Premier traicte || des singularitez ⁊ conditions des .XIIII. Royaulmes de || Asye subiectz audict grand Chan. ¶ Le second parle des empereurs qui || depuis Lincarnation nostre seignr ont regne et encore a p̄sent regnent en || Asie. Et aussi dont premier proceda le nom du grād Chan Et la seigneu || rie des Tartres | Et cōment. ¶ Le tiers descript q̄lle chose ou doibt faire || auāt que commencer la guerre. ¶ Le quart parle du voyaige q̄fist vng || Religieux des freres p̄scheurs allant p le commādement du pape oultre || mer prescher les mescreās. Et sont en ceste ptie cōtenuz les royaulmes | || Les gens | Les prouinces | Les loix | Les sectes | Les

heresies | Et les nou= || uelles que le dit frere trouua es parties doriēt. ¶ Le cinq̄esme cotiēt com= || mēt vng aultre religieux des freres mineurs alla oultre mer pour pres= || scher les infidelles || Et fust iusques en la terre prebstre Jan ou il vit plu || sieurs aultres choses fort admirables Et dignes de grand memoire | cō= || me il racōpte cy dedans. ¶ Le sixiesme ple du pays de surye | et des vil= || les sur mer | degipte | du desert du mōt de Synay | darabe | Et des sainctz || lieux q̄ sont entre le fleuue Jourdain ⁊ Hierusalē | Et signāment des cho || ses mōstrueuses q̄l a veues selon la diuersite des pays | cōtrees | et regiōs || Et plusieurs aultres choses cōme on pourra veoir par la table cy apres. || [Vignette.] ¶ Auec Preuilege. || ¶ On les vēd a paris en la rue neufue n̄re dame a leseigne. S. Nicolas || et au pallays en la gallerie cōe on va a la chācellerie pour Jehā. S. denys

Small folio of 80 ff. numbered and 4 prelim. ff. for the title, the permission and the table; the permit is dated "15 février 1528"; the work was printed in 1529, on the 15th of April. This volume reproduces the relations contained in the French MS. 1380 (late 7500) of the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris; see *supra*, p. 68, No. 71. The frontispiece and one page have been reproduced in the French edition of Odoric and in the *Bibliotheca Sinica*, to which I refer the reader.

3.—Viaggio del Beato Odorico da Vdine, dell' ordine de' frati Minori, Delle usanze, costumi, & nature, di diuerse nationi, & genti del mondo, & del martirio di quattro frati dell' ordine predetto, qual patirono tra gl' Infedeli. (Ramusio, *Navigationi et Viaggi*, II, Venetia, 1583, f. 245 verso–f. 253 recto.)

Version of W. of Solagna.

"The first [this one] and longest of these is almost certainly a translation from the MS. used by Venni in his edition as *Udinese*. The coincidence of peculiarities in proper names and other particulars shows this." (Yule, *Cathay*, I, p. 35.)

Though I have found a perfect similarity in most of the proper names, I am not so positive as Sir H. Yule. Venni informs us (p. 46) that *in Ms. Utinensi ante historiam habetur:*

"*Beati odorici Devotus Hieronymus Montenianus. N. D. Utin. Patr. huius, et sacri Cœnoby Conventual. Franciscanorum syndicus Itiner., et Mirac. eiusdem Beati.*

Librum hunc Omni ornatu Nudatum, et vetustate Corruptum

In hanc pristinam formam Cum omni Cultu sua Impensa restituit Anno Domini M.D.XXXXII. die XV *Mens. VIIbris.*"

It is likely that Ramusio would have reproduced this announcement.

4.—Viaggio del Beato Frate Odorico di Porto Maggiore del Frivli fatto nell' Anno MCCCXVIII. (Ramusio, *Navigationi et Viaggi*, II, Venetia, 1583, f. 253 verso–256 verso.)

See p. 8 and p. 426, note *f*, of French Edition.

5.—Incipit Itinerarium fratris Odorici fratrum minorum de mirabilibus Orientalium Tartarorum. (Pp. 39–53 of *The Second Volume of the Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoueries of the English Nation*...By Richard Hacklvyt Preacher ...Imprinted at London by George Bishop, Ralph Newberry, and Robert Barker, Anno 1599, folio.)

Begins: "Licet multa & varia de ritibus & conditionibus huius mundi enarrentur a multis, ego tamen frater Odoricus de foro Iulij de portu Valionis..."

Based probably on the text of British Museum, Roy. Col. XIV, C. 13.—See p. 41, No. 5 *supra*.

6.—Here beginneth the iournall of Frier Odoricus, one of the order of the Minorites, concerning strange things which hee sawe among the Tartars of the East. (Pp. 53–67 of vol. II of R. Hackluyt, *ut supra*.)

Translation of the Latin text of Hackluyt less the chap. *De martyrio fratrum* and *De miraculis quatuor fratrum occisorum*.

Reprint, pp. 326 et seq. of A. W. Pollard's *Mandeville*, 1900.

7.—Elogio storico || alle gesta || del || Beato Odorico || dell' Ordine de' Minori Conventuali || con la storia || da lui dettata de' suoi Viaggj Asiatici || illustrata || da un religioso dell' Ordine stesso || e presentata || agli Amatori delle Antichita. || In Venezia || MDCCLXI. || Presso Antonio Zatta. || Con licenza de' Superiori. || Large 4to, pp. VIII–152.

All' Eminentissimo e Reverendissimo Signor Cardinale Fra Lorenzo Ganganelli, F. Giuseppe Venni M.C., p. III.—Approbations, pp. VII–VIII.—Elogio Storico, pp. 1–31.—*Decretum Utinen. Canonizationis Beati Odorici Matthiussi Sacerdotis Professi Ordinis Minorum S. Francisci*, pp. 32–33.—Indice de' Paragrafi, pp. 34–35.—Arca del B. Odorico, p. 36.—Prefazione alla Storia de' Viaggi del B. Odorico, pp. 37–45.—Historia B. Odorici,

pp. 46–83.—Illustrazioni a i Viaggi del B. Odorico nell' Indie Orientali, pp. 84–149.—Indice delle illustrazioni, p. 150.—Permit to print, p. 151.—Errata, p. 152.

At the beginning a large plate, engraved and signed Philippus Pilaja, engraver, and Dominicus Scaramuccia, painter, showing Odoric baptizing the Unfaithful; below:

"B. Odoricus Matthiussi Ord. Minorum S. Francisci Conventualium Sacris Missionibus cum ingenti Animarum lucro inter Infideles peractis.

Obiit Utini Die XIV. Januarii MCCCXXXI.

Cultum, quem Concivi suo Utinenses, finitimaeque Gentes perenniter adoleverant.

Sacra Rituum Congregatio sub die XIV. Junii MDCCLV. Decreto suo probavit.

Ac sub die 2. Julii ejusdem Anni Benedictus XIV. P. O. M. confirmavit."

At the end a poor map of Asia.—P. 36: a plate showing the front and the back of Odoric's tomb in the xviiith cent.; his cilice.—P. 2, Genealogical Table of the descent of King Ottokar of Bohemia.

The Latin text given by Venni, author of this work, belonged to Giuseppe Liruti. "Altra copia scritta settant' anni dopo la morte di Odorico, e presa dall' originale da Filippo Notajo, e scolaro in Padova, figliuolo di Pietro di Fagagna l' anno MCCCCI. è in mano dell' eruditissimo Gentiluomo, e benemeritissimo delle Friulane antichità Giuseppe Liruti de' Signori di Villafredda ricco a dovizia di preziosi apografi; da lui giudicata migliore e per l' antichità, e per le diverse lezioni dalla copia Montaniana" [p. 39]. This last copy made at the expense of Girolamo Montaniani [G. del Negro says, p. 46, the count Girolamo di Montegnacco], sindaco of the Udine Convent, in Sept. 1542 from another copy of the 7th Sept. 1448 by brother Albert of Udine, was used by Venni to give variants to the Liruti text. "Posti a confronto con replicata diligenza i due Mss. Lirutiano, e Udinese, con permissione benigna del Possessore portatissimo a giovare al Pubblico abbiamo preferito il primo al secondo, come copia più antica, et tratta immediatamente, come supponesi, dall' esemplare, che custodivasi in Padova, ove dettò il Beato la sua storia. L' Udinese poi, sendo copia passata per più mani, ci fa temere della sua identità. Ciò non ostante concordi sono nella

sostanza, e soltanto varianti di lezioni, delle quali le più rimarchevoli ponghiamo in veduta, sicchè l' erudito Lettore con il piacere abbia il comodo ancora di rimirare d' ambedue la varietà, e d' ambedue riscontrarne il diligente confronto" [p. 45].

This edition of Venni is one of the best of Odoric's text.

Osservazioni fatte da me Frate Francesco Antonio Maria Righini sotto la scorta del fu mio maestro Padre Maestro Giovanni Giacinto Maria Sbaraglia sopra l' Elogio storico alle gesta del Beato Odorico d' Udine dell' Ordine dei Frati Minori e le illustrazioni fatte alla di lui storia, etc.

MS. kept in the Communal Library of Rimini.

8.—B. Orderici Peregrinatio ab ipsomet descripta. (*Acta Sanctorum*, XIV Januarii, pp. 986–992.)

Begins: "Licet multa & varia de ritibus hominum, & condi tionibus huius mundi, à pluribus enarrentur..."

Ends: see p. 515 of the French edition.

At the beginning a short introduction and a biography after Wadding.—Abstracts from Henry of Glatz.

9.—B. Fratris Oderici de Foro Julii, Ordinis Minorum, iter ad partes infidelium a Fratre Henrico de Glars ejusdem Ordinis descriptum, nunc vero primo in lucem editum ad fidem Mss. codicis Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis (Cod. Lat. 903) cura Patris Marcellini a Civetia. (*Storia universale delle Missioni Francescane*, III, Roma, 1859, pp. 739–781.)

"Questa pubblicazione fu da me fatta in fine del III volume della mia *Storia universale delle Missioni Francescane*, con brevi note a piè di pagina, che dichiarano i principali luoghi percorsi dal grande Apostolo nella prodigiosa sua missione in Tartaria, in Cina, e in quasi tutto l' Arcipelago Indiano; dei quali schiarimenti mi giovai anche nel racconto che feci della sua vita e del suo apostolato nel capitolo XII dello stesso libro, dove in corrispondenza del testo latino diedi una parte del racconto in italiano. L' esemplare di questo Codice da me pubblicato l' ebbi in dono dalla gentilezza del chiaro illustratore dei viaggi di Marco Polo Vincenzio *Lazari* per gentile intramessa del mio amico Cesare *Guasti*. Il Lazari giudicò che fosse completo, e che venisse portato d' Irlanda a Ratisbona il 1539; e che fosse affastellamento di Frate Marchesino da Badaion, originalmente transcritto da Frate Enrico da Glars nel 1440. In quanto all' essere

venuto in Ratisbona d' Irlanda il Lazari pensava facilmente spiegarsi con osservare, che il compagno di peregrinazione del Beato Odorico fu un tal Frate Giacomo, Irlandese...

" In quanto alla vera traduzione italiana del Viaggio del Beato, com' il lettore vede, non è stata ancora pubblicata; e crediamo che sia nella Biblioteca Marciana di Venezia; ma non saprei dire se fosse quella del Codice della classe VI, numero 208, cartaceo in-4, che contiene i Viaggi del beato Odorico da Udine, di Marco Polo, di Alvise Cadamosto, di Pietro Sinzia, di Vasco di Gama, di Emmanuele Re di Portogallo, di Cristoforo Colombo, ec..., o l' altro della classe XI, numero 32, cartaceo in foglio, ove il Viaggio del beato Odorico è preceduto dall' altro *Viaggio da Venezia a San Giacomo di Galizia*." (M. da Civezza, *Saggio di Bib. Sanfrancescana*, No. 465.)

10.—Louis de Backer.—L'Extrême Orient au Moyen Age d'après les manuscrits d'un Flamand de Belgique Moine de Saint-Bertin à Saint-Omer et d'un Prince d'Arménie Moine de Prémontré à Poitiers. Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1877, 8vo, pp. 502.

See what we say on this poor edition, *supra*, p. 72, No. 72, and in the French edition of Odoric.

11.—Cathay and the Way thither; being a Collection of Medieval Notices of China, translated and edited by Colonel Henry Yule, C.B., late of the Royal Engineers (Bengal). With a preliminary Essay on the intercourse between China and the Western Nations previous to the discovery of the Cape Route. London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society. M.DCCC.LXVI. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. cclii, 1–250, 253–596, xcviii, 1 front., 3 maps.

The first and excellent edition of this work; see:—Odoric of Pordenone: Biographical and Historical Notices.—The Eastern Parts of the World described, by Friar Odoric the Bohemian, of Friuli, in the Province of Saint Anthony. (Yule, *Cathay and the Way thither*, I, pp. 1–162.)

12.—Storia dei Viaggiatori Italiani nelle Indie orientali compilata da Angelo de Gubernatis con estratti d' alcune relazioni di viaggio a stampa ed alcuni documenti inediti.—Pubblicata in occasione del Congresso Geografico di Parigi. In Livorno, Franc. Vigo. 1875, small 8vo, pp. VIII–400.

Chap. II of this work contains some notes and pp. 138–141 part of the Palatine Text of Florence given in full in our edition.

13.—Sopra la vita e i viaggi del beato Odorico da Pordenone dell' ordine de' minori Studi con documenti rari ed inediti del chierico francescano Fr. Teofilo Domenichelli sotto la direzione del P. Marcellino da Civezza M. O.—In Prato per Ranieri Guasti editore-libraio.—1881, 8vo, pp. 410, 1 map.

"Al Lettore (Fr. Marcellino da Civezza M. O.).—Viaggiatori Francescani.—Storia del Beato e dei suoi Viaggi.—Bibliografia di quanto finora fu scritto sul Beato Odorico.—Illustrazioni edite ed inedite.—Testo dei Viaggi del Beato Odorico in latino e in italiano.—Descriptio Fratris Oderici de ordine minorum de partibus infidelium.—Viaggio del Beato Odorico del Friuli.—Illustrazioni edite ed inedite al Viaggio del Beato Odorico.—Elenco dei Codici editi ed inediti del Viaggio del Beato Odorico.—Delle lingue indiane.—Altri Documenti e Memorie risguardanti il Beato Odorico."

Gives the Latin text of Munich, already edited by Marcellino da Civezza, see *supra*, No. 32, p. 50, and an Italian text of the Marciana Library, Cl. VI. 102, see *supra*, No. 65, p. 64. This work has no geographical value, the authority given by Domenichelli in his preface being Louis de Backer. Part of the documents supplied by Dr. V. Joppi of Udine have some interest.

Notices: *Tagliamento*, 17 Sept. 1881, No. 27.—*Patria del Friuli*, 19 Sept., No. 223; 16 Sept. 1881, No. 221 (V. Joppi).—*Archivio veneto*, N.S., XXV, 1883, pp. 176–178 (C. Franzi).—*Revue historique*, XXI, 2, pp. 386–390 (J. von Zahn).

14.—Italie. Publications relatives au Frioul. Par J. von Zahn. (*Revue historique*, XXI, Paris, 1883, pp. 383–399.)

Notice on Domenichelli, pp. 386–390.

The article of v. Zahn has been translated by la *Patria del Friuli*, 27, 28 April; 1, 3, 5, 11, 14, 15 May 1883; Nos. 100, 101, 103, 105, 107, 112, 114, 115 (*Bib. Stor. Friul.* No. 711).

15.—Les Voyages en Asie au XIV^e^ siècle du bienheureux frère ODORIC DE PORDENONE Religieux de Saint-François publiés avec une introduction et des notes par HENRI CORDIER, Professeur à l'École des Langues Orientales vivantes & à l'École des Sciences politiques.—Ouvrage orné de fac-similés, de gravures et d'une carte.—Paris, Ernest Leroux, M.D.CCC.XCI, gr. in-8, pp. XIV–CLVIII–602.

Contains: Dédicace à Sir Henry Yule.—Table des matières.—

Table des illustrations.—Introduction.—Bibliographie.—Texte.—Index.—Carte.

Vol. x du *Recueil de Voyages et de Documents pour servir à l'Histoire de la Géographie depuis le XIII^e^ jusqu'à la fin du XVI^e^ siècle publié sous la direction de MM.* Ch. Schefer, *membre de l'Institut, et* Henri Cordier.—Of this collection are printed 250 copies, of which 25 are on Dutch Hand-made paper.—98 copies of the Introduction, of which 5 are on Dutch paper and 5 on simili-Japan, have been printed separately.

Notices: *Bibliografia Friulana*, in *Pagine Friulane*, Anno IV, 14 Giugno 1891, No. 4, by Vincenzo Joppi.—*La Scintilla*, 28 Giugno 1891, by the same.—*Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, by Léopold Delisle, LII, 1891, pp. 452–3.—*T'oung Pao*, No. 3, sept. 1891, pp. 269–8, by G. Schlegel.—*Archivio Storico Italiano*, Serie V, T. VIII, 1891, by Eugène Müntz.—*Revue historique*, LI, Janv.–fév. 1893, pp. 210–211, by Gabriel Monod.—*Revue Critique*, No. 11, 13 mars 1893, pp. 197–202, by A. Barth.—*La Scintilla*, Venezia, 12, 19, 20 nov., 3, 15 dec. 1893, by V. Savi.—*Revue des Questions scientifiques*, Brussels, Jan. 1894, pp. 266–8, by J. van den Gheyn.—*La Géographie*, VI^e^ année, No. 251, 21 sept. 1893, by Henry Monet.—*Revue de Géographie*, Sept. 1891, pp. 238–9, by Gabriel Marcel.

C.—SUNDRY BOOKS AND PAPERS WHICH TREAT OF ODORIC AND HIS TRAVELS

1.—Historiarum Seraphicae Religionis libri tres, seriem temporum continentes, quibus brevi explicantur fundamenta universi Ordinis, amplificatio, gradus et instituta, nec non viri scientia, virtutibus et fama praeclari, a Fratre Petro Rodulpho Tossinianensi Minorita Conventuali. Venetiis, apud Franciscum de Franciscis Senensem. 1586, fol.

(Contains a Life of Odoric.)

2.—De Origine // Seraphicae Religionis Frāciscanae // eiusq; progressibus, de Regularis // Obseruāciae institutione, forma ad // ministrationis ac legibus, admirabiliq. // eius propagatione. // F. Francisci Gonzagae // eiusdem Religionis Ministri Gñalis. // ad // S. D. N. Sixtvm V. // opus in quatuor partes diuisarum. //

Earum quid unaquaeque // contineat. // sequens pagina indicabit. // Romae. // Cū licētia Superiorū // 1587, fol.

P. 97: "B. Odoricus Forliciensis (*sic*) vir sanctus, atq; deuotus, qui Asiam, & Indiam zelo fidei euangelizando peragrauit, in conuentu Vtinensi foeliciter obdormiuit in Domino: quique in Patriarchatu Aquileiensi inter sanctos relatus est, & sanctorum quatuor martyrum corpora, de ciuitate Heroues ad superiorem Indiam in ciuitatem Carram, non sine ingenti miraculo per mare transtulit."

3.—Delle // Croniche // de' ırati minori // *parte seconda*, // divisa in dieci libri, // Nella quale si contiene quello, che occorse nella Religione del Padre // San Francesco, nel tempo di venti-quattro Ministri Generali, // per lo spatio d'anni centocinquanta. // Composta dal Padre Fra Marco da Lisbona, in Lingua Portughese, // Poi ridotta nella Castigliana dal Padre Frà Filippo da Sosa. // Et tradotta nella nostra Italiana dal Sig. Horatio Diola. // Con Tauole copiosissime, & in questa quarta edittione // corretta, & migliorata. // Con privilegi. // In Venetia, appresso i Gioliti. // M.DCVI. 4to.

Odoric, lib. VIII, cap. XVIII, XIX, XX and XXI, pp. 461–465.

4.—Panegyris de Beato Odorico de Portu Naonis, Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Sancti Francisci, auctore Joanne Baptista Gabello, cum esset in Ecclesia Sancti Uldarici de Villa Nova in Diœcesi Concordiensi servus. Utini, apud Lorium, 1627, 4to.

Valentinelli.

5.—Vita del Beato Odorico da Pordenone, scritta dà d. Marco da Lisbona. Udine, Schiratti, 1634.

Valentinelli.

6.—Giambattista Gabello.—Vita del Beato Odorico Mattiuzzi. Udine, Schiratti, 1639, 8vo.

Valentinelli, I^{a} ed.

7.—Vita Beati Odorici Foro-Iuliensis, Ordinis Minorum, excerpta ex praeclaris et lucidissimis annalibus Minorum, auctore Reverendo Patre Frate Luca Waddingo Hiberna eiusdem Ordinis, tom. terti. Frater Bernardinus Treus Utinensis Ordinis Minorum Conventualium, Artium et Sacrae Theologiae Doctor et in sua Provincia Divi Antonii de Patavio Diffinitor perpetuus, ex sua peculiari devotione in Beatum Odoricum, anno 1654, existente

Guardiano Admod. Reverendo Patre Fratre Francisco Barbana. Utini, Typis Nicolai Schiratti, 1654, 8vo.

Domenichelli.

8.—Historie // della // provincia del Frivli // dell' abbate // Gio : Francesco Palladio // de gli Olivi, // givreconsvlto, e patritio vdinese, // nell' academia de gli sventati detto il Ferace. // Divise in dve parti. // Dedicate all' Illustrissimo, & Eccellentissimo Sig. // Co. Giacomo Cabriel // Per la Sereniss. Republica di Venetia, &c. // Luogotenente Generale della stessa Prouincia. // In Vdine, Appresso Nicolò Schiratti. MDCLX. // Con licenza de' svperiori. 2 vols. fol.

Odoric, I, pp. 324–5.

9.—Vitae Paparvm Avenionensivm...Stephanus Balvzivs edidit...Parisiis, Muguet, 1693, 2 vols. 4to.

Odoric, I, col. 702–3, 1411, 1417.

10.—Annales Minorum seu trium ordinum a S. Francisco Institutorum auctore a R. P. Luca Waddingo Hiberno...Editio secunda, locupletior, & accuratior opera et studio R^mi P. Josephi Mariae Fonseca ab Ebora.—Romae, 1731–1747, 22 vols. fol.

See *Odoric*, vol. VII, Romae, 1733, pp. 123–6.—In vol. VI, under date 1321, p. 358, is related the transfer to Zaitùn of the bones carried to Supera by Friar Jordanus and disinterred by Odoric: "secum tulit in Indiam superiorem, ad Fratrum Cœnobium urbis Zaiton, Rodulphus Carram appelat."

11.—Vita, e viaggi || del || B. Odorico || da Udine || descritti || da don Basilio Asquini || bernabita, || e dedicati alli MM.RR.PP. || Guardiano, e religiosi tutti || Del Ven. Convento di San Francesco || della stessa Città. || In Udine, MDCCXXXVII. || Nella Stamperia di Giambattista Murero. || Con licenza de' Superiori. Small 8vo, pp. XVI–260, with a figure at the beginning engraved by Antonio Zuliani.

12.—A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels... London : Printed for Thomas Astley, 1745–1747, 4 vols. 4to.

Odoric, IV, p. 620.

13.—Compendio della vita, virtù, morte e miracoli, del b. Odorico da Udine. Udine, Murero, 1758, 8vo.

Valentinelli.

14.—Notizie // delle vite ed opere // scritte da' Letterati del Friuli // raccolte // da Gian-Giuseppe Liruti // Signor de Villafredda, ec. // Accademico nella Società Colombaria // di Firenze, // e dell' Accademia Udinese. // In Venezia // MDCCLX, // appresso Modesto Fenzo, // 1, 4to.

Cap. XVII. *Il B. Odorico da Pordenone, altrimente detto da Udine, dell' Ordine de' Frati Minori di S. Francesco*, pp. 274–290.

15.—Storia della Letteratura Italiana del Cavaliere Abate Girolamo Tiraboschi...Tomo v. Dall' anno MCCC. fino all' anno MCCCC. Roma, MDCCLXXXIII, 4to.

Odoric, pp. 105–109.

16.—History of the Voyages and Discoveries made in the North. Translated from the German of John Reinhold Forster, I.U.D. and elucidated by several new and original Maps. London: Printed for G. G. J. & J. Robinson, M.DCC.LXXXVI, 4to.

Odoric, pp. 147–8.

17.—Geschichte der wichtigsten geographischen Entdeckungen bis zur Ankunft der Portugiesen in Japan 1542, von Matthias Christian Sprengel, Professeur der Geschichte in Halle. Zweite vermehrte Auflage. Halle, 1792, small 8vo, pp. 420, without the tab. and the prel. leaves.

See *Odoric*, pp. 340–359. "It is printed with desperate inaccuracy," says Yule, *Cathay*, p. 38.

18.—Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in Asia, from the earliest ages to the present time. By Hugh Murray... Edinburgh, 1820, 3 vols. 8vo.

Odoric, I, C. IV, pp. 183 seq.

19.—Sacra Rituum Congregatio, Eminentissimo et Reverendissimo Dom. Cardin. Somalia Praefecto et Ponente Utinensi, seu Ordinis Minorum Sancti Francisci, approbat lectiones proprias in officio Beati Odorici Matthiussi, instante Reverendissimo Episcopo Utinensi. Romae, 1822. Ex typis Camerae Apostolicae, folio, pp. 16.

Valentinelli.

20.—History of Maritime and Inland Discovery. By William Desborough Cooley. London, 1830–1, 3 vols. 8vo.

Lardner's *Cabinet Cyclopaedia*.—See Book III.

21.—Ragguaglio breve della vita del B. Odorico Mattiuzzi. Udine, Murero, 1824, in-16.

Valentinelli.

22.—Oderic, appelé vulgairement de Portenau. Par La Renaudière. (*Biographie universelle*, XXXI, p. 162.)

23.—Oderic de Pordenone. Par H. Fisquet. (*Nouvelle Biographie générale*, XXXVIII, col. 469–471.)

An insignificant and erroneous article.

24.—Relation des Mongols ou Tartares par le frère Jean du Plan de Carpin de l'ordre des Freres Mineurs, légat du Saint-Siège apostolique, nonce en Tartarie pendant les années 1245, 1246 et 1247, et archevêque d'Antivari. Première édition complète publiée d'après les manuscrits de Leyde, de Paris et de Londres, et précédée d'une notice sur les anciens voyages de Tartarie en général, et sur celui de Jean du Plan de Carpin en particulier, par M. d'Avezac. (*Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires publié par la Société de géographie*, IV, Paris, Arthus-Bertrand, 1839, pp. 397–779.)

Oderic Matthiussi, pp. 417–419.

25.—Histoire générale des Missions catholiques depuis le XIII^e^ siècle jusqu'à nos jours, par M. le Baron Henrion. Paris, Gaume, 1847, 2 vols. large 8vo.

Odoric, I, pp. 111–112.—See in French edition, a long note of Prof. G. del Negro, regarding the Italian translation of this work.

26.—Discorso intorno all' Itinerario del Beato Odorico Matiussi da Udine Missionario Apostolico dell' Ordine de' Minori. Con appendice.

Pub. in Nos. 5 and 6 of the year V of the *Cronaca delle Missioni Francescane* (Roma, 1865). A reply to the anonymous Italian translator of the *Histoire des Missions catholiques* of Henrion.

M. da Civezza, *Bibl. Sanfrancescana*, No. 194.

27.—Charles MacFarlane.—Romance of Travel: The East. —London, 1847, 2 vols. 8vo.

28.—Le Christianisme en Chine, en Tartarie et au Thibet. By M. Huc...Paris, Gaume frères, 1857–8, 4 vols. 8vo.

Odoric de Frioul, I, pp. 398–411.

29.—Die Missionen in Indien und China im vierzehnten Jahrhundert. (*G. Phillips' und G. Görres Historisch-Politische Blätter für das katholische Deutschland*, München, 1856, 1 Bd.)—I. Die Mission in Meliapor und Tana, pp. 25–38.—II. Die Mission in Columbo, pp 135–152.—III. Die Mission in China, pp. 225–252.—(*Ibid.*, 1856, II Bd.)—IV. Der Missionsbericht des Odoricus von Pordenone, pp. 507–537.—V. Der Reisebericht des Johannes Marignola, pp. 701–719, 793–813.—(*Ibid.*, 1859, 1 Bd.) Die Mission in China, pp. 677–681.

By Prof. F. Kunstmann.

30.—Histoire universelle de l'Église catholique, par l'abbé Rohrbacher—précédée d'une notice biographique et littéraire par Charles Sainte-Foi, augmentée de notes inédites de l'auteur colligées par A. Murcier, ancien élève de l'École des Chartes, et suivie d'un atlas géographique spécialement dressé pour l'ouvrage par A.-H. Dufour. 3e éd. Paris, Gaume, 1857–61, 29 vols. 8vo.

XX, 1858, Odoric de Frioul, pp. 150–152.

31.—Storia universale delle Missioni Francescane del P. Marcellino da Civezza M. O. della provincia di Genova. Vol. III, Roma, Tip. Tiberina, 1859, 8vo, pp. 796.

On Odoric, see chap. XII, pp. 467–519, and the voyage from the Munich Latin MS., No. 903, pp. 739–781.

32.—De // Seraphiensche Palmboom // of // Levens // van de // Heilige en vermaerde Mannen en Vrouwen // uit de dry orden Van S. Franciscus, // door // P. Benignus Fremaut, // Minderbroeder-Recollect. // uitgegeven door // de Minderbroeders-Recollecten der provincie van S. Joseph in België. // Sint-Truiden, Vanwest-Pluymers, 1860–1875. 12 vols. 8vo.

I, 1860, Januarius [14 de Januarius]. *Leven van den zaligen Odoricus van Porto-Naono*, pp. 665–678. (Ex Waddingo et Joanne Bollando, Soc. Jesu.)

33.—L' itinerario del beato Odorico Mattiussi, discorso con appendici. (Nello *Stato del Ginnasio arcivescovile di Udine*, alla fine dell' anno scolastico 1865.) Udine, tip. Jacob e Colmegna, 1865, 8vo, pp. 54.

Per Luigi Fabris.—See *Rivista friulana*, 10 settembre 1865, No. 37.—*Bib. Stor. Friul.*, No. 102.

34.—Storia di Cambanau, di Taid e d' altri luoghi dell' India, narrata dal Beato Odorico del Friuli, anno MCCCXXX. Bologna, Tipi Fava e Garagnani, 1866, 24mo, pp. 48.

"Per le faustissime nozze dell' egregio giovane signor TITO DALLA NOCE colla virtuosa donzella signora ADÉLAIDE GOLINELLI avvenute nella primavera del MDCCCLXVI."—This little brochure is taken from pp. 311–317 of the third edition of Zambrini's bibliography with the addition of four new chapters.—100 copies printed.—See Zambrini, 4th ed., p. 718.

35.—*Madonna delle Grazie*, Nos. 6, 7 and 8 of 9, 16 and 23 January 1869.

Three short articles devoted to Odoric.

Bib. Stor. Friul., No. 128.

36.—Le Palmier séraphique...par M. Malvoisin...et Mgr. Paul Guérin. Bar-le-Duc, Louis Guérin, 12 vols. 8vo, 1870 seq.

37.—Les Petits Bollandistes...par Mgr. Paul Guérin. Bar-le-Duc, Louis Guérin, 1872, 8vo.

14 January, p. 340, a few lines devoted to Odoric.

38.—Cenni sulla vita e sui viaggi del B° Odorico del Friuli, di Dionigio Largaiolli. (Nella *Cronaca liceale per l' anno 1874–75.*) Catania, tip. Bellini, 1876, 8vo, pp. 58.

Rep. with a few variants, Potenza, tip. Favatà, 1878, 18mo, p. 55.—*Bib. Stor. Friul.*, No. 433.

39.—The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian...by Colonel Sir Henry Yule...Third edition, revised...by Henri Cordier... London, John Murray 1903, 2 vols. 8vo.

40.—Il Beato Odorico di Pordenone ed i suoi viaggi: cenni dettati dal Colonello Enrico Yule, Presidente della Società Hakluyt di Londra, quando s' inaugurava in Pordenone il busto di Odorico il giorno 23^zo^ settembre MDCCCLXXXI, br. 8vo, pp. 8.

"Inscritto, colla più grata ed amena ricordanza, ai signori Friulani, Vincenzo Joppi di Udine, e Lorenzo Bianchi di Pordenone."

Italian translation of Count Ugo Balzani.

Printed in London: T. Richards, 37, Great Queen Street, W.C.

Patria del Friuli, 16 sept. 1881, No. 221. (V. Joppi.)—*Revue historique*, XXI, 2, p. 388. (Zahn.)

41.—Odoric. By Henry Yule. (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 9th ed., XVII, pp. 728–9.)

An interesting résumé.

42.—Il beato Odorico Mattiussi. (*Tagliamento*, 14 maggio 1881, No. 19.) Pordenone, tip. Gatti, 1881, fol., 2 col.

In the preceding No., 7th May, the *Tagliamento* announced that the communal council, in its sitting of the 4th May, had voted unanimously that a bust of Odoric be erected in the Communal Hall and that the work be entrusted to the sculptor Luigi Minisini.—*Bib. Stor. Friul.*, No. 670.

43. *Il Tagliamento*, periodico settimanale, Anno XI, Pordenone, 23 settembre 1881, n. 38. Pordenone, tip. Gatti, 1881, fol., col. 12.

44.—*Cittadino Italiano*, 25 settembre 1881, No. 215.

Bib. Stor. Friul., No. 669.

45.—Il B. Odorico da Pordenone. Cenni storici. (Dal *Cittadino Italiano* del 23 settembre.) Br. 8vo, pp. 23, Portrait.

Verso of the brochure: Udine.—Tip. Lit. Patronato. An interesting notice published in 1881, for the inauguration of the bust of Odoric at Pordenone, written, I was told at Udine, by Prof. *Giovanni del Negro.*

46.—Dom Foschia.—Il beato Odorico di Udine.—Udine, 1882, 8vo, pp. 26.

47.—Commentarii dei Fatti di Aquileja di Giovanni Candido [Udine, 1884.—Tip. M. Bardusco], br. large 4to, pp. 14.

"Nozze Blum-Levi." Dedication to Giulio Blum signed A. Purasanta, dated: Udine, li 29 ottobre 1884. Contains a valueless notice of the voyages of Odoric.—From Candido's work, edited at Venice in 1544, by Michiele Tramezino, 16mo, pp. 63–68. The original work was published under the title: *Commentariorum Aquilejensium libri octo*, Joannis Candidi Jurisconsulti. Venetiis, per Alexandrum de Bindonibus, 1521, fol. Odoric, ff. XXVI–XXVIII.

48.—Ferd. Blasisch.—Documenti e notizie sulla vita di S. Odorico. Udine, 1884, 8vo, pp. 22.

49.—Histoire du Commerce du Levant au Moyen Age par W Heyd...Edition francaise refondue et considérablement augmentee par l'auteur, publiée sous le patronage de la Société

de l'Orient latin par Furcy Raynaud. Leipzig, Otto Harrassowitz, 1885–1886, 2 vols. 8vo.

Odoric, II, pp. 132, 151, 220 et seq., 246.

50.—Gli illustri viaggiatori italiani con una Antologia dei loro scritti, per Pietro Amat di S. Filippo. Roma, "l'Opinione," 1885, 8vo, pp. VIII–548.

Odoric, pp. 19–31.

51.—L Auréole Séraphique, Vie des Saints et des Bienheureux des trois ordres de Saint-François, par le T. R. P. Léon, Ex-Provincial des Franciscains de l'Observance. Paris, Bloud et Barral, 4 vols. 12mo, n. d. [1886].

Vol. I, pp. 270–7, 3 février, B. Odoric de Pordenone.

52.—Vies des Saints et des Bienheureux de l'ordre de Saint-François dont le culte a été approuvé par l'Église (abrégé de l'*Auréole Séraphique*), par le T. R. P. Léon, Ex-Provincial des Franciscains de l'Observance. Paris, Bloud et Barral, 1887, 12mo.

3 février, Odoric, pp. 11–13.

53.—Untersuchungen über Johann von Mandeville und die Quellen seiner Reisebeschreibung. Von Albert Bovenschen. (*Zeitschrift d. Ges. für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, XXIII Bd., 3 und 4 Hft., No. 135, 136, pp. 177–306.)

54.—"Pro Patria" Alfred Gummá. Le Dondiin et les Philippines Lettres a M. le President de la "Société Géographique de Paris." 16mo, pp. 122.

Printed at Barcelona.

55.—Einundzwanzigstes Programm der Realschule mit Progymnasium zu Leisnig als Einladungsschrift zu den öffentlichen Prüfungen am 3. und 4. April 1895.—Inhalt: (1) Abhandlung des Oberlehrers Max Gnauck: Odorich von Pordenone, ein Orientreisender des 14. Jahrhunderts.—(2) Schulnachrichten, verfasst vom Direktor.—Druck von Herrm. Ulrich in Leisnig. 1895. Progr. Nr. 583. 4to, pp. 55.

56.—Della Patria e della Nazionalità del Beato Odorico da Pordenone, por V. Savi. (Estratto del *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, tomo XI, parte II, coi tipi dei Fratelli Visentini, Venezia, 1896.)

Nuovo Archivio Veneto, 1896, XI, pp. 301–325.

57.—Hugh Clifford.—Further India...London, 1904, 8vo.

D.—BIBLIOGRAPHICAL WORKS

1.—Biblioteca italiana ossia notizia de' libri rari italiani divisa in quattro parti cioè istoria, poesia, prose, arti e scienze, gia compilata da Niccola Francesco Haym. Edizione corretta, ampliata, e di giudizj intorno alle migliori opere arricchita. Con tavole copiosissime e necessarie.—Milano. Giovanni Silvestri, 1803, 4 vols. 8vo.

2.—Bibliografia del Friuli.—Saggio di Giuseppe Valentinelli socio corrispondente dell' Accademia d' Udine. Edizione sovvenuta dell' Imp. Accademia delle Scienze in Vienna. Venezia, Tipografia del Commercio, 1861, 8vo, pp. VIII–540.

Odoric, pp. 384–5.

3.—Répertoire des Sources historiques du Moyen Age par Ulysse Chevalier.—*Bio-Bibliographie.* Nouvelle édition refondue, corrigée et considérablement augmentee. Paris, Alphonse Picard et fils, Janvier 1905–Septembre 1907, 2 vols. 8vo.

Odoric, 3402–3403.

4.—Saggio di Bibliografia geografica, storica, etnografica, Sanfrancescana per Fr. Marcellino da Civezza M. O. In Prato, per Ranieri Guasti, editore-libraio. 1879, 8vo, pp. XIV–698.

Odoric, No. 194, p. 148.—465, pp. 433–434.

5.—Le Opere volgari a stampa dei secolo XIII e XIV indicate e descritte da Francesco Zambrini. Quarta Edizione con appendice. Bologna, Nicola Zanichelli, 1884, 8vo, pp. LV–col. 1172–202.

Odoric, col. 714–718, 118.

6.—Società geografica italiana. Studi biografici e bibliografici sulla Storia della Geografia in Italia pubblicati in occasione del III°. Congresso Geografico Internazionale. Volume I.—Biografia dei Viaggiatori italiani colla bibliografia delle loro opere per P. Amat di S. Filippo. Edizione seconda. Roma, alla sede della Società, 1882, 8vo.

Oderico da Pordenone, pp. 85–98.

7.—BIBLIOTHECA SINICA.—Dictionnaire bibliographique des ouvrages relatifs à l'empire chinois, par Henri Cordier. Paris, E. Guilmoto, 1904–1908, 2 vols. large 8vo.

Vol. III, Odoric, col. 2005–2018.

8.—Accademia di Udine. Bibliografia Storica Friulana dal 1861 al 1882 di Giuseppe Occioni-Bonaffons. Udine, Tip. G.-B. Doretti, 1883, 8vo.

Odoric, Nos. 102, 128, 129, 433, 469, 667, 668, 670, 671, 711.

—dal 1861 al 1885 di Giuseppe Occioni-Bonaffons. Vol. secondo. Udine, Tip. G.-B. Doretti, 1887, 8vo.

Odoric, Nos. 820, 956, 1156.

E.—TEXT OF THIS EDITION

After what has been said about the variations in the different copies of Odoric, it will be obvious that before preparing a translation, it becomes necessary (on the principle of catching your hare before cooking it) to ascertain the text which is to be translated. The determination *verbatim* of a standard text is not possible under the circumstances, but fortunately a large proportion of the variations disappear in translation, as they are not variations in sense. As regards the variations in proper names, in most cases it is possible to deduce from the facts which reading is nearest the truth, though often considerable study has been necessary to ascertain their real indications. Among the variations in other matters, the editor has exercised his judgment in selecting what seemed to be the most probable readings. And where it seemed a pity to omit additional particulars that were curious or interesting, though depending on doubtful or exceptional authority, these have been interpolated into the translation within brackets.

A translation however thus formed requires what the French call "justificative pieces," that the editor's authority for everything may be traced, and that he may not be thought to have developed a new Odoric out of his "moral consciousness." It seemed therefore indispensable to print a Latin text with notes of the collations made.

I had wished to print this text from the copy of Henry of Glatz, the only type of the four already discriminated which never has been printed in full; and a transcript of the Paris MS. (No. 36 above), which was understood to be of this type, was commissioned. By some mistake, or for some unexplained reason, the transcript was made from the *other* Paris

MS. (No. 35 above); and I have therefore been obliged to print this as my Latin text; for the Farsetti MS. in St Mark's (No. 47) is not correct enough for the purpose, and there were stronger reasons against using the Arundel MS. (No. 7), the only other one available to me which is not already in print. It did not suit the object to print an Italian text only, or the St Mark's MS. (Italian No. 65 above) would have been unexceptional.

To the Latin text, however, I have added the Italian of the Florence Palatine MS. In introducing this version, I feel tempted to borrow a formula from a late venerable personage, who presented a newly married lady to his friends as selected "not for her looks, as they saw, but because she was good." The MS. is indeed in the basest style, and has neither looks nor goodness to recommend it. But it is eminently *curious*, as containing so many remarkable passages which appear in no other copy of Odoric, and when one is trying to dispose of Odoric once for all it seems worthy of print. The most notable passages in which the *Minor Ramusian* deviates from this, as well as from the Latin copies, are brought forward in the notes to this version. In printing it, what seemed mere vulgarisms of spelling, such as *rengno* for *regno*, *pripristeli* for *pipistrelli*, have not been followed.

In the comparison of the Latin copies a word by word collation has been out of the question, but it has been intended to record all important variations of proper names, all important variations of sense, and such variations of mere expression as there seemed any sufficient reason for noting.

The subdivision of the narrative into chapters is in all the MSS. very various, irregular and capricious. I have made a new division, assigning short headings in my translation, and for reasons of obvious convenience have extended this also to the Latin and Italian texts. It is to be understood, therefore, that the marginal headings of chapters in these are interpolations, and no part of the originals[1].

[1] I have kept the text and the divisions of Sir Henry Yule; also most of his notes. I have added a good many various readings at the foot of the pages, and a number of new notes to bring the book up to the science of the present day.—H. C.

F.—LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED TO INDICAT THE COPIES

A.S., or Boll. Printed Text of the *Acta Sanctorum*.—See No. 8, p. 80.

Berlin. Latin Manuscript of the Royal Library of Berlin.—See No. 13–13–1, p. 44.

B.N., or B.N., Lat. 2584. (The printed Text.) Latin MS. of the National Library of Paris, printed in *Cathay* and in this edition.—See No. 35–35–1, p. 51.

B.N., lat. 3195, or Par. 2. Latin MS. of the National Library of Paris, No. 3195.—See No. 36–36–2, p. 52.

Boll., or A.S. See A.S., *supra*.—See No. 8, p. 80.

Civ., or M. da Civ. Latin Text of Munich printed by Marcellino da Civezza.—See No. 32–32–2, p. 50.

Dom. Italian Text printed by Domenichelli.—See No. 13, p. 82

Far. or Fars. Latin MS. of the Marciana at Venice. used in this edition.—See No. 47–47–8, p. 56.

Fr. 1380. French MS. 1380, of the National Library of Paris.—See No. 71–3–1, p. 68.

Fr. 2810. French MS. 2810, of the National Library of Paris.—See No. 72–4–2, p. 69.

Hak. Hakluyt's printed Latin Text.—See No. 5, p. 78.

J. de V. MS. of the French translation of Jean de Vignay, British Museum.—See No. 69–1–1, p. 67.

J. St D. Printed Text by Jean Saint-Denys.—See No. 2, p. 76.

M. da C., or Civ. See Civ., *supra*.—See No. 32–32–2, p. 50.

Magl. Italian Text of Florence.—See No. 55–5–3, p. 61.

Marc. or Mar. Italian Text of the Marciana, published by Domenichelli.—See No. 65–15–13, p. 64.

Mun. Latin Text of the Munich Library.—See No. 33–33–3, p. 51.

Mus. British Museum, Latin MS. Arundel Coll.—See No. 7–7–7, p. 42.

Pal. Italian MS. of Florence, published by Yule and in this edition.—See No. 54–4–2, p. 60.

Ram. A., or Ram. First Italian Text of Ramusio.—See No. 3, p. 77.

RAM B., or MIN. RAM. Second Italian Text of Ramusio.—See No. 4, p. 78.

UT. Venni's Printed Collation of Udine MS.—See No. 7, p. 78.

VEN. Venni's printed Latin Text.—See No. 7, p. 78.

VIENNA. Latin Text of the Imperial Library of Vienna.—See No. 27–27–6, p. 49.

WOLF. 40. Latin Text of the Ducal Library of Wolfenbüttel.—See No. 17–17–5, p. 47.

WOLF. 41. Latin Text of the Ducal Library of Wolfenbüttel.—See No. 18–18–6, p. 47.

THE EASTERN PARTS OF THE WORLD DESCRIBED,

BY

FRIAR ODORIC THE BOHEMIAN, OF FRIULI, IN THE PROVINCE OF SAINT ANTHONY

1. What the Friar saw at Trebizond and in the Greater Armenia.

ALBEIT many other stories of sundry kinds concerning the customs and peculiarities of different parts of this world have been related by a variety of persons, yet would I have you to know that I also, Friar Odoric of Friuli, can truly rehearse many great marvels which I did hear and see when according to my wish, I crossed the sea and visited the countries of the unbelievers in order to win some harvest of souls [and this I did with the leave of my superiors, who have power to grant it by the rules of our Order][1].

[Wherefore I purpose to relate briefly and compendiously under sundry chapters of this little work a multitude of the things which I have seen and heard in the East and the North and the South. Of all I purpose not to speak, though I shall be the first to tell of many which will seem to a number of people past belief. Nor, indeed, could I myself have believed these things, had I not heard them with my own ears or seen the like myself. Fourteen years and a half, in the habit of Francis, that blessed confessor of

[1] BOLL.

Christ, I sojourned in those parts of the world. And now being at Padua, I have here compiled this little work at the request of the reverend Friar Guidotto, the minister of the province of Saint Anthony. If, then, the studious reader shall find anything good in it, let him ascribe that to the divine bounty and not to my poor skill. And if he find anything too hard for belief, and wherein he judgeth me to stray from truth, let him remark thereon with a student's charity, and not with insolent bitterness and spiteful snarling[1].]

First, then, [going with the galleys from Venice[2]] I crossed over the Greater Sea[3], and so passed to TREBIZOND[4], which was of old called Pontus. This city is situated passing well, and is a haven[5] for the Persians, Medes, and all the people on the further side of the sea[6]. And in this country I saw a very pretty sight [which I am the more bold

[1] FAR.

[2] MIN. RAM., which also specifies April 1318 as the time of his departure. Giov. da Uzzano in the next century says the galleys for Romania and Trebizond used to leave Venice between the 6th and 20th of July. (*Della Decima*, iv, 104.)

[3] [VEN., Mare majus.—RAM. A., Mar maggior.—RAM. B., Mare maggiore.—DOM., Mare grande, Mare maius.] *Mare Majus*, as the Euxine was usually called by the Franks in Odoric's time and long after. It is so called (*M. Maggiore*) by Marco Polo in the preceding century, by Haiton the Armenian, by Barbaro in the following century, and even (*Mer Majour*) by Vincent Le Blanc at the beginning of the seventeenth. Carpini and Ricold Montecroce have Mare *Magnum*; Rubruquis, "the Sea of Pontus, commonly called *Mare Majus*," the former name also being given by Edrisi in the shape of *Buntus*.

The title *Greater* was no doubt given at Constantinople with reference to the Propontis, as several have suggested. Marsden aptly quotes the like title given by the Hebrews to the Mediterranean.

Mandeville, like Jordanus, uses Mare *Maurum*; μαυρός having in Byzantine and modern Greek the sense of *Black*; and this we find already in plain Latin used by Paschal of Vittoria, and indeed by Jordanus himself (Mare *Nigrum*).

[4] [VEN., Trepessundam.—RAM., Trabisonda.]

[5] *Scala*, which appears still to be the technical word for a trading port in those seas, as well as in Italy. [*Scàla*, ladder; a ladder being used to land; French *escale*; cf. Littré, *Diction.*]

[6] [J. V.—"Et est une entrée de la terre des Perses, des Medes et de moult d'autres regions qui sont outre mer."]

to tell, because many persons with whom I have spoken in Venice assure me that they have seen the like][1]. I beheld a certain man[2] taking about with him more than four thousand[3] partridges. For as the man went along the ground, the partridges followed him flying in the air. These partridges he was then taking to a certain castle which is called ZEGANA[4], distant three days' journey from Trebizond, [where they dig copper and crystal][5]. And the way with these partridges was this, that whenever the man wanted to lie down or go to sleep, they all gathered about him like chickens about a hen. And in this manner he took them along to Trebizond, to the palace of the emperor[6]; and he, when they were thus brought before him, took as many partridges as he desired; but the rest of them the man led back to the place whence he had first brought them[7].

[1] MIN. RAM.

[2] ["Barbuto e di feroce aspetto, che menaua con lui circa due mila Perdici." MIN. RAM.]

[3] *French text*: 3000.—J. V., 4000.

[4] [MARCO POLO, Geneza, Ganeza.—VEN., FR. TEXT, Zanega.—DOM. B., Canega.—DOM. A., CIV., Tegena.—FARS., Tanegar.—BOLL., Tegana.—RAM. A., Zanga.—RAM. B., Zanicco.—J. V., Canege.] *Ziganah* is twelve leagues from Trebizond on the road to Erzrum, and gives name to a pass called the Ziganah Dagh. Clavijo, on the *third day* from Trebizond, encamped near a "castle called Sigana, on the top of a high rock, and belonging to a Greek knight" (Curzon's *Armenia*, pp. 31, 173, 175; Brant's Map in *J. R. Geog. Soc.*, vi; *Journ. Asiat.*, 1st series, ix, 228; Markham's *Clavijo*, HAK. SOC., p. 65). Some of the old popular Italian versions of Marco Polo have this partridge story interpolated therein.

[5] PAL. has "silver and crystal." The whole of the Valley of the Karsput River south of Ziganah abounds in ores of copper and lead. There are also silver-mines, as mentioned by Polo. (*Brant.*, u. s., p. 221.)

[6] Alexius II, of the house called "Grand-Comnenus," reigned at this time (1297–1330) independently and prosperously over the long strip of coast called the empire of Trebizond. This state endured till 1460 [when it was destroyed by Mohammed II]. (*Finlay's H. of Greece* (Medieval) *and of the Emp. of Trebizond*, 1851), [and J. C. Falmerayer, *Gesch. d. Kaiserthums von Trapezunt*, München, 1827, pp. 158 seq.].

[7] This is one of the stories which have been accounted most absurd in Odoric's narrative. Yet the accurate Tournefort, after telling how the peasants in Scio keep tame partridges which are sent out to feed

In this same city (of Trebizond) is deposited the body of Athanasius, over one of the gates of the city; of him, that is, that made the creed which beginneth **Quicunque vult salvus esse**[1]. Departing thence, I came into Armenia the Greater, to a certain city which is called ARZIRON[2], which

every day like flocks of sheep under the charge of a public keeper, to whose whistle they come readily, goes on to say: "I have seen a man in Provence in the neighbourhood of Grasse, who used to take whole flocks of partridges out to the fields, and made them come to his call; he would take hold of them, put them in his bosom, and then send them off again to feed with the others." *Voyage du Levant* (Lyon, 1727), ii, 79. Precisely the same account of the partridges at Scio is given at an earlier date in *Busbequii Epist.*, Amsterd., 1660, p. 164. ["Ce ne sais je pas se il le faisoit par art ou par viande." JEAN DE VIGNAY.]

[1] [*French Text*, En ceste cité.—J. V. "Sur la porte de cele cité."—VEN. "Supra ipsius portam civitatis."] I find no confirmation of this. Venni says the *Acta Sanctorum* contain no allusion to the story. [Migne, in his *Patrologia*, places this creed among the *Spuria*.] The body of Athanasius [who died 2nd May, 373] was buried at Alexandria, but afterwards transferred to Constantinople and laid in a church bearing his name. On the capture of the city the relics were said to have been carried to Venice and solemnly placed in the church of Sta. Croce della Giudecca. (*Venni*, 87.)

Can this have to do with Odoric's statement? "Over one of the principal gates (of Trebizond) is a long inscription, which refers to a Christian bishop and one of the emperors of Constantinople. It is evidently not in its original position." (*Brant.*, u. s., p. 189.)

[2] [VEN.—DOM. B., Arziron.—DOM. A., Carztron.—RAM. A., Acron.—RAM. B., Orzaloni.—BOLL., Caricon.—FARS., Arzirai.—CIV., Carztron.] Erzrum, corrupted from *Arzan-al-Rum*, or Roman Arzan, was taken with pillage and havoc by [Chinghiz Khan and Timur, but neither kept it long. It was named *Garine*, then *Theodosiopolis*, in honour of Theodosius the Great; the present name was given by the Seljukid Turks, and it means "Roman Country."] Even in Tournefort's time the Franks commonly pronounced the name Erzeron. Though not the highest city, even of the old world, it stands at a height of some 7,000 feet above the sea, and is noted for the severity of its winters, insomuch that a late Italian traveller calls it the Siberia of the Ottoman Empire. In 1855-56 the centigrade thermometer sunk to 35° below 0°. Sir J. Sheil saw a heavy snowstorm at Erzrum in July. "The weather as a general rule," says Curzon, "may be considered as on the way from bad to worse." Fruit does not grow, but great quantities of "victual," *i.e.*, of corn and meal, are brought from more genial regions, as it is the place where the great caravans between Persia and Turkey recruit their stores. (*Curzon*, pp. 36, 51, 115, 117, 141; Lady Sheil's *Glimpses of Life, etc., in Persia*; De' Bianchi, *V. in Armenia*, etc., 1863; *Tournefort*, iii, 126.) The Franciscans at this time had a convent at Erzrum, in the custodia of Kars. [Known in the Annals under the name of *Alzarome* or *Alcarone*.]

in time long past was a fine and most wealthy city, and it would have been so unto this day but for the Tartars and the Saracens, who have done it much damage. It aboundeth greatly in bread and flesh, and many other kinds of victual, but not in wine or fruits. For the city is mighty cold, and folk say that it is the highest city that is at this day inhabited on the whole face of the earth. But it hath most excellent water, the reason whereof seems to be that the springs of this water are derived from the River Euphrates[1], which floweth at about one day's journey from the city[2]. And this city is just midway to Tauris[3].

Departing from it[4], I came to a certain hill which is called SARBISACALO[5]; and in that country is the

[1] ["A flumine Eufrate qui fuit de paradyso quo distat ab hac civitate unā dietā." Munich, MS. 21259.]

[2] "The town.....is on a sort of peninsula formed by the sources of Euphrates. The first of these flows at a day's journey from the city." (*Tournefort*, iii, 114.)

[3] MIN. RAM., and PAL. insert here a strange and unseemly story which is in none of the Latin copies. ["Oue poco inanti era morta vna ricchissima donna, la quale fece testamento, e fra l' altre cose lassò, che de suoi beni si fabricasse vn monastero di meretrici delle piu belle giouani del paese: e di detti beni della defunta queste donne fussero ben vestite, & adornate, secondo loro vsanza, e ben seruite, cosi nel vestire, come nel mangiare: le quali erano obligate, senza alcuna mercede, di sodisfare tutti coloro, da quali fussero richieste. E se pure vi fusse tra loro alcuna, che non hauesse sodisfatto a quei che l' hauessino richiesta, e coloro se ne fussero lamentati, subito la donna fusse mandata via da detto monastero, e priua di tutto quanto haueua in compagnia di quelle. Di che volendo noi saper la cagione: E perche hauessi fatto fare tal cosa doppo morte la detta donna, ci fu riposto, per impetrar misericordia della anima sua, & di suoi peccati dal Dio suo, che ella adoraua."

Abridged in the Florentine Italian MS., in our Appendix.]

[4] [VENNI remarks in his notes, p. 91, that at Erzrum, at the time of Odoric, there was a convent of friars minor known in their Annals under the name of *Alzarome* or *Alcarone*.]

[5] [RAM. A., *Sollisaculo*.—DOM. A., *Sabisorbolo*.—VEN., HAK., *Sobissacelo*.—FARS., *Bobis Sachalo*.—CIV., *Sabisorbolo*.—BOLI., *Sarbisarbolo*.] This puzzling name occurs also in Balducci Pegolotti's detail of stages on the road to Tauris, under the form of *Sermessacalo*. I can only suggest that these Italian corruptions contain the name of the station of *Hassan-Kala'a*, some twenty-four miles from Erzrum, near where the roads to Kars and Tabriz separate, perhaps under some such form as *Serai-Hassan-Kala'a*. It was once a considerable place, and the site of one of the Genoese castles which protected

mountain[1] whereon is Noah's Ark. And I would fain have ascended it, if my companions would have waited for me. But the folk of the country told us that no one ever could ascend the mountain, for this, as it is said, hath seemed not to be the pleasure of the Most High[2].

2. Concerning the City of Tauris and the City of Soldania, where dwelleth the Persian Emperor.

From that country I passed to TAURIS, a great city and a royal, which anciently was called Susis[3], and was the city of the King Ahasuerus[4]. In it they say the Arbor Secco

the road from Trebizond. There are also hot springs at the place. (*Brant.*, u.s., p. 230.) The name *may* however contain the Armenian *Surp* or *Surpazan*, holy.

[1] [FRENCH, "Mont Harach."—RAM. A., "Il monte Gordico."]

[2] MIN. RAM. "For the mountain is most holy, and moreover is inaccessible on account of the deep snow that covers at least two-thirds of it."

On Ararat, see note to *Jordanus*, p. 3. Rubruquis gives a curious popular reason why no one should ascend the mountain (p. 387). Haiton says that though nobody dares mount because of the snow, yet something black appears on the top which is vulgarly called Noah's Ark. The usual Mussulman tradition places the grounding of the Ark not on Armenian Ararat, but on the Jibul Judi in Kurdistan, whence Benj. of Tudela says "Omar Ben Khatab removed the Ark from the summit and made a mosque of it" (p. 93). Sir H. Rawlinson considers Judi to be much higher than Demawend, and as Demawend is believed to be fully 4,000 feet higher than Ararat, the claims of Judi to be the mountain of the Ark are very intelligible. (See President's Address in *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.*, xxix, p. clxx.) [The first European to ascend the Ararat was Prof. Parrot, of Dorpat (1829).]

[3] ["Quae Suors antiquitus vocabatur." ACT. S.—"Que Suisis antiquitus dicebatur. Hec Suisis fuit terra regis Asueri."—VENNI.]

[4] "And on the way I passed the Red River, where Alexander routed Darius the King of Asia; and in that city we have two convents." *Pal.* It is correct that the Franciscans had two convents in Tauris (*Wadding*). Respecting the Red River (*Fiume Rosso*), see note to Pegolotti *infra*. *Tauris* (*Tabriz*), the chief city of Azerbaijan, was the capital of more than one dynasty, and throughout the middle ages a chief point of contact and trade between the Latin and Oriental worlds. It has been identified not only with Shushan of Esther, and the Achmetha of the Apocrypha, but with the northern Ecbatana and half a dozen other ancient cities of fame. Rawlinson, however, considers it not to be older than the third century (*Chardin*, Amsterd., 1735, i, 258; *Journ. Asiat. S.* ii, iv, 117; *J. R. G. S.*, x, 109). [The destruction of Baghdad by Hulaku made Tabriz the great commercial and political city of Asia, and diverted the route of Indian products

existeth in a mosque[1], that is to say, in a church of the Saracens[2]. And this is a nobler city and a better for merchandise than any other which at this day existeth in the

from the Mediterranean to the Euxine.] There are now no traces of magnificence at Tabriz, though it was still in splendour in the seventeenth century (see note in Jordanus, p. 7). Tauris was made the See of a Roman bishop (William, de Cigiis) in 1329, and a successor [Franc. Cinquinus] is traced as late as the following century [1380–84] (*Le Quien*).

[1] [Probably the mosque built by Gazan.]

[2] The Arbor Secco is repeatedly spoken of by Marco Polo, especially as existing in north-east Persia. Marsden (p. 111) identifies it with the *chinár* or plane tree, observing that "the epithet seems to imply nothing more than this; that when the form of the fruit promises an edible nut, the stranger who gathers it is disappointed on finding no perceptible contents, or only a dry and tasteless seed." This is accepted by later commentators; but none explain the evident interest with which Marco refers to it, or why the *Christians* should be specified as giving it this peculiar name. It is clear that the tree was the subject of some Christian legend. This I have not met with in full, but the following passage from Mandeville throws some light upon it. At Mamre, he says, "there is an oak tree which the Saracens call *Dirpe*, which is of Abraham's time, and people call it the *Dry tree*. They say that it has been there since the beginning of the world, and that it was once green, and bore leaves till the time that our Lord died on the cross, and then it died...and there is a prophecy that a lord, a prince of the west side of the world, shall win the Land of Promise, *i.e.*, the Holy Land, with the help of the Christians, and he shall cause mass to be performed under that dry tree, and then the tree shall become green, and bear both fruit and leaves" (p. 162).

The *Arbor Secco* is sprinkled about Central Asia by Fra Mauro, in his celebrated map, now in the Sala dello Scudo at Venice.

Clavijo, in the beginning of the next century, mentions the *Arbor Secco* at Tauris, as still standing in the street "near an open space," and tells a story (in which there is some hiatus) about it in connection with a certain bishop who came to convert the city.

The stories of the dry tree were perhaps spun out of the words of the Vulgate in Ezekiel xvii, 24, "*Humiliavi lignum sublime et exaltavi lignum humile; et siccavi lignum viride*, et frondere feci lignum aridum."

Polo it will be remembered gives a topographical sense to *Arbor Secco* in Persia. Lazari, the late Venetian editor, ingeniously suggests that he may have meant *Elborz-Kuh*, Mount Elborz, near which his *Arbor Secco* certainly lay. [Yule in his *Marco Polo*, myself in my own edition of Odoric, have discussed at length the problem of the *Arbor Secco*, and I do not think it necessary to open the question again, but I should mention a paper published in the *Journal of the R. Asiat. Soc.*, Jan. 1909, in which Gen. Houtum-Schindler comes to the conclusion that Marco Polo's tree is not the "Sun-Tree," but the cypress of Zoroaster; "Marco Polo's *arbre sol* and *arbre seul* stand for the Persian *dirakht i sol*, *i.e.*, the cypress-tree."]

world. For there is not on the face of the earth any kind of provision, or any species of goods, but you will find great store thereof at Tauris. It is admirable for situation, and so opulent a city that you would scarcely believe the things to be found there; for the whole world, almost, hath dealings with that city for merchandise. And the Christians will tell you that the emperor[1] there hath more revenue from that one city than the king of France hath from his whole realm. Near that city is a mountain of salt, which furnisheth great store of salt for the whole place. And of this salt taketh every man as much as he listeth, and payeth nothing to any man[2]. In that city, also, there dwell many Christians of every description, but the Saracens have the rule over them in all things. And there are many things else to be said of that city, but it would take too long to relate them.

Departing from this city of Tauris, I travelled for ten days, and reached a certain city called SOLDANIA[3], in which

[1] The "Emperor of Persia" at this time was the son of Mohammed Khudabendeh, Abu Said Bahádur Khán, the last of the Mongol dynasty who had real power; he died 13 Rebi aul akhir 736.

[2] I do not find recent mention of this salt mine. But Ricold de Montecroce, in entering Persia from this side, speaks with wonder of its mountains of salt, which had to be quarried like stone and broken with iron tools; whilst the Arabian geographer Bakui notices specifically at Tabriz "a mountain of salt, which is extracted in blocks," and Chardin also speaks of an important salt mine close to the city. (*Peregrin. Quat.*, p. 122; *Notices et Extraits*, ii, 477; *Chardin*, i, 258.)

[3] Sultâniah was built as a royal residence by [Arghún and finished by] Oljaïtu, son of Arghún, the eighth of the Mongol Khans of Persia, in 1305. Long after the destruction of the city by Timur, indeed into the seventeenth century, the tomb of Oljaïtu was still magnificent, and especially noted for its colossal gates of damasked steel. The city was reoccupied by some of the Persian kings in the sixteenth century, till Shah Abbas transferred the seat of government to Ispahan. The ruins were of vast extent in Chardin's time. The present Persian dynasty has again adopted Sultâniah as a summer residence. Pope John XXII set up an archbishopric at Sultâniah in 1318, in favour of Francis of Perugia, a Dominican, and the series of archbishops is traced down to 1425, [with Thomas de Abaraner occupying the See]. (*Deguignes*, iv, 277, 279; Barbaro in *Ramus.*, ii, 105; *Chardin*, i, 271; *Le Quien*, iii, 1359-1368; De Sacy in *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, vi, 503 *seq.*)

dwelleth the emperor of the Persians in the summer season[1]. But in the winter he goeth to a certain other place [called Axam][2] which is on the sea called the sea of Bacuc[3]. This city (of Soldania) is a great one, and a cool place, with an excellent supply of water, and many costly wares are brought thither for sale[4].

[1] ["Nella quale à un luogo de' Frati Predicatori, e uno de' Frati Minori." PAL.].

[2] BOLL.

[3] The Caspian was very generally called so in the middle ages, from Baku, the chief port on the western shore. The archives of Genoa contain a curious document relating how, in 1374, one Lucchinus Tarigus of that city, with certain comrades as penniless as himself, started from Caffa with a *fusta* or light galley, which they took up the Don, and dragged sixty miles overland to the Edil (Volga), and so descended to the *Sea of Bacu*, which they scoured, taking many prizes and much plunder, with which they returned, abandoning their vessel. On their way back, however, the heroes of this surpassing feat of buccaneering were taken and stript of much of their gains. (Gräberg de Hemso, *Annali di Geog. e di Statist.*, ii, 290.) [See Yule's *Marco Polo*, i, p. 59. In the French version of Odoric this sea is called Sea of Bascon. The latter name is a corruption of Abeskun, a small town and island in the S.E. corner of the Caspian Sea, not far from Ashurada.]

The Bollandist version says the winter quarter of the Emperor on the sea was called *Axam*. The usual winter resort of the Il-Khans was the plain of Moghan, on the Caspian, near the mouth of the Kur, which had been the quarter to which the hosts of their predecessors used to retire after their annual ravages. Axam (Asham?) might however be Aujan, not far from Tabriz, which was often the spring and winter camp of the later Il-Khans, the Hujan of Clavijo, and where Gazan Khan built a fine city (*D'Ohsson*, v, 277; Quatremère's *Rashid*, pp. 21–23). But in that case the mention of the sea of Baku is a mistake. If not, it may perhaps be *Actam*, which is several times mentioned in the life of Timur, as a place on the plain of Moghan where he used to pitch, especially for great hunting matches. (*Chereffeddin*, by Pétis de la Croix, ii, 390; iii, 208, 398; *D'Ohsson*, iv, 151, 483.)

[4] ["Ce n'est my Somdoma ly une des V citez sur lesquelles Dieux fist plouvoir feu et souffre en vengence de pechié contre nature qui regnoit en eulx comme dit la Sainte Escripture. Car ces V villes furent jadis en la Terre Sainte de promission, en ce lieu qui est ore la Mer Morte. Et ceste Somdoma dont nous parlons si siet ens ou royaume de Persie." JEAN LE LONG.—This passage is omitted in ACT. S. and in RAM. A.]

3. Concerning the City of the Magi; also of the Sea of Sand, and of the Land of Huz.

Departing from this city with a caravan, that is to say with a certain company, I proceeded in the direction of Upper India, and after travelling that way for many days I halted at the city of the three Magi, which is called CASSAN, a royal city and of great repute[1]. But the Tartars have greatly destroyed it. It is a city which aboundeth greatly in bread and wine, and in many other good things. From this city to Jerusalem, (whither the Magi found their way, not surely by human strength but by Divine strength working by miracle, seeing how quickly they went[2]), is a good fifty days'[3] journey. And there be many other things with regard to that city which it boots not much to rehearse[4].

[1] Instead of this, PAL. has: "I came to the city of SABA, the place whence the three Magi came."

[2] ["Li troy Roy qui de ceste cité de Cassan furent en XIII journées amené en Jherusalem par vertu divine et non humaine." JEAN LE LONG.]

[3] ["Piu di LX."—MIN. RAM.—"Sessanta giornate."—PAL.]

[4] Qashân, a city of Persia, still tolerably flourishing, standing about halfway between Ispahan and Tehran, and also about halfway between Sultâniah and Yezd, long noted for its brocades and velvets, and also for its scorpions [and its fine pottery, called *Qaschi*].

Sir T. Herbert alludes to the story of the Magi coming from Qashân, but as he quotes Odoric I suspect his knowledge was derived from him only. For it is remarkable that in the Palatine and Minor Ramusian versions of Odoric, it is at SABA, and not at Qashân, that he speaks of the Magi. And this agrees with Marco Polo, who places at *Sava* the origin and sepulchres of the three kings. One he says was King of Sava, another of Ava, the third of the castle of the fire-worshippers. ["Marco Polo states that he 'found a village there which goes by the name of Cala Ataperistan (*i.e. Kal'ah-i Atashparastân*), which is as much as to say "The Castle of the Fire-Worshippers." And the name is rightly applied, for the peoplethere do worship fire!' In an article entitled *The Magi in Marco Polo* [*Jour. Am. Or. Soc.*, 26, 79–83] I have given various reasons for identifying the so-called 'Castle of the Fire-Worshippers' with Kaschan, which Odoric mentions, or a village in its vicinity, the only rival to the claim being the town of Naïn, whose Gabar Castle has already been mentioned above." (Jackson, *Persia*, p. 413.)] Both Saba and Ava still exist between Sultâniah and Qashân, or at least their names and remains do. They retain no traditions now about the kings. (Cf. A. V. Williams Jackson, *Persia*, pp. 412–413.)

Herbert observes that various authors have brought the Magi from Babylon, Shushan, Hormuz, and Ceylon, to which we may add that

Passing thence I travelled to a certain city called IEST[1], [which is the furthest city of Persia towards India[2]], from which the Sea of Sand is but one day distant. Now that sea is a wondrous thing, and right perilous[3]. [And there were none of us who desired to enter on that sea. For it is all of dry sand without the slightest moisture. And it shifteth as the sea doth when in storm, now hither, now thither, and as it shifteth it maketh waves in like manner as the sea doth; so that countless people travelling thereon

Armenian tradition brings them from Lake Van, Haiton the Armenian from Chinese Tartary, and John de' Marignolli from the Indian Archipelago. It was impossible to *bring* the wise men of the East from Europe, so they were *taken* there after death, surely by the strangest fable ever invented!

It is most likely that the location of the wise men at Saba in Persia rose out of a misapplication of Psalm lxxii, 10: "*The kings of Tarshish and the Isles shall bring presents: the kings of Sheba and Seba shall offer gifts.*" And it was probably through some mistake in dictation that all the versions of Odoric but the two mentioned refer the Magi to Qashân instead of Saba. (*Chardin*, i, 297, 300, 301; *Herbert's Travels*; *Haiton*, ch. ii; *Assemanni*, p. 750; *Abbott* in *J. R. G. S.*, xxv, p. 6.)

[1] Yezd, occupying an oasis in the great Persian desert, is mentioned by Barbaro in the following century as a most industrious place, flourishing by its silk and cotton manufactures, and supplying with these a large part of Asia. [Heyd, *Commerce du Levant*, II, p. 109, says the inhabitants of Yezd wove the finest silk of Taberistan.—Marco Polo calls this silk *Yasdi*.] These manufactures still continue. Many important caravan routes converge at Yezd, whilst the desert has given it security, and thus it has become a considerable mart.

The figs [called *misqali*], pomegranates, grapes, and melons of the oasis are noted. The small raisins, not very much larger than Greek currants, are well known in India, into which they are largely imported under the name of *Kishmis*; perhaps from the island of Kais or Kish [*Quisci*, of Marco Polo, I, pp. 64–5; II, p. 453], from which the trade to India was conducted?

Yezd is regarded as holy by the Mussulmans; a sanctity perhaps borrowed from the fire-worshippers who still linger here in degradation and scanty numbers. (*Ramusio*, ii, 106; *Ritter*, viii, 265–270; *J. R. A. S.*, viii, 349.)

[2] From MIN. RAM.

[3] "Quitting Yezd at the end of April, our road ran across a sandy tract, which was, however, cultivated in parts, to Hujetabád, where a fine *caravanserai* and reservoir for water had been recently constructed. All round was a sea of sand, which the worthy Odoricus describes as 'une mer moult marveilleuse et moult perilleuse.' It is interesting to conjecture in what terms he would have commented on the Lut. A year later a European lost his way in this waste, and was obliged to walk about all night, to avoid being frozen." (P. M. Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, p. 155.)

have been overwhelmed and drowned and buried in those sands. For when blown about and buffeted by the winds, they are raised into hills, now in this place, now in that, according as the wind chanceth to blow[1].] In this city of Iest there is very great store of victuals and all other good things that you can mention; but especially is found there great plenty of figs; and raisins also, green as grass and very small, are found there in richer profusion than in any other part of the world. This is the third best city which the Emperor of the Persians possesses in his whole realm. The Saracens say of it that no Christian is ever able to live in it beyond one year. And there are many other matters there.

Departing thence, and passing by many cities and towns, I came to a certain city by name COMERUM[2], which formerly was a great city, and in the olden time did great scathe to the Romans. The compass of its walls is a good fifty[3] miles and there be therein palaces yet standing entire, but

[1] From MIN. RAM. Whatever may be the exaggeration in this interpolated passage, as regards the Persian desert, the absolute extravagance of the account will seem less to those who will refer to the description by Baron Wrede of the desert in Southern Arabia, called "The Sea of Saffi," from a king who is said to have perished with his army therein (*J. R. G. S.*, xiv, p. 110-111). Tavernier also speaks of the danger of being lost in the desert of Yezd, on account of the mobility of the sand.

[2] The readings of this name are very various (see Latin text). But both Odoric's description and the manner in which I understand his route, seem to identify the remains of which he speaks with those of Persepolis. ["The earliest mention of the Persepolitan ruins, of which I am aware by a European writer, is that of Friar Odoricus." Curzon, *Persia*, II, p. 130.] The name *Comerum* will then probably represent the *grossa villa* of *Camara*, at which Barbaro places the ruins, and this is perhaps the same with the *Kinara* of Rich. [But Barbaro saw in Persepolis a work of Hebrew origin, instead of the ruins of Cyrus' Palace.] The great platform and columns of the palace, probably then more perfect than now, and the vast circuit assigned to the ruins by Persian tradition, varying from twelve to forty-four parasangs (forty to a hundred and fifty miles, the former estimate not exaggerated if the remains in that neighbourhood be supposed within the compass of one city), answer well to the brief words of our traveller.

[3] ["Ejus autem muri benè quadraginta milliarium sunt capaces." —BOLL.]

without inhabitants. It aboundeth however in many kinds of victual.

Leaving this and going on through many towns and cities I reached the city called HUZ[1], which abounds in ill kinds of victuals, and is beautifully situated[2]. For near this city are mountains, which afford in great abundance the finest of pastures for cattle. There also is found manna of better quality and in greater abundance than in any part of the world. In that country also you can get four good partridges for less than a Venetian groat. In those parts also you see very comely elders; and 'tis the custom there for the men to knit and spin, and not the women. And this land adjoineth the extremity of Chaldæa towards the North[3].

[1] Some copies have "the land (or city) of Job"; others "the land of Jōb, called Huz" (see Latin text).—[Ur.—BOLL.]

[2] The Huz of Odoric I at first supposed to be Ahwáz (or Haváz), or some other city of Khuzistan. Assemanni in Latin calls that country *Huzia*, and sometimes *Huzitis*; whilst Magini in Italian calls it *Cus*. Job's name, which appears in many copies, is probably an interpolation suggested by the name of the country. However, Chardin tells us that Mayn, north-west of Shiraz, was pointed out as the residence of Job; and probably the nearest approximation in modern times to the Patriarch's wealth in cattle is to be found amongst the nomad chiefs of Persia. It is, however, more probable that the Huz of Odoric is the *Hazah* of Eastern writers, frequently coupled with Mosul, and identified by Assemanni with *Adiabene* (see *Assemanni*, pp. 5, 11, 12, 13, 209, 710). This would certainly be more consistent with the accuracy of the last clause of the chapter.

[3] I suppose Odoric to pass through a part of the hill country of Luristan or the regions adjoining, if he does not indeed proceed north as far as Mosul, before descending into Chaldæa. The fine hill pastures, abundant manna, profusion of partridges, and fine old men ("many of them," says an authority quoted by Ritter, "attaining a hundred years in full possession of their bodily and mental faculties"), are all characteristic of the mountains of Kurdistan, embracing the Huz of Odoric according to the second interpretation just given, though I can find little of a specific kind on record as to the hill countries of Khuzistan and Luristan. The knitting and spinning of the men I do not find anywhere mentioned; it is a well-known circumstance in the Himalayan villages. (*Ritter*, ix, 611, 622; *J. R. G. S.* ix, 100, 104, etc.)

4. Fr. Odoric treateth of the manners of the people of Chaldæa; of India within land; and of Ormes.

Departing thence I went into CHALDÆA[1], which is a great kingdom, and as I went thither I passed by the Tower of Babel, which is distant perchance four days' journey from (the city[2]). And in this land of Chaldæa they have a language of their own[3]; and the men are comely, but the women in sooth of an ill favour[4]. The men indeed go smartly dressed and decked as our women go here, and on their heads they wear a kind of fillet of gold and pearls; whilst the women have nothing on them but a miserable shift reaching to the knees, and with sleeves so long and wide that they[5] sweep the ground. And they go barefoot with drawers[6] hanging about their feet, and their hair

[1] Though he calls Chaldæa a great kingdom, he would appear to mean the city of Baghdad. The peculiar language would be Arabic. Hitherto he has been in countries that speak Persian chiefly.

[2] *Ab eâ*, i.e., *Chaldeâ*, showing that Baghdad is meant, which is about sixty miles from the Birs Nimrud, and somewhat less from the ruins of Babylon. Probably the mass called *Babel* at the latter is Odoric's Tower (see note to Marignolli *infra*). It is not clear, however, how Odoric should have come by this to Baghdad. [Dieulafoy's Itinerary might give the explanation: Baghdad, Amarah, Dizful, Susa, Shuster, Ahwáz.]

[3] ["Nella detta Caldea est vero idioma Caldeo. Quai noi chiamamo lingua caldea."—RAM. A.]

[4] In countries where Mahommedan manners prevail, and now including India, the women in the streets have a much meaner appearance than the men, because women of the better class are so little seen. Of the women of Baghdad Ker Porter says: "The humbler females generally move abroad with faces totally unveiled, having a handkerchief rolled round their heads, from beneath which their hair hangs down over their shoulders; their garment is of a shift form reaching to their ankles, open before, and of a grey colour. Their feet are completely naked." (*Travels*, ii, 268.)

[5] "[Sorabules en caldien, sont braies en françois."—JEAN LE LONG.]

[6] *Sarabulas* is the word in the Latin, Anglo-Indicé *paijámas*. The term appears in various forms in Ducange as meaning *braccæ*, and is derived from a Chaldee word, which has been adopted into the Vulgate in *Daniel*, iii, 94. Ducange does not specify the word, but I suppose it is the counterpart of the Arabic *Sarwál*, plural *Sarâwal*, better known in India under the Persian form *Shalwár*, and from which in its former shape the Spaniards have made *Zaraguelles*. (See Dozy,

neither plaited nor braided, but in complete dishevelment; and as here among us the men[1] go first and the women follow, so there the women have to go before the men. [Here I saw a young man who was taking to wife a beautiful young woman, and she was accompanied by other beautiful maidens, who were weeping and wailing, whilst the young bridegroom stood by in very gay clothes, with his head hanging down. And by and bye the young man mounted his ass, and the bride followed him barefoot and wretchedly dressed, and holding by the ass, and her father went behind blessing them until they reached the husband's house[2].] And many other matters there be in this city which it booteth not greatly to detail.

So going thence I came to inland India[3], a region which the Tartars have greatly wasted[4]. And there you find people[5] who live almost entirely on dates, and you get

Dict. des Vêtements chez les Arabes, p. 233.) Ricold Montecroce says the Nestorians thought the sacrament profaned if any one entered with the head covered or without *Sorrabula*. Whereon his German editor says: "Soccabula *fortasse sunt socci, calceorum genus. Ducangium frustra consului, qui nec* Sorrabula *habeat nec* Soccabula" (*Peregrin. Med. Æv.* IV, etc., Lipsiæ, 1864, p. 129.) But if he had given *Ducangius* a little more tether in spelling he would have found not only *Sarabula*, but *Serabula*, *Saraballa*, *Sarabella*, *Sarabola*, *Sarabara*, and yet more! The Bollandist Odoric has *Scrobullas*, a sheer error; but Ducange has inserted it as *muliebris vestis* on that authority. [Arabic, *serwal*; it is the *séroual* of the French "zouaves."]

[1] ["les vallés."—J. LE LONG.]

[2] From MIN. RAM.

[3] ["Inde la maiour."—J. LE LONG.]

[4] "*India quæ est infra terram.* The *infra* is to be taken in the Italian sense. It is plain that he means some region adjoining the Persian Gulf, and the following extract illustrates the matter more precisely: 'The Talmudic writers...confounded Obillah [on the Lower Euphrates] with the Mosaic Havilah...and thus rendered Hávilah everywhere by *Hindeki* or India, precisely as the early Arabs state that Obillah is also called Hind or India, and as the people of Basrah still constantly speak of the districts at the mouth of the river as Hind, from the circumstance of their being the nearest points to India, and the places where the vessels from India rendezvous.'" (Sir H. Rawlinson, in *J. R. G. S.*, xxvii, 186.) Mas'udi mentions that at the time of the Mahomedan conquest the country about Basrah was called *Arz-ul-Hind*, "The Land of India." (*Prairies d'Or*, iv, 225.)

[5] ["Sunt homines pulcri."—BOLL.]

forty-two pounds of dates for less than a groat[1]; and so of many other things[2].

Quitting this India and traversing many places, I came to the Ocean Sea. And the first city on it that I reached is called ORMES, a city strongly fenced and abounding in costly wares[3]. [The city is on an island some five miles distant from the main; and on it there grows no tree, and there is no fresh water. There is indeed great plenty of bread and fish and flesh. But it is not a healthy place nor safe for life, and the heat is something incredible. The people both men and women are all very tall. And where I passed by one day there was one just dead; and they had got together all the players in the place, and they set the dead man on his bed in the middle of the house, whilst two women danced round about him, and the players played on their cymbals and other instruments of music. Then two of the women took hold of the dead man, embracing him and chaunting his praises, and the other women stood up one after another and took a pipe and piped on it awhile, and when one had done piping she sat down; and so they went on all night. And in the morning they carried him to the tomb[4].]

[1] ["Vnos grossus Venetus."—BOLL.]

[2] Edrisi, two centuries before, relates that five hundred rotoli of dates were to be had at Basrah for a *dínár*, according to the report of merchants who were there in 1141 (*Fr. Trans.*, i, 368).

[3] Hormuz, at this time and long after, a great entrepôt of Indian trade, situated on a barren island near the mouth of the Persian Gulf, and apparently representing the ancient Armuza which stood on the mainland opposite, and appears in Ptolemy. (An *island*, Armuza, is also shown in some copies at least of the Ptolemaic maps, though not in the text.) The place, therefore, cannot have derived its name, as D'Herbelot says, from Hormisdas, son of Sapor. It now belongs to the Sultan of Oman (Maskat), and gives him a revenue from the salt which it produces. Hormuz on the mainland still flourished at the end of the tenth century, and the date of its transfer to the island seems uncertain.—See *Marco Polo*, I, p. 110 *n*.

[4] This passage is only in the PAL. An account of the ceremonies of a wake at Baghdad very like this is given by Tavernier.

Here follows in all the Latin MSS. an untranslatable statement of the marvellous effects of the heat at Hormuz. It seems like a

5. Of ships that have no iron in their frame; and in such an one Fr. Odoric passeth to Tana in India.

In this country men make use of a kind of vessel which they call *Jase*[1], which is fastened only with stitching of

confusion of some complaint like hernia with the *guinea-worm*, which did prevail at Hormuz, or as if some one had hoaxed the friar as to the nature of the latter malady. It is worthy of note that Mandeville here omits this statement of Odoric's and substitutes another as to the inhabitants being obliged by the heat to sleep in water, which he does *not* seem to have copied from Polo. This custom prevailed long after, and is mentioned by Peter della Valle among others. Even monks followed it in his day. *Punkahs* of our Anglo-Indian fashion were already in use at Hormuz in the end of the sixteenth century. Linschoten calls them *cattaventos* (*Polo*, ii, 14; *Pietro della Valle*, ed. Brighton, 1843, ii, 471; *Linschoten*, p. 16). [Yule is here mistaken; Mandeville mentions the same effects of the heat at Hormuz: "Item lem vait parmi Ynde par mointes diuerses contrees iusques à la grant mer Occiane; et puis troeue homme vne isle qad noun Crynes, ou Jy marchantz de Venise, de Ianewe et des autres marcheez y vont souent pur marchandises achater. Mes y fait si grand chaud en celle isle qe pur la grande destresse de chaleure ly perpendicles del homme, *i.e.* testiculi, issent hors de corps, pendantz iusqes a my iambe, pur la grande dissolucioun du corps. Mes les gentz du pais et cils qui sciuent la nature se font lier mult estreitment et se fond oinder de oignement restrinctif et refrigeratif pur les retenir en corps, ou autrement ils ne purroient viure ne durer." *Warner ed.*, p. 81.—Warner mentions Yule's omission, p. 197.

The Latin text of this passage is given in the appendix. Here is the French text of Odoric: "En ce pays fait si tres grant chault que les tresmoins des hommes leur issent du corps et leur pendent par dessoubs jusques aux genoulx ou jusques en my jambe. Et se il veulent vivre il convient qe il se oingnent d'une maniere de froit oingnement fait à ce ou autrement ils mourroient de chault. Et quant ilz se sont oingt de cest oingnement, ilz mettent leurs tresmoings en sachez propres à ce, et les sourlièvrent et loient ces sachez à leurs rains."]

[1] *Jahâz* (*Pers.*), a ship. [This is the Arabic *Djehaz*.]

In his chapter on Hormuz, Marco Polo says (I, p. 108): "Their ships are wretched affairs, and many of them get lost; for they have no iron fastenings, and are only stitched together with twine made from the husk of the Indian nut. They beat this husk until it becomes like horse-hair, and from that they spin twine, and with this stitch the planks of the ships together. It keeps well, and is not corroded by the sea-water, but it will not stand well in a storm. The ships are not pitched, but are rubbed with fish-oil. They have one mast, one sail, and one rudder, and have no deck, but only a cover spread over the cargo when loaded. This cover consists of hides, and on the top of these hides they put the horses which they take to India for sale. They have no iron to make nails of, and for this reason they use only wooden trenails in their shipbuilding, and then stitch the planks with twine as I have told you. Hence 'tis a perilous business to go a voyage in one of those ships, and many of them are lost, for in that

twine. On one of these vessels I embarked, and I could find no iron at all therein[1]. And having thus embarked, I passed over in twenty-eight days to TANA[2], where for the faith of Christ four of our Minor Friars had suffered a glorious martyrdom. The city is excellent in position, and hath great store of bread and wine[3], and aboundeth in trees. This was a great place in days of old, for it was the city of King Porus[4], who waged so great a battle with King Alexander. The people thereof are idolaters[5], for they worship fire, and serpents, and trees also. The land is under the dominion of the Saracens, who have taken it by

Sea of India the storms are often terrible." These ships are also spoken of by Jordanus and Montecorvino. See *Marco Polo*, I, p. 117, note. Oriental legends say that no iron can be used in the ships navigating the seas of Asia owing to loadstones. Cf. an interesting article of René Basset, *La Montagne d'Aimant*, *Revue des Traditions populaires*, July 1894, pp. 377–380.

[1] ["In quo nullum fratrum ! ! potui reperire."—BOLL.]

Thána, an ancient city on the landward side of the island of Salsette, once the capital of Konkan and a haven of importance, but long superseded by Bombay; it is mentioned as a cotton port by Marco Polo. [II, pp, 395, 396 n.]

How Porus was brought to these parts it is hard to say. But Gasparo Balbi (1580), speaking of the Cave of Elephanta "at Cape Bombain," says that it was formed by Alexander the Great to mark his furthest conquest. This may have been a current Mahomedan story, and might account for Porus being translated to Tana.

[3] "Di quindi navicammo per lo mare oceano venti otto di; poi pervenimmo in Tana, la quale fu cittade del Re Porro; la quale terra è posta in buon luogo, ed a grande abondanza di vittuaglia, espezialmente di burro, di *susuan* [sisamo?], e riso. Quivi sono molti diversi animali, leoni neri, e pipistrelli grandi come anitre, topi grandi come cani communi, nè non sono presi da gatti ma da cani per la loro grandeza. In questa terra sono idolatrici, ma'l signore adorano i saracini il bue e dicono ch' egli è il grande Idio, e non mangiano carne di bue, e lavorano col buese i anni, il settimo anno i lasciano libero. Prendono anche dello sterco del bue, e pongolosi a la faccia, e dicono da indi inanzi che sono santificati."—PAL.

[4] ["Nam fuit ciuitas Regis Ponti vel Parti Regis."—BOLL. who add in a note: "Imo Pori, ut alij."]

[5] "La gente è idolatra, e adora il bue, della cui carne non ne mangierebbeno per qual siuoglia cosa del mondo. Mogli fanno ben lauorar la terra: Pero giunti che sono al sesto anno, li lasciano andar via doue loro piace, egli adorano in ogniloco, che se gli fanno in contro. E del loro sterco, se n' vngono il viso, credendo eglino allhora esser santificaté."—MIN. RAM.

force of arms, and they are now subject to the Empire of DILI[1].

Here be found sundry kinds of beasts, and especially black lions in very great numbers, besides monkeys and baboons, and bats as big as pigeons are here. There be also rats as big as here are our dogs called *scherpi*[2]. And

[1] I have ventured here, in justice to Odoric, to restore this name as I believe he really employed it. It is in the Latin text "*subjacentes Daldili.*" Odoric, doubtless, in his dictation, said "*sotto la signoria del Dili.*" Thus, in Fra Mauro's map, we find tolerably well placed, "DELI *cittade grandissima*," and the rubric attached, "*Questa cittade nobilissima za dominava tuto el Paese* DEL DELI *over India Prima*," and again to the city of *Here* (Herat), "*Quella era za sotto la Signoria* DEL DELI," etc.

The same kind of fusion and confusion which has created a King Daldili has led to many other strange perversions. The ancient Malabar port and point of *Hili* survives in our maps only as Mount *Deli*. Marco Polo is made to call Lahore the city of *Dilivar*, and the Cilician port of Aias—*Laias*; whilst the name of King D'or, by which (according to Marsden's happy suggestion) he translated the title of the Chinese *Kin* or *Golden* Dynasty, appeared in the Latin editions as *Darius*. So we shall afterwards find that the Tartar name *Talai*, which Odoric gives to the Yang tze kiang, becomes in most MSS. *Doltalay*; and in the English Mandeville we find the land of Dengadda and the Lake of Dasfetidee, for Engaddi and Asphaltites. An analogous case to that of King Daldili also occurs in the city where I write this. An English Archbishop of Palermo, whose name is believed to have been Walter (or the) Mill, has been handed down as *Gualterus Ofamilius*.

A reverse process also is often found to have taken place. The Arabs have made the Lazarus of the Gospel into *'Azár*; we often see Germany spoken of in Italy as *La Magna*; and from the Portuguese *Laranja*, a corruption of the Indian *Naranja*, we have got our English *Orange*, and the modern Latin form (implying a false etymology) *Aurantia*.

[With regard to the dominion of the Saracens, we may observe that the house of Khilijé, founded by Jalál-ud-din who succeeded to the throne of Delhi lasted from 1290 to 1320; Alá-ud-din, the nephew and successor of Jalál-ud-din, extended the Mohammedan power at the expense of the Solankis of Gujarát (1297), of the Yádavas of Devagiri, on the east, on the very coast of Tána, and of the Hoysalas of Dvàrasamudra, in the south; in 1318, a short time before the arrival of Odoric, Harapâla, the last of the sovereigns of Devagiri, revolted, was captured and skinned alive by Múbarik, successor of Alá-ud-din. The house of Khilijé was replaced by a Túrkí slave, leader of a rebellion, Ghiyás-ud-din Tughlak, who founded the Tughlak dynasty (1320–1414). It is evident from Odoric's testimonial that—if rebellions were constant inland—the maritime emporia were kept in order by the Musulman governors.—H. C.]

[2] This word is written also *scepi*, *depi*, *scoipi*, *sarpi*, etc., because (it may be supposed) the transcribers, like the present editor, could make nothing of it.

for this reason rats are there caught by dogs, for the mousers or cats are of no use for that[1]. In this country every man hath before his house a plant of twigs as thick as a pillar would be here, and this never withers as long as it gets water. And many other strange things are there which it would be pretty to hear tell[2].

[The women go naked there, and when a woman is married she is set on a horse, and the husband gets on the crupper and holds a knife pointed at her throat; and they have nothing on except a high cap on their head like a mitre, wrought with white flowers, and all the maidens of the place go singing in a row in front of them till they reach the house, and there the bride and bridegroom are left alone, and when they get up in the morning they go naked as before[3].]

["Qui viddi vno Leon grande, e negrissimo, alla guisa di vn bufalo: e viddi le nottole, o vogliam dire uespertiglioni, come sono le anatre di qui da noi. E topi, chiamati Sorici di Faraone, che sono grandi come uolpi, e ue ne sono vu infinità grande, e peggiori de cani mordenti · il paese è di Saracini."—(MIN. RAM.)

I have no doubt that this passage refers to the mangouste or ichneumon (*Herpestes ichneumon*) formerly found in this part of Asia as well as in Egypt where it was venerated.—*H. C.*—See *Marco Polo*, I, p. 254, note 3.]

[1] As to the great bats and rats enough has been said in the notes to Jordanus (pp. 19, 29).

The word which I have translated *bats* is *noctuæ*, but I think *bats* are meant. *Nottola* in Italian means not an owl but a bat; and the MIN. RAM. and PAL. confirm this. They also say "as big as our ducks," which is more germane than *pigeons*. The "black lions" are tigers, we may presume. Polo always calls tigers *lions*. *Nigri leones*, apparently for tigers, will be found in the Latin translation of Arabshah's *Life of Timur*, i, p. 466. [See note, *supra*.]

[2] This passage must have been mangled in the dictation. But it is evident that what is spoken of is the sacred *Tulasi* or Basil (*Ocymum Sanctum*). The following extract describes intelligibly and correctly what Odoric's amanuensis apparently did not understand. "Almost all the Hindus...adore a plant like our *Basilico Gentile*, but of more pungent odour....Everyone before his house has a little altar, girt with a wall half an ell high, in the middle of which they erect certain pedestals like little towers, and in these the shrub is grown. They recite their prayers daily before it, with repeated prostrations, sprinklings of water, etc. There are also many of these maintained at the bathing places, and in the courts of their pagodas." (*Vincenzo Maria*, p. 300; see also Ward's *Hindoos*, iii, 203.) [3] From MIN. RAM.

[In this country there are trees which give wine which they call *loahc*[1], and which is very intoxicating. And here they do not bury the dead, but carry them with great pomp to the fields, and cast them to the beasts and birds to be devoured. And they have here very fine oxen; which have horns a good half pace in length [girth?], and have a hump on the back like a camel. And from this city to Panche [Paroche?] is fourteen days' journey[2].] And it was in this place called Tana, as I have said before, that the four Minor Friars suffered a glorious martyrdom for the faith of Christ, and it took place after the manner following[3].

6. History of the martyrdom of the four Friars in the city of Tana.

When the friars aforesaid were at Ormes they made a bargain for a certain ship to take them to Polumbum, but being once on board they were taken against their will to Tana. Here there be fifteen houses of Christians, that is to say of Nestorians, who are schismatics and heretics. And the friars having thus come hither, found harbour in the house of one of those Christians. And whilst they were staying there, one day there arose a quarrel between the good man of the house and his wife, and in the evening he gave her a sound beating. And in the morning the woman went and made a complaint of the beating to the *Cadi*, *i.e.*, in their tongue the Bishop. And the cadi having asked her if she had any proof of what she alleged, she answered that she could well prove it, "For," quoth she,

[1] This may be the term which is used by the old materia medica writers for an essence or extract, *Lohoc* and *Loch*. It is doubtless, as suggested by Mr Badger, the Arabic *Rúhh*, generally pronounced *Rúahh*, a spirit, an essence.

[2] From PAL.

[3] ["Occisi sunt Kalendis Aprilis tres, Fr. Thomas de Tolentino, Fr. Jacobus de Paduâ et Fr. Demetrius Laicus: triduo post Fr. Petrus de Senis an. Ch. 1321." (*A. S.*, note, xiv Jan.)]

"there were four Frank Rabbans[1]," (which is to say in our tongue four men of a religious order) "there in the house when he handled me thus. Question them and they will tell you the truth." And when the woman said this, there was a certain man of Alexandria there present who begged the cadi to send for them, saying that they were men of great learning and knowledge in the Scriptures, and that it would be good to have a dispute with them concerning religion. The cadi, hearing this, sent for them. And so when those brethren were brought before him, to wit, Friar Thomas of Tolentino in the March of Ancona[2], Friar

[1] *Rabban*, "*my master*," is the usual address to a monk in the Syrian church (*Assem.*, p. 537). [From *rabb* (*hebr.*), master, doctor.]

[2] Thomas of Tolentino was a venerable soldier of his Order, whose name occurs several times in its annals. He had been twice in the preceding century imprisoned by his superiors for his unwelcome zeal in urging observance of the vow of poverty, and in disputing the Pope's authority to relax this obligation. Wadding says he suffered in his sixtieth year, but as his first imprisonment took place in 1275, and his death in 1321 or 1322, he must have attained nearly if not quite threescore and ten.

Raymund Fitz-Geoffry becoming general of the order in 1290, and finding Thomas and his friends in durance, released them with good words, but to prevent further trouble with their zeal, sent them on a mission to Armenia (i.e. Lesser Armenia, or Cilicia) the king of which country had invited a party of friars. In 1292 the king, apparently Hethum or Hayton II, sent Thomas and another monk to the kings of France and England to beg help against the Saracens. Again in 1302 he came to Europe to ask aid for the missionary work in which he was engaged, as holding out great promise of success. He obtained twelve chosen friars, and departed with them.

In 1307, Thomas, who had been preaching in Tartary, returned to the Papal Court, and gave the Pope an account of the success of John of Monte Corvino and others, a report which apparently led to the nomination of that missionary as Archbishop of Cambalec. As Thomas was himself the bearer of a letter from Monte Corvino, it is *possible* that he had been as far as Cathay himself. He probably returned to the east with the bishops who were then appointed to act under the archbishop in Cathay (see preface to Letters of Monte Corvino in this collection), but I trace him no more till he accompanied Jordanus to India and suffered at Tana as the text relates.

Though Odoric claims to have carried the bones of all his martyred brethren to China, the (alleged) skull of Thomas was afterwards brought from India to Italy, and was in the 17th century preserved, as it may be still, at his native place Tolentino. His feast also was celebrated by his townsmen, who held a fair on that day. (*Wadding*, v, 211, 236, 291; vi, 353 and seq.; ix, 181; *Acta Sanctorum*, 1st April.)

Nothing seems to be known of the three other friars beyond what

James of Padua, and Friar Demetrius, a Georgian lay brother good at the tongues, (Friar Peter of Sienna being left at home to take care of their things), the cadi began at once to dispute with them about our Faith. And when the infidels disputed with them in this manner, alleging that Christ was mere man and not God, Friar Thomas took it in hand, and proved by arguments and instances that He was God and Man in one, and so confounded the Saracens that they were absolutely unable to maintain the contrary.

7. The same continued.

Then the Cadi seeing himself thus put to confusion by them before the whole people, began to call out with a loud voice: "But what sayest thou of Machomet? What sayest thou of Machomet?" For such is the wont of the Saracens, that when they cannot maintain their cause with arguments, they take to maintaining it with swords and fists. And as the Cadi thus questioned Friar Thomas, the brethren answered saying: "We have proved to thee by arguments and instances that Christ who delivered a religion to the world was true God and Man, and since him Machomet hath come and hath delivered a religion which is contrary to the former. If thou be wise then well mayst thou wot what to think of him." Then the Cadi and the other Saracens only shouted the louder: "But again what sayest thou of Machomet?" Then Friar Thomas replied: "Since ye can only repeat *What do I say of him*, I should blush to refuse the reply ye seek. I reply then, and tell you that Machomet is the son of perdition, and hath his

their names tell. The account in Wadding, derived from the letter of one Francis of Pisa, is substantially the same as that in the text. It calls the lay brother Demetrius of *Teflis*. On the cloister wall of St Anthony's at Padua I have seen a rude fresco of Friar James, with a symbol of decapitation, and the lab[illegible], *S[a] Jacobus Martyr Patavinus*. [Petrus of Sienna = Sena Julia; Demetrius of Tiflis, in Georgia, Interpreter; cf. Venni, pp. 107–108.]

place in hell with the devil his father, and not he only but all such as follow and keep his law, false as it is, and pestilent and accursed, hostile to God and the salvation of souls." And when the Saracens heard this they all began to shout with a loud voice together: "Let him die; Let him die, for he hath blasphemed the Prophet!" And then they took the friars and bound them there in the sun, that they might die a dreadful death by the intense heat. For there the heat is so great that if one shall stand [bareheaded] in the sun for the space of a single mass he will die outright. Yet there they abode in the sun praising and glorifying God from the third until the ninth hour, cheerful and unscathed. And when the Saracens saw this they took counsel together, and came to the brethren, saying: "We mean to kindle a great blazing fire, and to cast you into it. And if the doctrine ye hold be true the fire will not burn you, but if it be false and evil ye shall be utterly consumed."

Then the brethren answered, saying: "We are ready, O Cadi, to go into the fire and into prison, or to endure whatever thou canst inflict on us for our religion; and ready thou shalt ever find us. But this one thing thou oughtest to know, that if the fire consume us, think not this cometh from (the fault of) our religion, but only from our sins, seeing that on account of our sins God may well let us burn. And for all that, our religion is not the less good and perfect as anything in the world ever can be; nor is there in the world any other faith whereby men may be saved but this."

8. The same history continued.

And as order was thus being taken for the burning of the friars, the report thereof spread like lightning throughout the whole city; and from the said city great and small, men and women, flocked together to see what should come of it. But the brethren were meanwhile brought out to

the *Medan*[1] *i.e.*, the piazza of the city, where an exceeding great fire had been kindled. And Friar Thomas went forward to cast himself into the fire, but as he did so a certain Saracen caught him by the hood, saying: "Nay, thou shalt not go, for thou art old, and mayest have upon thee some crafty device whereby the fire could not burn thee; so let another than thou go in!" Then incontinently four Saracens laid violent hands on Friar James of Padua in order to cast him into the fire; but he said to them, "Suffer me and I will of my own free will cast myself in." But they, heeding not what he said, straightway threw him into it. And when they had done so, and he was there abiding in the fire, it blazed so high and far abroad that no one was able to see him, but they heard his voice continually invoking the name of the Blessed Virgin. And when the fire was quite spent, there was Friar James standing on the embers, joyous and exultant, with his hands raised to heaven making the sign of the cross, and with sound mind and pure heart praising the Lord without ceasing. And though the fire had been so great the slightest hurt or burn could not be found upon him. And when the people saw this they began to call out with one consent, "They are saints! They are saints! 'Tis sin to do them hurt. And we see that in truth their religion is good and holy." And when they had said thus, Friar James was called forth from the fire, and came out sound and unhurt. And when the Cadi saw this, he too began to cry out saying: "He is no saint! he is no saint! But the reason why he is not burnt is that he hath on his back a garment from the land of Abraham[2]. Wherefore let him be stript naked and so cast into the fire!"

[1] *Maidán.* We generally employ this word in India for an open plain, or the esplanade outside a city; but in Western Asia it seems to be used specially for the public square or piazza (in the Italian sense) of a city, as here.

[2] The tradition respecting Abraham's being cast into a fire by

And that this might be done effectually then came some villains of Saracens, and kindled a fire twice as great as before. And then they stript Friar James, and washed him, and anointed him copiously with oil, and that the fire might blaze more fiercely and burn up the friar the faster, they poured great quantities of oil upon the pile of wood, and then flung Friar James with a forcible fling into the middle of it. And the Friars Thomas and Demetrius abode without upon their knees, engaged fervently and instantly in prayer. And thus also Friar James came forth a second time without hurt as he had done before.

9. The same history continued.

And when the people saw this they shouted again with one consent: "'Tis a sin! 'Tis a sin to hurt them, for saints they be!" And so there was a very great noise among the people. And on seeing this second miracle the Melic, i.e. the podesta of the city[1], called to him Friar James, and made him put on his clothes, and said: "Go, brethren, with the grace of God, for ye shall suffer no harm at our hands. For we see well that ye are good and holy men; and that your religion is good and holy and true, we see past question. But to provide the better for your safety we counsel you to quit this place as speedily as ye may; for the Cadi will do his uttermost and spare no pains to take your lives."

Nimrod for his contempt of idol worship is well known, and may be read at length in *Weil's Biblical Legends*, both in its Jewish and Mussulman shapes. The legend forms the subject of one of the great frescoes in the Campo Santo at Pisa. [Cf. GEN. xv, 7.—ISAIAH, xxix, 22.]

[1] "*Lomelic, scilicet Potestas.*" The Kotwal. Ibn Bâtuta about this time tells us that the title *Malik* (King) was used by the Mahomedans of India, where the people of Egypt would use *Amir*. However, in Egypt in 1384, the Italian Frescobaldi tells us that the Governor of Alexandria was called *Lamelech* (Al Malik). [*Melik* ملك, governor; under the mongol dynasty, this title was given to the collector of taxes.]

While he was thus speaking it was about the hour of complines, and the whole people, idolaters and others, were standing about in a state of awe and astonishment, saying: "We have seen from these men things so great and marvellous, that we know not what law we ought to follow and keep." And as they thus spake, the Melic caused those three friars to be taken and conveyed away across a certain arm of the sea that was at a little distance from the city, and where there was a certain suburb[1], whither the man in whose house they had been lodged accompanied them, and so they found harbour in the house of a certain idolater. And whilst they abode there the Cadi went to the Melic and said: "What are we about? for the law of Machomet is going to destruction unless something else be done. For these Frank Rabbans will now go preaching through the whole country, and as they have done such great marvels here which the whole of the people have seen, all will be converted to them, and so the law of Machomet will lose all power. And that this be not so there is a thing you ought to consider, and that is that Machomet hath ordered in the Alchoran (i.e. in his law) that if any one shall slay a Christian he shall have as much merit as if he had gone to Mecha." (Now ye must know that Alchoran is the law of the Saracens as the Gospel is the law of the Christians; and Mecha is the place where Machomet is buried, and the Saracens go there on pilgrimage just as Christians go to the Sepulchre[2].)

Then the Melic answered the Cadi: "Go then and do as thou wilt."

[1] The narrative of Francis of Pisa, quoted in Wadding's Annals, says here: "*ad oppidum situm ex aliâ parte fluminis seu marini brachii quo civitas circumcingitur.*" These are touches from real knowledge. Tana stands on a river-like arm of the sea separating Salsette from the main, and now crossed by a railway bridge.

[2] It is curious how persistently the error of Mahomed's being buried at Mecca was repeated. Even Mandeville (?), who had served the Saracens in Egypt, repeats it.

10. The same history continued.

And when he had thus spoken the Cadi immediately took four armed men and sent them to slay the friars. But by the time these men had crossed the water it was night, and so at that late hour they could not find them. And now the Melic caused all the Christians who were in the city to be seized and put in prison. But when midnight was come the friars got up to say matins, and so the men who had been sent to slay them discovered where they were, and took them away outside the town beneath a certain tree, and said to them: "Ye must know that we have orders from the Cadi and the Melic to slay you; and we are reluctant to do it, for ye are good and holy men. But we can do no otherwise. For if we do not their behests we and all our children and our wives shall die!" And the friars answered them saying: "Since ye come hither that we through death temporal may attain to life eternal, do that which ye are bidden. For we are ready to bear manfully whatever tortures ye may inflict on us for our religion and for the love of Jesus Christ our Lord." And when they answered with this boldness and constancy, that Christian who had joined their company got into deep altercation with those four evil men. For he spake to them in this wise, saying: "Had I but a sword I would hinder your doing this, or ye should slay me along with them." Then they caused the friars to strip. And straightway Friar Thomas, joining his hands in the sign of the cross, suffered first, his head being cut off. And one of them then smote Friar James on the head and clove him to the eyes, and then immediately cut his head off. Friar Demetrius also first received a desperate stab in the breast and then his head was cut off. And as they thus rendered their souls to God in martyrdom, straightway the air was illuminated, and it became so bright that all were stricken

with amazement, and at the same time the moon waxed wonderfully light and lustrous. And after this there were so great thunderings, lightnings, and flashings of fire, that almost all thought their end was come. And that ship which ought to have taken them to Polumbum, but carried them to Tana against their will, went to the bottom, so that nothing ever was known of her or her crew.

II. The same continued.

And in the morning the Cadi sent to the house to take possession of the friars' gear; they found there Peter of Sienna, the comrade of the other three friars, and took him to the Cadi. So the Cadi and other Saracens addressed him, and made him promises of great things if he would deny the faith, and confess that of Machomet. But he only ridiculed them and scorned their proposals in a way that made them marvel. So they began torturing him, and did so from morning until noon with sundry kinds of tortures. But he remained ever unshaken and firm in the faith, and manfully demolishing their doctrine, and showing it to be false. And when the Saracens saw that he was not to be turned from his purpose, they hung him up to a certain tree, and there he remained from the ninth hour until night. But when night fell they took him down from the tree quite unhurt, and when they saw it was so, they clove him in sunder, and in the morning no trace of him was to be found. But it was revealed to a person worthy of belief that God had concealed his body till in due season He should be pleased to disclose it[1].

[1] There are different statements as to the date of the martyrdom of these four friars. Wadding puts it under 1321, the *Acta Sanctorum* under 1322. [See note, p. 117.] The editors of the latter urge the authority of a MS. of Odoric's narrative of the circumstances, which had been communicated to them, and which named the Kalends of April as the day, combined with the assertion of Jordanus (see letter in this collection) that it was on the Thursday of the week before Palm Sunday, a combination which would fix the date to 1322. This, however, is inconsistent with the positive evidence of Jordanus in his

And that God might make manifest that their souls had inherited the Kingdom of heaven, on that very day when these blessed friars became glorious martyrs, that Melic had fallen asleep, and as he thus lay asleep, lo! there appeared to him those glorious martyrs bright and shining like the sun, and holding swords in their hands, which they brandished over the Melic in such a way as if they would have cloven him asunder. And at this sight the Melic began to roar out, and with his noise brought his whole family running to see what ailed him, and what he would have. And he told them in reply: Those Frank rabbans whom I have caused to be slain have come hither with swords to slay me! And so he sent for the Cadi, to whom he told what had befallen him, and asked his counsel as to what should be done in the matter, for he was convinced that he should perish utterly at their hands. Then the Cadi advised him that he should do some great work of

following letter. For in it, dated Feast of Fabian and Sebastian, 1323—*i.e.*, in our reckoning, 20th January, 1324—he says that he had then been alone for *two years and a half* since he had buried his comrades. Had their death occurred in 1322, the interval would have been only one year and eight months, which no rounding of numbers could convert into two years and a half; whereas if it had occurred in 1321, the interval might naturally have been so spoken of.

It does not appear to be clear that those four friars ever received the official beatification of Rome, though they appear as Beati in the *Acta Sanctorum*. The Order applied to John XXII to have this done, and he intimated approval; but certain schisms and controversies arising in the Order about this time, the matter was lost sight of. According to one author, however, quoted by Wadding, but apparently without much confidence, the beatification was sanctioned by John's successor, and the feast ordered to be celebrated on the Wednesday of Holy Week. ["The Holy See sanctioned the *cultus* of the Martyrs of Tana by a decree of July 10, 1894; by another, of August 14, 1894, the Congregation of Rites granted the recital of an approved Office and Mass for the feast of Blessed Thomas of Tolentino. The addition authorised for insertion in the *Martyrologium Romano-Seraphicum Sanctorum et Beatorum trium Ordinum S. P. N. Francisci* is the following:

"April 6.—Tanae in India beati Thomae a Tolentino Ordinis Minorum, qui cum tribus sociis ejusdem ordinis glorioso pro fide Christi martyrio coronatus est.

"From the Lesson of the Breviary...the date on which the martyrdom took place was the end of April 1321." Medlycott, *India and the Apostle Thomas*, 1905, p. 91 *n.*]

charity on their account, if he would escape from the hands of those murdered men. So he sent straightway for the Christians whom he held in durance, and humbly asked their pardon for what he had caused to be done to them, behaving to them like a fellow and a brother. And besides he ordered that any one who should hurt any of the Christians in future should suffer death. Afterwards also the Melic caused four mosques, i.e. churches, to be built in honour of the Friars, and put Saracen priests in each of them to abide continually.

12. The same history continued.

And when the Emperor of Dili[1] heard that those Friars had undergone such a sentence, he sent and ordered the Melic to be seized and despatched to his presence with his hands bound. Being thus brought before the emperor, and questioned why he had so cruelly put those friars to death, he replied: "I suffered them to die because they sought to overthrow our law, and blasphemed the Prophet." Then the emperor said to him: "Most cruel hound, when thou sawest that God had twice delivered them from the fire how couldst thou dare thus to inflict death upon them?" And having spoken thus, he ordered him with his whole family to be cut in sunder. Such a death therefore as he caused those brethren to undergo to their glory, he himself had now to undergo to his own damnation. And the Cadi hearing of this fled from the city, and from the emperor's dominions.

Now in that country it is the custom never to bury the dead, but bodies are only cast out in the fields, and thus are speedily destroyed and consumed by the excessive heat. So the bodies of these friars lay for fourteen day ... the

[1] The Sultan of Dehli at this time must have been Ghiyás-ud-din Tughlak, who assumed the throne in 1320, according to the latest corrections of the Chronology. (See French editor's preface to *Ibn Batuta*, vol. iii, p. xiii, and *supra* p. 115.)

sun, and yet were found quite fresh and undecayed as if on the very day of their glorious martyrdom. And the Christians who were in that place seeing this took the bodies, and caused them to be committed to the tomb[1].

13. How Fr. Odoric took up the bones of the four Friars and the wonders wrought thereby.

Then I, Friar Odoric, came into those regions, having heard of their glorious martyrdom, and opening their tombs I humbly and devoutly took up their bones. And as God ofttimes worketh great marvels by means of his saints, through these also it pleased him to work powerfully. Thus when I had taken their bones, and wrapt them in fair napkins, and accompanied by one brother of the order and a servant, I was taking them to the house of our friars at a certain place in Upper India[2], I chanced to lodge in the house of a certain man, and when I went to sleep I placed those bones, or sacred reliques rather as I would call them, under my head. And as I thus slept the house was suddenly set fire to by the Saracens, that they might bring about my death by acclamation of the people. For this is the emperor's command, that any whose house is burnt shall suffer death[3]. The house then being on fire my

[1] It is remarkable that Odoric seems purposely to avoid all mention of Jordanus in connection with this, though we know that it was he who carried off the bodies and buried them at Supera. (*Friar Jord.*, p. vii.)

[2] Upper India with Odoric is China.

[3] This passage is very obscure in all the copies that have it. ["Ainsi que je m'en aloie portant ces reliques de ces freres martirs dessus dis, je fu hostellez en une maison et quant je alay dormir je mis ces reliques dessoubs mon chief; moy ainsi dormant vinrent Sarrazin ainsi criant commandement est de la majesté imperial que ceste maison soit arse et tous ceulx que nous y trouverons dedens. A ce mot, mes compaignons et les autres de l'ostel s'enfouirent par peur du commandement et me laisserent seul avec ces saintes reliques. Tantost ces Sarrazins bouterent le feu en ceste maison. Le feu fut moult grans et aspres tout environ moy et fut la maison arse de tous costez, fors seulement ce lieu ouquel je gisoit avec ces saintes reliques. Celle chambre n'eult oncques garde, comment que le feu fust si grant tout environ."—FRENCH TEXT.]

comrade and the servant made their escape from it, leaving me in it with those bones. And I took the bones of the brethren, and seeking help from God I crouched into a corner of the burning house. And three corners thereof were consumed, and that one only was left in which I was abiding. And as I sat there the fire was over my head, doing me no harm and not burning the corner of the house. And as long as I continued there with the bones, the fire never came lower but hung over me like an atmosphere. But as soon as I quitted the house it was entirely destroyed and many others adjoining besides. And so I escaped scatheless.

14. The same continued.

Another such thing happened to me also on that journey. For as I went by sea with those bones, towards a certain city called Polumbum (where groweth the pepper in great store) the wind failed us utterly[1]. Then the idolaters came

[1] This is undoubtedly the Columbum of Jordanus and John de' Marignolli, Kulam [Kollam, Koilam], or the modern Quilon [Kollam], though it is not easy to see how the P got into all, or nearly all, the MSS. of Odoric, unless the error occurred in the first transcription.

In the preface to the translation of Jordanus, the high authority of Professor H. H. Wilson was quoted for the fact that Kulam dated only from the ninth century. But the era there alluded to may have been that of a *re*-foundation, an event often prominent in eastern annals, and which is found in the adjoining state of Cochin furnishing an era called the "New Foundation" (corresponding to A.D. 1341). For there seems reason to believe the city of Kulam to be more ancient than the time named. There is in *Assemani* (iii, pt. ii, p. 437), a letter from the Nestorian Patriarch, Jesujabus of Adiabene, who died in 660, addressed to Simon Metropolitan of Fars, which complains of his grievous neglect of duty, and alleges that in consequence not only is India, "*which extends from the coast of the kingdom of Fars to* COLON, *a distance of* 1200 *parasangs*, deprived of a regular ministry, but Fars itself is lying in darkness." This Colon is, I suppose, Kulam. [Quilon is "one of the oldest towns on the coast, from whose re-foundation in 1019 A.D., Travancore reckons its era." (Hunter, *Gaz.*, xi, p. 339.)]

I find that Professor Kunstmann of Munich, in his Essays on the Medieval Missions, has taken up the view that Columbum lay upon the east side of Cape Comorin, and was identical with the Cael of Marco Polo. I do not, however, find any material ground alleged for this easterly position, except that it is so represented in the Catalan Map of 1375. This I cannot think of great weight against the chain

beseeching their gods to give them a fair wind; which however was all to no purpose. Next came the Saracens, and wrought greatly to have a wind granted to them; but neither had they anything for all their prayers. Whereupon they enjoined on my comrade and me that we should pour forth our prayers to our God to bestow it upon us. And if this took effect the greatest honour would be shown us. And the skipper said to me, speaking in the Armenian tongue, that others might not understand: "If we cannot have a wind we shall cast those bones of yours into the

of evidence for its identity with Quilon, adduced in my preface to Jordanus, whilst the passage in Marco Polo which is therein alluded to, may very probably have misled the geographer. When Giovanni da Empoli in 1503 describes the first visit of the Portuguese to *Colom*, and the delight of the Christians called *Nazzareni* to receive them, who can doubt that these are the Columbum and the Nasçarini of Jordanus? And Marignolli tells us precisely that Columbum was in Mynibar (Malabar), which he as precisely distinguishes from Maabar where St Thomas lay, *i.e.* the east side of the Peninsula.

I suspect it will be found that the form Columbum or Columbo, as applied to Quilon, is founded on some form of the name Kulam formerly in use among the merchants and navigators of the Indian Seas. Sir Emerson Tennent tells us of a Hebrew MS. in the possession of the Cochin Jews, which in speaking of Sri Perumal the famous King of Malabar, says his rule extended *from Goa to Columbo*. This, Tennent takes for Columbo in Ceylon, but as Goa and Quilon would with tolerable precision form the Dan and Beersheba of the Malabar coast, I have little doubt that Quilon is the place meant.

Columbum was often represented as an island, but this must not be taken for Ceylon. Thus Pegolotti (pp. 359, 360) speaks of the "Columbine ginger which was the produce of the Island of Columbo of India." The World-Map in the Portulano of Andrea Bianco, in St Mark's library at Venice, also shows opposite the south-west corner of India the "*Ixola di Colonbi*," whilst Fra Mauro's great map has also "*Isola Colombo*," placed to the *east* of India, and noted in the rubric for its pepper, great resort of merchants, and black lions (*i.e.* tigers). [Jordanus of Séverac was elected titular bishop of the see of Columbum on the 21st of August 1329 by a bull of Pope John XXII, dated Avignon, 9th August 1329.]

[Yule writes (*Marco Polo*, ii, p. 377 *n.*): "The form *Columbum* is accounted for by an inscription, published by the Prince of Travancore (*Ind. Antiq.*, ii, 360) which shows that the city was called in Sanskrit *Kolamba*. May not the real etymology be Sansk. *Kolam*, 'Black Pepper'?" Dr Caldwell makes a few remarks on this suggestion, one to the effect: "I fancy *Kó..a*, a name for pepper in Sanskrit, may be derived from the name of the country *Kôlam*, North Malabar, which is much more celebrated for its pepper than the country about Quilon. This *Kôlam*, though resembling *Kollam*, is really a separate word, and never confounded with the latter by the natives." *M. Polo*, *l. c.*]

sea." Then my comrade and I made prayers to God Himself, but seeing that still there was no wind to be had we began to promise ever so many masses in honour of the blessed Virgin if we could but have a wind; but even so we could not obtain any wind at all. So then I took one of those bones and gave it to our servant, and told him to go to the bow of the ship with haste and cast it into the sea. Then when the bone was so cast into the sea straightway a most favourable wind arose which never failed until it brought us into harbour; and thus we got thither safely through the merits of those friars[1].

15. The same continued.

And when we were there in harbour at Polumbum we embarked on board another ship called a junk, and went as has already been said to Upper India, to a certain city called Zaiton, in which our friars have two houses, in order there to deposit those sacred reliques. Now on board that ship there were good seven hundred souls, what with sailors and with merchants. And the idolaters have this custom, that before they enter port they make search throughout the whole vessel to ascertain what is on board; and if any

[1] Centuries later we find a man of considerable intelligence, Father Ripa, relating how, on his voyage to China, he went through just such a process as this with a "holy Candle," whatever that may be, and he believed that the ship was saved thereby. Years afterwards also, on his return to Europe, he repeats this operation with an Agnus Dei, and with similar success. (*Mem. of F. Ripa*, pp. 31, 139.)

Wadding relates additional wonders as wrought by the reliques of those friars, which are interesting for other reasons than the value of the alleged miracles. One story tells how Giovannino, son of Ugolino of Pisa, a merchant, having been lucky enough to appropriate the head of one of the martyrs saved his ship when attacked by pirates, by holding out this head as a buckler, whilst his two consorts were captured. Friar Jordanus also cured the young Genoese, who had helped him to bury the bodies, of a bad dysentery, by help of a tooth of Thomas of Tolentino. He deposited a part of the relics in the house of his order at Sultaniah, and these gave rise to further marvels. But let it be noted that neither these stories nor the miracles alleged to have attended the slaughter of the friars rest on anything that has come down to us from Jordanus himself.

dead men's bones should be found they would straightway cast them into the sea, for they say that to have such things on board involves great peril of death[1]. Though they did accordingly make this diligent search, and though the bones were there in a great quantity, yet they never did get any inkling of them. And so by God's permission we brought them safely to the house of our brethren, and there they were worthily deposited with honour and great worship. And by means of these sainted friars doth Almighty God still work many other wonders; and this is held true by both Pagans and Saracens. For when they are caught by any disease, they go and take of the earth of the place where the friars were slain, and wash it in water, and then drink the water, and so are immediately freed from all their ailments[2].

16. Fr. Odoric is done with the four friars; and now he telleth of the kingdom of Minibar and how pepper is got.

And now that ye may know how pepper is got, let me tell you that it groweth in a certain empire whereunto I came to land, the name whereof is MINIBAR[3], and it groweth

[1] This no doubt refers to the strict examination of papers and cargo on arrival of a ship in China, respecting which Ibn Batuta gives details after his manner; see his Voyage to China, *infra*.

[2] We are told that the Christians of Malabar used to prepare their holy water by mixing some particles of earth from the tomb of the apostle Thomas. See also the healing power ascribed by M. Polo to earth from that shrine. ["The use of the earth from the tomb of St Thomas for miraculous cures is mentioned also by John Marignolli, who was there about 1348–1349. Assemani gives a special formula of the Nestorians for use in the application of this dust, which was administered to the sick in place of the unction of the Catholics. The Abyssinians make a similar use of the earth, from the tomb of their national Saint Tekla Haimanot. And the Shíahs, on solemn occasions partake of water in which has been mingled the dust of Kerbela. Fa-hian tells that the people of Magadha did the like, for the cure of headache, with earth from the place were lay the body of Kasyapa, a former Buddha."] (*Padre Paolino di S. Bart.*, p. 136; M. Polo, ii, pp. 354, 356 *n.*)

[3] ["Poi veni per lo mare Oceano quaranta giornate, e pervenni a lo' mperio di Pirabar dove nasce il pepe."—PAL.]

Minibar is Malabar, and seems to have been an old Arabic form

nowhere else in the world but there. And the forest in which the pepper groweth extendeth for a good eighteen days' journey, and in that forest there be two cities, the one whereof is called FLANDRINA and the other CYNGILIN[1]

of that name. It is the same that we shall find in Marignolli. Edrisi has *al-Manîbár*, so has Abulfeda; and a Turkish work translated by Von Hammer for the *Bengal Journal*, has *Monebár*. Ibn Batuta and Kazwini write *al-Malîbár*, Bakui has *Malibar*, and Fra Mauro *Milibar*. (*Jaubert's Edrisi*, i, 175; *Abulfeda* in *Reinaud* and *Gildemeister*, p. 188, comparing p. 45 of the Arabic; *Notices et Extraits*, ii, 389; *Journal A. S. Beng.* v, pp. 458, 461; and see *D'Herbelot* in v. *Manibar*.) [Marco Polo says, ii, p. 589: "There is in this kingdom a great quantity of pepper, and ginger, and cinnamon, and turbit, and of nuts of India." Heyd, *Commerce du Levant*, ii, pp. 659–660, writes that it was well known in former times that Malabar was the very country of pepper; he quotes the *Periplus* of Arrian, and Cosmas; he adds that the ancient Arabs did not ignore where the pepper they received through Siráf or Aden came from; early, among them, the name of Malabar was synonymous of country of pepper.]

[1] [RAM. A, Alandrina.—PAL., Filandria.—FRENCH TEXT, Flandrine, Frandrine.—RAM. A, Ziniglin.—PAL., Sigli.—FR. TEXT, Singulir, Singulum.] *Flandrina*, as has been pointed out in a note on Jordanus (p. 40), is doubtless the Fandaraina of Ibn Batuta, and the Pandarani of the Ramusian geographer. It is found as Fandaraina (also miswritten Kandaraina) in Edrisi, and is probably the Bandinánah (for Bandiránah) of Abdarrazzak. It has vanished from the maps, but stood about sixteen miles north of Calicut [it is Pandarani or Pantaláni]. *Cyngilin* is a greater difficulty. It is, however, evidently identical with the *Cynkali* of Marignolli, with the *Singugli* of Jordanus (p. 40), which that author mentions as a kingdom between Calicut and Quilon, with *Jangli* (which I doubt not should be read *Chinkali*) of Rashiduddin, and perhaps with the Gingala of Benjamin of Tudela. And it is unquestionably the *Shinkala* or *Shinkalî* of Abulfeda (see *Gildemeister*, p. 185, and Arab. text, p. 41), which he couples with Shâliyat, as two cities of Malabar, *one of which was inhabited by Jews*, though his informant knew not which. Shâliyat, also mentioned under that name by Ibn Batuta, and called by the European navigators Chalia and Chale, was the port next below Calicut, and the next to that again, of any importance, was *Cranganor*. Now Assemani tells us incidentally (p. 440—see also p. 732): "SCIGLA (*i.e.* Shigla or Shikala = Shinkala of Abulfeda) *alias et* Chrongalor *vocatur ea quam* Cranganoriam *dicimus Malabariæ urbem, ut testatur idem Jacobus Indiarum episcopus, ad calcem Testamenti Novi ab ipso exarati...anno Christi* 1510," etc. Cynkali or Cyncilim or Shinkala, then, is CRANGANOR, the seat of one of the old Malabar principalities, and famous in the early traditions of both Jews and Christians on that coast. It was there that, according to the former, the black Jews of the tribe of Manasseh first settled and abode for more than one thousand years; it was there that St. Thomas is said to have first preached on the shores of India; and there also the Mahomedans were first allowed to settle and build a mosque. Barbosa, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, notices *Crangulor* as occupied by a varied population of "Gentiles,

In the city of Flandrina some of the inhabitants are Jews[1]

Moors, Indians (?), Jews, and Christians of St. Thomas." (*J. R. A. Soc.*, i, 173, 174; *Sir H. M. Elliot, Historians of Muham., India*, p. 43; *Lassen*, iv, 256; *Ramusio*, i, 311.) It is true that Odoric says in the text that the Jews and Christians lived in Flandrina, but what follows shows that there is some confusion, and that he means either that Jews and Christians lived in both cities, or Jews in the one and Christians in the other. [*Cranganore=Kodungalùr=Kodungalùr Singulyi*, a town of the state of Cochin, Madras. "Tradition assigns to it the double honour of having been the first field of Saint Thomas' labours (A.D. 52?) in India, and the seat of Cherumán Perumál's government (A.D. 341) The visit of Saint Thomas must be regarded as mythical. But it is certain that the Syrian Church was firmly established here before the 9th century (Burnell), and probably the Jews' settlement was still earlier. The latter, in fact, claim to hold grants dated 378 A.D. The cruelty of the Portuguese, and their Goa Inquisition, drove most of the Jews to Cochin. Up to 1314, when the Vypín harbour was formed, the only opening in the backwater, and outlet for the Periyár, was at Kodungalúr, which must at that time have been the best harbour on the coast. Dr Day says: The Cranganore (Kodungalúr) Division has been the scene of most momentous changes in times gone by. Here the Jew and the Christian obtained a footing, and founded towns before the Portuguese landed in India." (Hunter's *Imp. Gaz. of India*, 2d ed., viii, pp. 240–1.)—Heyd, ii, p. 661, would prefer "Kayam-Koulam" to *Cranganore* for *Singulir*.]

To these notices of Cyncilim, I may add that the Chinese annals also mention *Sengkili*, as one of the Western Kingdoms which sent tribute (*i.e.* envoys and presents) to Kúblái; and as it is coupled with other countries which may be identified with Ma'bar and Somnath, it is highly probable that Shinkali or Cranganor is intended (see the passage quoted in the preliminary essay to this volume). [Marco Polo, speaking of the Kingdom of Melibar, says, ii, p. 390: "Ships come hither from many quarters, but especially from the great province of Manzi. Coarse spices are exported hence both to Manzy and to the west...." Yule adds the following remarks, *M. Polo*, ii, p. 391 *n.*: "I have been unable to find anything definite as to the date of the cessation of this Chinese navigation to Malabar, but I believe it may be placed about the beginning of the 15th century. The most distinct allusion to it that I am aware of is in the information of Joseph of Cranganore, in the *Novus Orbis* (ed. of 1555, p. 208)." Yule quotes also an account of the Voyages of Da Gama by Gasper Correa and goes on saying: "It is probable that both these stories must be referred to those extensive expeditions to the western countries with the object of restoring Chinese influence which were despatched by the Ming Emperor Ch'êng Tsu (or Yung-lo), about 1406, and one of which seems actually to have brought *Ceylon* under a partial subjection to China, which endured half a century."]

[1] The Jews of Malabar were and are distinguished into black and white. The former are much more assimilated to the Hindu natives, and are regarded as inferiors by the latter. Thirty years ago, the white Jews were reduced to about two hundred, living in Mattancheri, a suburb of Cochin, in which the black Jews also had a separate synagogue. The great body of the black Jews inhabited towns in the interior, and had many other synagogues. The tradition of these

and some are Christians[1]; and between those two cities

latter was that they were part of the tribe of Manasseh carried captive by Nebuchadnezzar, who emigrated at a later period to Cranganore. The white Jews believe themselves to have come soon after the destruction of Jerusalem. ["In A.D. 68 a number of Jews, fleeing from Roman persecution, seem to have taken refuge amongst the friendly coast-people of South India, and to have settled in Malabar." (*Imp. Gaz. India*, New ed., ii, 1909, p. 326.)] A grant in favour of the Jews, by a native king in Malabar, is said to date from A.D. 231. Firishta testifies to their presence when the first Mahomedans settled on the coast.

Padre Paolino, towards the end of last century, estimated the Jews of Mattancheri, Mutlam, and Kayan Kulam at between 15,000 and 20,000. (*J. R. A. Soc.*, i, 173, and vi, p. 6; P. Paolino di S. Bartolomeo, *Viaggi*, p. 109; Briggs's *Firishta*, iv, 532, quoted by *Ritter*.)

["In 1807," says Walter Hamilton, *East-India Gazetteer*, 2d ed., 1828, i, p. 425, "the population of Jews in Cochin and its vicinity was as follows:—White Jews 223; black Jews 720; at places in the country 586; total 1529 persons." The Census taken on the 17th February 1881 gives a total of 1249 Jews.—Cf. on the Cochin Jews, *Revue du Monde musulman*, Mai 1909, pp. 39-44.—With regard to the Copper charter see the *Madras Journal*, xiii, pt ii, p. 12 and Burnell in *Ind. Antiq.*, iii, p. 315. Yule quotes the following passage (*Hobson-Jobson*): 'c. 774 A.D.'—We have given as eternal possession to Iravi Corttan, the lord of the town, the brokerage and due customs...namely within the river-mouth of Codangalur? Also: 'c. 1570.'—...prior to the introduction of Islamism into this country, a party of Jews and Christians had found their way to a city of Malabar called Cadungaloor." (*Tohfat-ul-Mujahideen*, 47.)]

[1] Some slight account of the present state of the Malabar Christians will be found in a work lately published by the Rev. G. B. Howard, formerly a chaplain in those parts. It is some satisfaction to learn from this book that the Christians have not greatly diminished in number since the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the Nestorian Bishop Jaballaha reported them as consisting of 30,000 families —say 150,000 souls. For Mr Howard states the last estimate of the Syrian Christians in Travancore and Cochin to be 116,483; whilst those of the Syro-Roman Church, who ought, perhaps, to be taken into account, are reckoned at 117,000 more. It is also pleasant to learn that the Syrian Christians are still held in respect by their heathen neighbours, and still retain that character "as a sensible honest people, remarkable for modesty and truth," to which a long chain of witnesses has borne testimony. One of these is the Carmelite P. Vincenzo Maria, who was sent from Rome in the middle of the seventeenth century to bring dissidents into the Roman pen; and his evidence is distinct as to their sobriety, courage, and superiority to the ordinary "Gentiles" in disposition, intellect, and manners. At the same time, he vividly depicts their Asiatic traits, their flattery, fluent talk, ceremonies, politeness, and prolixity.

These things are pleasant to hear of, but almost everything else in their history for three hundred and fifty years is painful. The contact of Eastern and Western, even when there are none of the more selfish interests in collision, oftener breeds evil than good. The relation of

there is always internal war, but the result is always that the Christians beat and overcome the Jews.

Now, in this country they get the pepper in this manner. First, then, it groweth on plants which have leaves like ivy, and these are planted against tall trees as our vines are here, and bear fruit just like bunches of grapes; and this fruit is borne in such quantities that they seem like to break under it. And when the fruit is ripe it is of a green colour, and 'tis gathered just as grapes are gathered at the vintage, and then put in the sun to dry. And when it is dried it is stored in jars[1] [and of the fresh pepper also they make a confection, of which I had to eat, and plenty of it[2]]. And in this forest also there be rivers in which be many evil crocodiles, *i.e.* serpents. [And there be many other kinds of serpents in the forest, which the men burn by kindling tow and straw, and so they are enabled to go safely to gather pepper[3].] [And here there be lions in great numbers, and a variety of beasts which are not found in our Frank countries. And here they burn the brazil-wood for fuel, and in the woods are numbers of wild peacocks[4].]

At the extremity of that forest towards the south, there

the English Church with the Syrian, initiated with the best feelings on one side, and welcomed on the other, have ended only in disappointment and mutual offence. And as regards Her of Rome, scarcely anything in all her history is more odious than her conduct to the churches of Malabar. Did ever discovery seem more calculated to draw out brotherly kindness than when the Portuguese, emerging from their dim and venturous navigation, lighted on this isolated Christian flock? And the result to that flock was persecution, strife, and misery, from which they have never recovered. (*The Christians of St Thomas and their Liturgies, by the Rev. G. B. Howard, etc.*, 1864; *Assemani*, p. 450; *P. Vincenzo Maria*, pp. 139, 143, and seq.)

[1] [FR. TEXT: "Ilz les mettent en sauf."]

[2] [PAL.: "E del pepe ricente fanno composto e io ne mangiai, ed ebbine assai."]

[3] From PAL.

[4] From HAK. and MUS. Marignolli has a mild sneer directed probably at Odoric's talk about the pepper "forest"; apparently the latter did not stay any time in Malabar, and he probably derived his information from harbour gossip.

is a certain city which is called Polumbum, in which is grown better ginger than anywhere else in the world[1]. And the variety and abundance of wares for sale in that city is so great that it would seem past belief to many folk.

17. Fr. Odoric discourseth of the manners of the idolaters of Polumbum.

[Here all the people go naked, only they wear a cloth just enough to cover their nakedness, which they tie behind[2].] All the people of this country worship the ox for their god [and they eat not his flesh[3]]; for they say that he is, as it were, a sacred creature. Six years they make him to work for them, and the seventh year they give him rest from all labour, and turn him out in some appointed public place, declaring him thenceforward to be a consecrated animal[4]. And they observe the following abominable

[1] Ginger is classed by Pegolotti as "*Belledi*, which is found in many places in India [Ar. *Balladi* or country *ginger*], *Colombino*, *ana Mecchino*," the two last from the countries producing them; *viz.*, Colombo of India, *i.e.* our Columbum or Kulam, and the territories of Mecca. [A century later, in G. da Uzzano, we still find the *Colombino* and *Belladi* ginger.—Yule, *M. Polo*, ii, p. 381 *n.* "Good ginger also grows here [Coilum], and it is known by the same name of *Coilumin* after the country." *Marco Polo*, ii, p. 375.]

Pegolotti speaks of a kind of Brazil wood (*Verzino*) which was called *Colomni* or *Colombino*, no doubt from the same place; and of cinnamon also with the same epithet. (*Della decima*, iii, pp. 210, 296, 308, 359–360, &c.) [From *Marco Polo*, ii, p. 375: "A great deal of brazil is got here [Coilum] which is called *brazil Coilumin* from the country which produces it; 'tis of very fine quality." The brazil-wood of Kaulam appears in the Commercial Handbook of Pegolotti (*circa* 1340) as *Verzino Colombino*, and under the same name in that of Giov. d' Uzzano a century later. Pegolotti in one passage details kinds of brazil under the names of *Verzino salvatico*, *dimestico*, and *columbino*. In another passage, where he enters into particulars as to the respective values of different qualities, he names three kinds, as *Colomni*, *Ameri*, and *Seni*, of which the *Colomni* (or Colombino) was worth a sixth more than the *Ameri* and three times as much as the *Seni*.—Yule, *M. Polo*, ii, p. 380 *n.*]

[2] [PAL.: "Quivi vanno tutti ignudi, salvo che portano un panno innanzi a la vergogna istremo (?) e legalosi di dietro."]

[3] From PAL.

[4] This fuller explanation is from MUS. The copies which I am generally following (PAR. and VEN.) have simply *positus est in communi*. The custom of setting free bulls to roam at large, as offering

superstition. Every morning they take two basins of gold or silver, and when the ox is brought from the stall they put these under him and catch his urine in one and his dung in the other. With the former they wash their faces, and with the latter they daub themselves, first on the middle of the forehead; secondly, on the balls of both cheeks; and, lastly, in the middle of the chest. And when they have thus anointed themselves in four places they consider themselves to be sanctified (for the day). Thus do the common people; and thus do the king and queen likewise.

They worship also another idol, which is half man and half ox. And this idol giveth responses out of its mouth, and ofttimes demandeth the blood of forty virgins to be given to it. For men and women there vow their sons and their daughters to that idol, just as here they vow to place them in some religious order. And in this manner many perish.

And many other things are done by that people which it would be abomination even to write or to hear of, and many other things be there produced and grown, which it booteth little to relate[1]. But the idolaters of this realm

I believe to Siva, is here alluded to. They are known among Anglo-Indians as "Brahmini bulls," and, having the run of the bazars, are always fat. In Calcutta, where they were a dangerous nuisance, they used to be laid hold of by the police and yoked in the dust cart.

What follows about cow-worship is little, if at all, exaggerated, as may be seen by reference to Abbé Dubois (pp. 29, etc.).

[1] PAL. has: "*And in this land there be trees that produce honey, and 'tis as good as is in the world. And there be others that give wine, and others that give wool wherewith cords and cables of all kinds are made. And there be also trees which produce fruits so big that two will be a load for a strong man. And when they come to be eaten* conviene che altri s' unga le mani e la bocca, (?) *and they are of a fragrant odour and very savoury; the fruit is called* chabassi." [The wool-bearing tree in this doubtful passage is a reference to the coir or coco-nut fibre, I think, rather than to cotton. The large fruit, fragrant and savoury, is the jack, I doubt not, but the name *chabassi* is probably corrupted.] "*And here I heard tell that there be trees which bear men and women like fruit upon them. They are about a cubit in measurement, and are fixed in the tree up to the navel, and there they be; and when the wind blows they be fresh, but when it does not blow they are*

have one detestable custom (that I must mention). For when any man dies, they burn him, and if he leave a wife they burn her alive with him, saying that she ought to go and keep her husband company in the other world. But if the woman have sons by her husband she may abide with them, an she will. And, on the other hand, if the wife die there is no law to impose the like on him; but he, if he likes, can take another wife[1]. It is also customary there

all dried up. This I saw not in sooth, but I heard it told by people who had seen it." Here again we have a genuine Oriental story, related by several Arab geographers of the island of *Wak-wak* in the Southern Ocean (*e.g.* see Bakui in *Not. et Ext.*, ii, 399). Al Biruni denies that the island is called so, "as is vulgarly believed, because of a fruit having the form of a human head which cries *Wak! Wak!*" (*Journ. Asiat.* S. iv, t. iv, p. 266). And Edrisi declines to repeat the "incredible story" related by Masudi on the subject, with the pious reservation, "But all things are in the power of the Most High" (i, 92). [Cf. *Madagascar et les îles Ûâq-Ûâq* par M. Gabriel Ferrand (*Journ. Asiat.*, Mai-Juin 1904, pp. 489-509).—Ed. Chavannes (*T'oung Pao*, 1904, pp. 484-7.—G. Ferrand.—*L'arbre merveilleux.* (*J. Asiat.*, Nov.-Déc. 1907, pp. 483-494.)—The text of PAL. runs as follows: "In questa terra sono albori che conducono [producono?] mele, ed è del buono del mondo. Sonvi altri albori che producono vino ed albori che producono lana di che si fa tutto corde e funi, e sonvi albori che producono frutti che di due sarebe carico un forte uomo, e quando si vengono a manicare conviene che altri s' unga le mani e la boca, e sono odorifili e molti saporiti e chiamansi frutto *chabassi*. Quivi udi dire che sono albori che producono uomini e femmine a modo di frutti, e sono di grandezza un gomito, e sono fitti nell' albore insino al bellico, e così istanno; e quando trae vento e sono freschi, e quando non, pare che si seccano. Questo non vidi io, ma udilo dire a persone che l' aveano veduto."—This fruit is the jack or *kadhil Artocarpus integrifolia.* We read in Baber's *Memoirs* by Leyden and Erskine, 325: "Another is the *kadhil.* This has a very bad look and flavour (odour?). It looks like a sheep's stomach stuffed and made into a haggis. It has a sweet sickly taste. Within it are stones like a filbert.... The fruit is very adhesive, and on account of this adhesive quality many rub their mouths with oil before eating them. They grow not only from the branches and trunk, but from its root. You would say that the tree was all hung round with haggises." Yule remarks (*Hobson-Jobson*): "Here *kadhil* represents the Hind. name *kathal.* The practice of oiling the lips on account of the 'adhesive quality' (or as modern mortals would call it 'stickiness') of the jack, is still usual among natives, and it is the cause of a proverb on premature precautions: *Gāch'h meṅ Kathal, honṭh meṅ tel!* 'You have oiled your lips whilst the jack still hangs on the tree'!"]

[1] Mr Elphinstone says: "The practice of Suttee is by no means universal in India. It never occurs to the south of the River Kishna." But this absolute statement certainly conveys an erroneous impression. Marco Polo states the practice of Southern India just as Odoric does,

for the women to drink wine and not the men. The women also have their foreheads shaven, whilst the men shave not the beard[1]. And there be many other marvellous and beastly customs which 'tis just as well not to write.

whilst in 1580, Gasparo Balbi, an accurate and unimaginative traveller, describes with seeming truth a suttee which he witnessed at Negapatam, and speaks of the custom as common. In the middle of the seventeenth century, P. Vincenzo, the Procurator-General of the Carmelites, says it was especially common in Canara; whilst he was told that on the death of the Naik of Madura 11,000 women had offered themselves to the flames! These 11,000 suttees may have been as mythical as the 11,000 virgins of Cologne, but they prove the practice. And in the beginning of the last century it continued to be extremely prevalent in that region. P. Martin, in a letter from Marawar (or Ramnad, opposite Ceylon), dated in 1713, mentions three cases then recent, in which respectively forty-five, seventeen, and twelve women had performed suttee on the death of the husbands, princes of that state. The widow of the Raja of Trichinopoly, being left pregnant, burnt herself after delivery. (Elphinstone's *H. of India*, p. 190; *M. Polo*, iii, 20; *Viaggio di Gasparo Balbi*, f. 83; *P. Vincenzo*, p. 322; *Lettres Édifiantes*, ed. Lyon, 1819, vii, 73, 75.) Suttees still occur in spite of our prohibition, and not very unfrequently, both in our own territory and in the native states. ["Suttee is a Brahmanical rite, and there is a Sanskrit ritual in existence (see *Classified Index to the Tanjore MSS.*, p. 135 *a*). It was introduced into Southern India with the Brahman civilisation, and was prevalent there chiefly in the strictly Brahmanical Kingdom of Vijayanagar, and among the Mahrattas. In Malabar, the most primitive part of S. India, the rite is forbidden (*Anāchāranirnaya*, v, 26). The cases mentioned by Teixeira, and in the *Lettres Édifiantes*, occurred at Tanjore and Madura. A (Mahratta) Brahman at Tanjore told one of the present writers that he had to perform commemorative funeral rites for his grandfather and grandmother on the same day, and this indicated that his grandmother had been a sati." Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*.]

Ramusio quotes Propertius on suttee. I borrow a few lines, showing how familiar this still-enduring Indian practice was to the Romans nineteen hundred years ago:—

> ——— Uxorum fusis stat pia turba comis;
> Et certamen habet lædi, quæ viva sequatur
> Conjugium; pudor est non licuisse mori.
> Ardent victrices, et flammæ pectora præbent,
> Imponuntque suis ora perusta viris.

[1] This reasonable reading is from Venni's originals only. I have overlooked it in the Appendix, where the strange readings of other copies will be seen. ["Mulieres etiam faciunt sibi abradi frontem et barbam homines non." VEN., p. 57.]

18. Concerning the kingdom of Mobar, where lieth the body of St. Thomas.

From this realm 'tis a journey of ten days to another realm which is called MOBAR[1], and this is very great, and hath under it many cities and towns. And in this realm is laid the body of the Blessed Thomas the Apostle[2]. His church

[1] The Coromandel region; see note to Jordanus, p. 19. It is possible that the Arabic name (*Ma'abar*, *Ma'bar*, the passage or ferry) was, as some one has suggested, originally a corruption of Marawar, the name of the Hindu state which adjoined Adam's Bridge, and the chief of which state was called *Setu Pati*, "the lord of the bridge." Such corruptions are often twisted for the sake of an apparent etymology among Orientals, and also among Occidentals. Thus in India the English word *receipt* is converted into *Rasíd*, and understood by many as deriving its meaning from the Pers. *Rasídan*, to arrive. *Jerusalem* artichokes afford a Western instance.

Marawar, or Marava, on the other hand, is perhaps also the Maruló of Cosmas Indicopleustes, which was on the continent adjoining Ceylon and produced conch-shells. I know not if the obvious suggestion has been put forward that the pearl fisheries in this vicinity originated the Pers. *Marwárid*, from which we get *Margarita*.

Ritter puts Ma'abar on the west coast, and Lassen (iv, 888) says that the name with Ibn Batuta signifies the southernmost part of the Malabar coast, but both learned authors are certainly wrong. Kunstmann again says: "it has been recently pointed out that the name applies neither specially to the south-west coast nor to the south-east, but to the whole southern apex of the peninsula." I do not know what evidence can be alleged. All use of it that I have seen is clear for its being the south-east coast, as Abulfeda precisely says, commencing from Cape Comorin. [Maabar extended from Cape Comorin to Nellore.] (See *Gildemeister*, pp. 56 and 185.) [The name does not appear in Edrisi, nor, I believe, in any of the older geographers, and the earliest use of it that I am aware of is in Abdallatif's account of Egypt, a work written about 1203–1204. (De Sacy, *Relat. de l'Egypte*, p. 31). Yule, *M. Polo*, ii, pp. 332–3.] ["When you leave the Island of Seilan and sail westward about 60 miles, you come to the great province of MAABAR which is styled INDIA THE GREATER; it is best of all the Indies and is on the mainland." *M. Polo*, ii, p. 331.]

[2] [As vague as Polo's is Odoric's indication of the position of the Shrine of St Thomas. Yule says Polo's "is the first geographical indication of it that I know of, save one. At the very time of Polo's homeward voyage, John of Monte Corvino on his way to China spent thirteen months in Maabar, and in a letter thence in 1292–1293 he speaks of the Church of St Thomas there, having buried in it the companion of his travels, Friar Nicholas of Pistoia."

There are two St Thomas's Mounts, the Great or Mount St Thomas where the Apostle expired, and a stone slab with a Pehlevi inscription and a cross were discovered in 1547 about six miles from Mailapúr, and the Little Mount where the Apostle was attacked and wounded two miles from San Tomé. "The Portuguese ignored the ancient translation of the Saint's remains to Edessa, and in 1522, under the

is filled with idols, and beside it are some fifteen houses of the Nestorians, that is to say Christians, but vile and pestilent heretics. There is likewise in this kingdom a certain wonderful idol, which all the provinces of India greatly revere. It is as big as St. Christopher[1] is commonly represented by the painters, and it is entirely of gold, seated on a great throne, which is also of gold. And round its neck

Viceroyalty of Duarte Menezes, a commission was sent to Mailapúr, or San Tomé as they called it, to search for the body. The narrative states circumstantially that the Apostle's bones were found, besides those of the king whom he had converted, etc. The supposed relics were transferred to Goa, where they are still preserved in the Church of St. Thomas in that city." (Yule, *M. Polo*, ii, p. 358.) "The traditional site of the Apostle's Tomb, now adjacent to the sea shore, has recently come to be enclosed in the crypt of the new Cathedral of San Thomé." (Medlycott, p. 123.) With reference to the passage of Odoric: "His church is filled with idols," M. Barth (*Revue Critique*, 13th March, 1893, pp. 200–1), says it was really a Hindu Temple, and seems to refer to the Mailapúr sanctuary, where, from a long time, stood the temple of Mayilâ devî which, to this date, is near the Christian Cathedral; M. Barth also points out that the place where tradition located the death and the tomb of the Apostle was occupied by the Unfaithful, a fact which could not have been possible on the other coast, where the Christians were more powerful and better organized in Malabar. It must not be forgotten that for about a dozen years this Coromandel Coast was under the rule of the Emperor of Delhi. We speak of St. Thomas in the *Recollections of John de' Marignolli*, in the third volume of this edition of *Cathay*. See *Notes d'épigraphie indienne* par M. E. Senart. (*Journ. Asiat.*, Fév.-Mars 1890, pp. 125–129).—*Saint Thomas, Gondopharès et Mazdeo* par M. Sylvain Lévi. (*Ibid.*, Janv.-Fév. 1897, pp. 27–42).—Marquart, *Die Chronologie des alttürkischen Inschriften*. Leipzig, 1898, and *D. Z. M. G.*, xlix, 642.—*The Connection of St. Thomas the Apostle with India*, by W. R. Philipps. (*Indian Antiq.*, 1903, Jan., pp. 1–15; April, pp. 145–160.) Mr. Philipps comes to the conclusion: "There is no evidence at all that the place where St. Thomas was martyred was in Southern India; and all the indications point in another direction."—"We have no indication whatever, earlier than that given by Marco Polo, who died 1324, that there ever was even a tradition that St. Thomas was buried in Southern India." (April, p. 151.)—A. E. Medlycott, Bishop of Tricomia, *India and the Apostle Thomas, An inquiry. With a critical analysis of the Acta Thomae*. London, David Nutt, 1905, 8vo.]

[1] [It is very natural that the image of Saint Christopher be present to the mind of Odoric, as this giant, universally honoured during the Middle Ages, was particularly so at Padua: the church *degli Eremitani*, of which the choir began to be rebuilt in 1264, was in the hands of the architects at the beginning of the xivth century (1306) and later on it was in this very church that Mantegna, Buono da Forlì and Ansuino da Forlì, were to paint the lives of Saint James and of Saint Christopher.]

it hath a collar of gems of immense value[1]. And the church of this idol is also of pure gold, roof (and walls) and pavement[2]. People come to say their prayers to the idol from great distances, just as Christian folk go from far on pilgrimage to St. Peter's[3]. And the manner of those who come is thus:—Some travel with a halter round their necks; and some with their hands upon a board, which is tied to their necks; others with a knife stuck in the arm, which they never remove until they arrive before the idol, so that the arm is then all in a slough[4]. And some have quite a different way of doing. For these as they start from their houses take three steps, and at the fourth they make a prostration at full length upon the ground. And then they take a thurible and incense the whole length of that prostration. And thus they do continually until they reach the idol, so that sometimes when they go through this operation it taketh a very great while before they do reach the idol. But when those who are going along in this way wish to turn aside to do anything, they make a mark there to show how far they have gone, and so they (come back upon this, and) continue until they reach the idol[5].

[1] ["Et siet en un tabernacle d'or fin." FRENCH TEXT.]

[2] Pure gold *leaf* perhaps. From what we see in Burma, where many obsolete Indian practices have been preserved by Buddhism, we may judge that extensive gilding of sacred buildings was formerly much more common than it is now. An Indian example is still familiar in the Sikh sanctuary at Amritsar. There were, however, temples of enormous wealth in this part of India. A few years before, the soldiers of Ala-eddin King of Dehli had carried off a fabulous booty of gold and jewels from the temples of Dwara-Samudra and Ma'abar. (Briggs's *Firishta*, i, 373.)

[3] ["Comme cy nous Crestiens vont a Saint Jaques en Galice, ou a Saint Pierre ou a Saint Pol a Romme." FRENCH TEXT.]

[4] ["Pluseurs autres sans comparoison plus sot et qui cuident estre trop plus devot que les autres sacrefient leurs fieulz et leurs filles a ceste ydole comme a leur propre dieu souverain. Et quant ilz ont ainsi leurs enfans murdris devant celle ydole, ilz l'espersent du sang comme Crestien font les asperges d'eaue benoite, cilz de la ville et qui sont assez pres de cest temple manant." FRENCH TEXT.]

[5] The word *venia* used here is a technical term in the Roman

19. Concerning other customs of the idolaters.

And hard by the church of this idol there is a lake, made by hand, into which the pilgrims who come thither cast gold or silver or precious stones, in honour of the idol, and towards the maintenance of the church, so that much gold and silver and many precious stones have been accumulated therein. And thus when it is desired to do any work upon the church, they make search in the lake and find all that hath been cast into it[1].

But annually on the recurrence of the day when that idol was made, the folk of the country come and take it down, and put it on a fine chariot; and then the king and queen and all the pilgrims, and the whole body of the people[2], join together and draw it forth from the church with loud singing of songs and all kinds of music: and

church for a prostration in worship, but being unfamiliar it has perplexed the copyists. It is, however, clearly explained by the parallel passage in PAL., "*si stende in terra boccone.*" The performance described is a well-known penance both of Hindus and Tibetan Buddhists. The newspapers lately contained a striking notice of penances of this kind in the Deccan. Omitting the incense the account is almost Odoric's. One man had come 450 miles measuring his length continuously at the rate of about a mile a day. (*Allen's Indian Mail*, Oct. 11th, 1864, p. 782.)

[1] PAL. has: *and they call that place* Celai *in their tongue.* There is a like story in Mas'udi regarding the Maharajah of the Isles. His palace was over a tank, which communicated with the sea. Every morning the treasurer threw in a golden ingot. At the king's death the accumulation was taken out and divided among his dependents and the poor. (*Paris trans.*, 1861, i, 175.) Odoric's story is corroborated by the *Masálak-el-Absár*, which says that among the towns in the south of India conquered by Mahomed Tughlák (a few years after Odoric's visit) was one standing by a lake in the middle of which was an idol-temple which enjoyed a great reputation in that country, and into which the people used continually to cast their offerings. After the capture of the city the Sultan caused the lake to be drained and the wealth which he found accumulated in it sufficed to load two hundred elephants and several thousand oxen. (*Not. et Extraits*, xiii, 220, 221.)

[2] PAL. has: *The Emperor, and their Pope and other priests, which are called* Tuin, etc. It is curious to find this word used here. It was the name, or one of the names, which the *Mongols* applied to the Buddhist priests. (See *Rubruquis*, p. 352, and *D'Ohsson*, ii, 264.) [See Rockhill's *Rubruck*, p. 159 *n.*]

many maidens go before it by two and two chaunting in a marvellous manner. And many pilgrims who have come to this feast cast themselves under the chariot, so that its wheels may go over them, saying that they desire to die for their God. And the car passes over them, and crushes and cuts them in sunder, and so they perish on the spot. And after this fashion they drag the idol to a certain customary place, and then they drag him back to where he was formerly, with singing and playing as before. And thus not a year passes but there perish more than five hundred men in this manner; and their bodies they burn, declaring that they are holy, having thus devoted themselves to death for their God[1].

And another custom they have of this kind. One will come saying: "I desire to sacrifice myself for my God?" And then his friends and kinsfolk, and all the players of the country, assemble together to make a feast for him who is determined to die for his God. And they hang round his neck five very sharp knives, and lead him thus to the presence of the idol with loud songs. Then he takes one of those sharp knives and calls out with a loud voice: "Thus I cut my flesh for my God"; and cutting a piece of his flesh wherever he may choose, he casteth it in the face of the idol; and saying again: "I devote myself to die for my God," he endeth by slaying himself there. And straightway they take his body and burn it, for they look on him as a saint, having thus slain himself for his idol. And many other things greatly to be marvelled at are done by these people, which are by no means to be written.

But the king of this island[2] or province is passing rich

[1] One might think Odoric had got to Juggurnath. But this practice was not peculiar to Orissa. (See *Dubois*, pp. 413, 414; and *Gasp. Balbi*, f. 84, etc.) A gross instance, involving three victims, has recently been reported within a few miles of Calcutta. (See Allen's *Indian Mail* of August 15th, 1864.)

[2] This is the only time that Odoric makes a mistake of this kind. Mandeville (?) makes islands of nearly all the Eastern regions. It has

in gold and silver and precious stones. And in this island are found as great store of good pearls as in any part of the world. And so of many other things which are found in this island, which it would take too long to write.

20. Concerning the country called Lamori, where the pole star is hidden; and also of Sumoltra.

Departing from this region towards the south across the ocean sea, I came[1] in fifty days[2] to a certain country called LAMORI[3], in which I began to lose sight of the north star

been noticed in a previous note that some of the mapmakers made Columbum an island. This probably came first from the loose use, by the Arabs, of the word *Jazírah*, which means properly an island (see note to Ibn Batuta). But it is worthy of remark that Linschoten, who could not have said it through ignorance, calls China "*la dernière isle de la navigation orientale.*" Was the word then used for *a place reached by sea*?

[1] ["Per il mar oceano ventigiorni nauigando." RAM. A.]

[2] [FARS., xv dietis.—PAL., xl giornate.]

[3] Lamori is no doubt the Lambri of Marco Polo and De Barros, the Lámúrí of Rashíduddín, and the Al-Rami, Ramin, and Ramni of Edrisi and other Arabian geographers, who extend the term to the whole island of Sumatra. Lambri is mentioned also by the Malay annalists. [It is also the *Lan-wou-li*, of the Chinese.] It appears to have lain near the north-west end of the island, and being on that account probably the first port of Sumatra known to the Arabs, naturally gave its name to the whole. I believe the exact position is not now known, but the list of kingdoms in Murray's *Polo*, pt. iii, ch. xiv, places it south of Daya.

[Mr W. P. Groeneveldt in his *Notes on the Malay Archipelago*, 1877, after quoting two Chinese works *Ying-yai Shêng-lan* (1416) and the *History of the Ming dynasty*, Book 325, writes, p. 100: "According to the two last extracts, Lambri must have been situated on the north-western corner of the island of Sumatra, on or near the spot of the present Achin: we see that it was bounded by the sea on the north and the west, and that the Indian ocean was called after this insignificant place, because it was considered to begin there. Moreover the small island at half a day's distance, called Hat-island, perfectly agrees with the small islands Bras or Nasi, lying off Achin, and of which the former, with its newly erected lighthouse, is a landmark for modern navigation, just what it is said in our text to have been for the natives then. We venture to think that the much discussed situation of Marco Polo's Lambri is definitely settled herewith."]

[Captain M. J. C. Lucardje mentions a village called Lamreh, situated at Atjeh, near Tungkup, in the xxvi. Mukim, which might be a remnant of the country of Lámeri. (*Merveilles de L'Inde*, p. 235.)]

Pegolotti speaks of cinnamon of *Ameri*, which is perhaps intended for the same word (Lamori, L'Amori, Ameri). *Pegol.* p. 361.

as the earth intercepted it. And in that country the heat is so excessive that all the folk there, both men and women, go naked, not clothing themselves in any wise[1]. And they mocked much at me on this matter, saying that God made Adam naked, but I must needs go against His will and wear clothes. Now, in that country all the women be in common; and no one there can say, this is my wife, or this is my husband! But when a woman beareth a boy or a girl she giveth the child to whom she listeth of those with whom she hath consorted, and calleth him the father[2].

[1] PAL. *Unless it be that some women when they be near child-bearing wear the leaf of a tree to cover their nakedness, and tie it on with a strip of bark.*

[Ibn Khordâdhbeh (trad. de Goeje, p. 44) mentions at Râmny "in the forests men who go naked and whose language is an unintelligible whistling"; Edrisi (trad. Jaubert, pp. 75–6) has the same remark. Cf. G. Ferrand, *Les îles Râmny, Lâmery, Wâḳwâḳ, Komor des Géographes Arabes et Madagascar.* (*Journ. Asiat.*, Nov.–Déc. 1907, pp. 433 *seq.*)]

[2] [E. Westermarck, in *The History of Human Marriage*, 2d ed., 1894, writes, pp. 54–5: "The Lubus of Sumatra, the Olo Ot, together with a few other tribes of Borneo, the Poggi Islanders, the Orang Sakai of Malacca, and the mountaineers of Peling, east of Celebes, are by Professor Wilken stated to be entirely without marriage. The same is said by Professor Bastian to be the case with the Keriahs, Kurumbas, Chittagong tribes, Guaycurûs, Kutchin Indians, and Arawaks. He states, too, that the Jolah on the island of St Mary, according to Hewett, possess their women in common, and that, according to Magalhães, the like is true of the Cahyapos in Matto Grosso. We read in Dapper's old book on Africa, that certain negro tribes had neither law, nor religion, nor any proper names, and possessed their wives in common."

Skeat and Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, ii, p. 68, quoting A. G. Campbell, say "that the women of the 'Cape Tribe' ('Orang Tanjong,' Sakai of Selangor) were allowed to have more than one husband, and that one woman who lived at Bandar Kanching formerly had four. These women (he adds) used to seek their own husbands."

They also, *l.c.*, p. 56, mention an observation from Miklucho-Maclay who "heard from Malays and members of the Catholic Mission at Malacca that communal marriage existed among the Sakai (*sic*, ? Mantra). Some days or weeks after marriage the girl was said to leave her husband with his consent and take up with the men of his family in turn. She then came back to her husband, but kept up these irregular liaisons, which were regulated by chance and her own wishes." They add that this notice from the *J. R. As. Soc., St. Br.*, No. 2, p. 215 "is the only notice of such a custom, and resting as it does on second-hand evidence or worse, cannot be accepted without due corroboration."]

The whole of the land likewise is in common; and no one can say with truth, this or that part of the land is mine. But they have houses of their own, and not in common[1].

It is an evil and a pestilent generation, and they eat man's flesh there just as we eat beef here. Yet the country in itself is excellent, and hath great store of flesh-meats, and of wheat and of rice; and they have much gold also, and lign-aloes, and camphor, and many other things which are produced there[2]. And merchants come to this island from far, bringing children with them to sell like cattle to those infidels[3], who buy them and slaughter them in the

[1] I cannot point out any region of Sumatra of which all these strange stories are true. But Odoric did not invent them, though it may be doubted if he *witnessed* all that he tells here. The community of women is positively asserted to exist among the Poggy or Pagi Islanders off the west coast of Sumatra, whilst their clothing is the merest strip of bark cloth; and *they* have not even individual houses. Such a state of things may have been found on the main island of Sumatra five hundred and fifty years ago. Very strange things *have* been found there even in our own day. (For Pagi Islanders see *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-Land-en-Volken Kunde*, second year, No. 4.)

["Cest pais est tout coinmun, si que nulz ne pu dire ceste terre ou ceste maison est mienne. Pou de choses ont ilz en especial. Ceste terre est tres bonne, car il y a tres grand plante de chars, de blés, de ris, d'or, de clous de girofle et de tous autres biens." FRENCH TEXT.

"Il sito di questa terra é molto buono, abondeuole si di carne, di biada, & di riso, come ancora d' oro, di legna, di Aloe, di canfora copioso, ma habitato da genti crudeli, & pessime." RAM. A.]

[2] ["In this country (Lambri) cows, buffaloes, goats, fowls, ducks, vegetables and rice are all scarce, but fish and shrimps are very cheap." (The Chinese work *Ying-yai Shêng-lan* (1416) quoted by Groeneveldt, *Notes*, p. 98.)]

[3] This from V. V. PAR. has *men*; HAK. *fat men*; PAL. *white men*; *for black men, like themselves, they eat not.*

["Quivi eziando mangiano le carni umani, e Saracini vi recano de l' altre provincie gli uomini e vendogli loro in mercatanzia; *e sono mangiati da coloro e sono uomini bianchi, che de' neri come sono eglino non mangiano.* E sono uomini fieri in battaglia e vanno a la battaglia ignudi, salvo que portano in braccio uno iscudo che gli quoprono insino a piedi. E se prendono alcuno nella battaglia si lo mangiano." PAL.

"Ad hanc insulam de longinquis veniunt mercatores portantes infantes, ipsosque more bestiarum vendentes hiis *infidelibus*, qui eos interficiunt in macello." VEN.]

["L'île de Ramny produit de nombreux éléphants, ainsi que le bois de brésil (*baccam*) et le bambou (*khayzoran*). On y remarque une peuplade qui mange les hommes. Cette île est mouillée par deux

shambles and eat them[1]. And so with many other things both good and bad, which I have not written.

In this same island towards the south is another kingdom by name SUMOLTRA[2], in which is a singular generation

mers, la mer de Herkend et celle de Schelaheth." (*Relat. des Voy. faits par les Arabes et les Persans*, I, pp. 6–8.)]

[1] Gold, aloeswood, and camphor, are all true products of Sumatra; so also is cannibalism, though we must expect from Odoric, in regard to such stories, no more than that he repeat them in the current form.

Here is a specimen of the modern *evidence*:—"Persons caught in housebreaking or highway robbery, are publicly executed and immediately eaten.....A man taken in adultery may be eaten piecemeal without being first deprived of life.....Twelve months before, twenty persons were eaten in one day, in a village where the authors resided. Prisoners taken in a great war (not a mere broil) were allowed to be eaten." (*Burton and Ward*, in *Trans. R. As. Soc.*, i, 506, 507; see also *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, ii. 49; *Crawfurd's Dict. of Indian Islands*, art. *Batak*; and *Marsden's H. of Sumatra*, 1811, p. 392.)

Here is a specimen of the modern *current stories*:—"Some years ago a Battak servant of a gentleman in Malacca, on seeing his master's child washed, made the following remark:—'In our country it would not be necessary to wash that child; he might be roasted at once.'" (*Moor's Notices of the Ind. Archip.*, p. 117.)

[2] [VEN., RAM. A, DOM., Sumoltra.—CIV., Summoltra.—B. N., Sumolchra.—HAK., Sumolcra.—BOLL., Zumptioc.—FARS., Simultam or Simultra.—ARUNDEL, Simoltra sive Sumolara.—PAL., Sumetra.] Odoric may have the credit of being the first western traveller to give the name of Sumatra so distinctly, though I have little doubt that the Samara or Samarcha of Polo means the same place, and was probably uttered by him correctly enough. The city of Samudra, the name of which has extended (no one well knows how) to the whole island, is frequently mentioned in the Malay annals, and its king became Mussulman under the name of Malik-al-Sálah about Odoric's time, or a little before. It is believed to have stood between Pasei and Pedir, near the place now called Samarlanga. I do not know whether the tattooing described by Odoric is still practised by any nation of Sumatra, but among the Pagi islanders off the west coast, it is carried to a higher degree of elaboration than perhaps anywhere in the world, and it is practised on both sexes. It is also found among the more civilised people of Nyas on the same coast.

[" The King of Nakur is also called the king of the Tattoed Faces. His country is situated at the west of Sumatra and consists only of one mountain-village; his people tattoo their faces with three pointed green figures, and for this reason he is called the king of the Tattoed Faces." Groeneveldt, *Notes*, p. 96, from the *Ying-yai Shêng-lan* (1416).

"The country of the Tattoed Faces borders on Sumatra and extends as far as the sea of Lambri.....The men tattoo their faces with representations of flowers and animals; their hair hangs loose and the upper part of the body is naked, the lower part being covered with a single piece of cloth. The women wear a coloured piece of

of people; for they brand themselves on the face with little hot iron in some twelve places[1]; and this is done b men and women both. And these folk are always at wa with the others[2] who go naked. In this country there is great abundance of produce; [it is a great market for pigs and fowls and for butter and rice, and they have also the excellent fruit called *mussi*. And here also gold and tin are found in great abundance[3]].

And near this country is another realm called RESENGO towards the south Many things are there produced whereof I do not write.

cloth and have their hair in a knot behind the head. The country is rich in cattle, goats, fowls and ducks." Groeneveldt, *Notes*, p. 97, from the *Hsing-ch'a Shêng-lan* (1436).]

[1] ["en pluseurs lieux." FRENCH TEXT.]

[2] ["à ceulz de Lamorj." FRENCH TEXT.]

[3] From PAL. This passage notices the tin, which is so prominent a product of the Malay countries. *Mussi* is, I presume, the (Ar.) *Mauz* [from Skt. *Mocha*] or plantain. [*Musa Sapientum.*]

["The fruits are plantains, sugarcane, mangoustine, nangka, etc. There is one kind called by the natives durian, 8 or 9 inches long and with sharp points on its surface; when it is ripe it divides into 5 or 6 parts and when opened smells like rotten beef; it has large kernels covered with a juicy and white pulp, fourteen or fifteen in number and very sweet and nice; when the kernels are roasted they taste like chestnuts. Citrons are abundant throughout the whole year; they are not very sour and can be kept a long time without rotting. There is a kind of mango, called by the natives *yam-pa*; it is like a pear, but a little longer and has a green skin; its smell is very strong and when eaten the skin is removed and slices of the pulp are cut off; it is sour and sweet, very nice, and the kernel has the size of a fowl's egg." Groeneveldt, *Notes*. pp. 86–87, from the *Ying-yai Shêng-lan* (1416).]

[Marco Polo who calls Sumatra *Java the Less* says (ii, p. 384): "The Island hath great abundance of treasure, with costly spices, lign-aloes and spikenard and many others that never come into our parts." The production of gold at Sumatra is a fact well-known long ago.

"This place is visited by many native ships and the trade in native articles is very important; the money used are coins of gold and tin. The golden coins are called *dinar* and contain seven-tenths of pure gold; they are round....In trading they make much use of tin money." Groeneveldt, *Notes*, p. 87, from the *Ying-yai Shêng-lan* (1416).]

[4] It seems fair to adopt the one intelligible reading of a proper name among many of which nothing can be made, especially when that one is so unlikely to be the result of accident as here. Resengo I take to be the territory of the REJANG, "one of the most civilised nations of

21. The friar speaketh of the excellent island called Java.

In the neighbourhood of that realm is a great island, JAVA by name[1], which hath a compass of a good three

Sumatra, having a peculiar language in an original written character" (*Crawfurd* in voce). The old British settlement of Bencoolen, which we held for one hundred and forty years to little profit, but which had William Dampier for its gunner, and Raffles for its governor, lay in the Rejang territory. [The passage relating to *Resengo* is not to be found in all the texts: CIV., Recemgo.—VENNI, Bothonigo, of which he made Borneo.—B. N., Rotemgo.—BOLL., Resengo.—ARUND., Botelngo.—DOM., Botenigo.

"Nel medesimo paese di Lamori verso il mezo giorno, e' vn' altro regno, chiamato Sumoltra, di molte cose copioso, nel qual sì gli huomini, come le donne, usano in circa dodeci parte della faccia con vn ferretto caldo segnarsi: & questi continuamente fanno guerra con quelli che vanno nudi. Vicino alqual v' e vn' altro Regno, chiamato Botterigo. Doue nascono molte cose, qvali non scriuo." (RAM. A.)

"In hac eadem insula versus meridiem est aliud regnum nomine Sumoltra. In quo est generatio quedam singularis. Signant enim se ferro calido. Parvo bene in XII locis faciei. Et hoc tam homines quam mulieres. Hii semper gerunt cum nudis bellum. Et est hic maxima rerum copia." (VENNI.) And after: "Penes hanc patriā ē regnū nōie Botenigo vsus meridiem." (MUN.)]

[1] [RAM. A., Iana.—FARS., ARUND., B. N. 1380, Jana.—FRENCH TEXT, Fana.] Whatever doubts may have been raised as to the Java Major of Polo, this of Odoric is the true Java. The circuit, indeed, of three thousand miles is vastly exaggerated; it is the same which Polo and Conti ascribe to their Java Major, and was no doubt the traditional assertion of the Arab sailors, who never visited the south of the island, and probably had extravagant notions of its extension in that direction. as we know that later voyagers had.

[With reference to the name *Java*, Yule remarks (*Hobson-Jobson*) "that the terms *Jāwa*, *Jāwi* were applied by the Arabs to the Archipelago generally, and often with specific reference to Sumatra. Prof. Kern, in a paper to which we are largely indebted, has indicated that this larger application of the term was originally Indian. He has discussed it in connection with the terms 'Golden and Silver Islands' (*Suvarṇa dvīpa* and *Rūpya dvīpa*), which occurs in the quotation from the *Rāmāyana*, and elsewhere in Sanskrit literature, and which evidently were the basis of the Chrysē and Argyrē, which take various forms in the writings of the Greek and Roman geographers. We cannot give the details of his discussion, but his condensed conclusions are as follows:—(1) *Suvarṇa-dvīpa* and *Yava-dvīpa* were according to the prevalent representations the same; (2) two names of islands originally distinct were confounded with one another; (3) *Suvarṇa-dvīpa* in its proper meaning is Sumatra, *Yava-dvīpa* in its proper meaning is Java; (4) Sumatra, or a part of it, and Java were regarded as one whole, doubtless because they were politically united; (5) By *Yava-koṭi* was indicated the east point of Java."]

Though Odoric's statements are vague and superficial, and the history of Java is excessively perplexed at this period, there are some

thousand miles. And the king of it hath subject to himself seven crowned kings. Now this island is populous

positive landmarks to be discerned, by which, in a degree, our traveller's narrative is verified.

A powerful dynasty about this time existed in Java, and in an inscription of ascertained date (A.D. 1294) the king Uttungadewa claims to have subjected *five kings*, and to be sovereign of the whole island (Jawa-dwipa). Nearly to the same date attaches the history of two unsuccessful expeditions dispatched by Kúblái Khan to Java, one to claim homage and tribute, in which his envoy was handled much as king David's envoys were treated by the children of Ammon, and a second to avenge this insult, but which ended, after various events, in the expulsion of the Mongol force with loss and ignominy.

It must, I fear, be quite uncertain where the royal residence was, which Odoric describes in such glowing terms; for though Majapahit, in the eastern part of the island, was the seat of the most powerful sovereigns from a date believed to be somewhat later than our traveller's time till the establishment of Mahomedanism one hundred and fifty years afterwards, the king abovenamed appears to have had his abode near Pajajaran in the West.

[Marco Polo, ii, p. 272, says: "And I can assure you the Great Kaan never could get possession of this Island, on account of its great distance and the great expense of an expedition thither." This was not true a short time after, for Kúblái having sent an ambassador, the Chinese Mêng K'i, to claim the homage of the Javanese sovereign, the man was sent back with his face branded like a thief's. From the Chinese works translated by Groeneveldt, *Notes*, we have full information on this fact. We read in the *Yuan-shi* (Bk. 210), that "Java is situated beyond the sea and further away than Champa; when one embarks at Ts'wan-chau and goes southward, he first comes to Champa and afterwards to this country." It appears that when his envoy Mêng-K'i had been branded on the face, Kúblái, in 1292, appointed Shih-pi a native of Po-yeh, district Li-chau, Pao-ting fu, Chih-li province, Commander of the expedition to Java, whilst Ike-Mese, a Uighúr, and Kan-Hsing, a man from Ts'ai-chau (Ho-nan) were appointed to assist him. Mr Groeneveldt has translated the accounts of these three officers. In the *Ming-shi* (Bk. 324) we read: "Java is situated at the south-west of Champa. In the time of the Emperor Kúblái of the Yuan Dynasty, Mêng-K'i was sent there as an envoy and had his face cut, on which Kúblái sent a large army which subdued the country and then came back." (*L. c.*, p. 34.) The prince guilty of this insult was the King of Tumapel "in the eastern part of the island Java, whose country was called Java par excellence by the Chinese, because it was in this part of the island they chiefly traded." (*L. c.*, p. 32.)—Cf. Pelliot, *Bull. École Ext. Orient*, iv, 1904, p. 320, on the relations between China and Java.]

There is nothing improbable in Odoric's description of the palace, if we remember that gold leaf glitters as much as gold plate. The vivid imagination of these old travellers would have seen almost similar golden glories in the palaces and monasteries of Amarapura as they have existed in our own day; and the walls and corridors sculptured in relief with court-scenes and battle-scenes, are precisely what we do find, on a vastly extensive scale, in the galleries of the

exceedingly, and is the second[1] best of all islands that exist. For in it grow camphor, cubebs, cardamoms[2], nutmegs, and

great Buddhistic monument Boro Bodor, completed, according to Crawfurd, about twenty years after our traveller's visit to the island. That the bas-reliefs of Boro Bodor were gilt, or were intended to be gilt, I have not the slightest doubt. I do not remember whether the halo or glory round sacred heads, to which Odoric refers, is to be found round those sculptures; but it is essentially a Buddhist feature. Burnes mentions it on the paintings behind the great idols at Bamian; and I have seen examples of figures so glorified in some of the ancient temples at Pagàn on the Irawadi, which were very striking from their resemblance to Byzantine Apostles. (*Lassen*, iv, 482; *Walckenaer, Sur la chronologie, etc. des Javanais* in Mém. Acad. Inscript. 1842, xv, 224; *Gaubil, H. de Gentchis Can, etc.*, pp. 217–219.) As to golden palaces, however, see Polybius's account of that at Ecbatana, quoted by Rawlinson (*Herodotus*, i, p. 194).

[Regarding Chipangu (Japan), Marco Polo says, ii, pp. 253–4: "I will tell you a wonderful thing about the Palace of the Lord of that Island. You must know that he hath a great Palace which is entirely roofed with fine gold, just as our churches are roofed with lead, insomuch that it would scarcely be possible to estimate its value. Moreover, all the pavement of the Palace, and the floors of its chambers, are entirely of gold, in plates like slabs of stone, a good two fingers thick; and the windows also are of gold, so that altogether the richness of this Palace is past all bounds and all belief." Doubtless an old "yarn" as Yule puts it.]

[1] [FARS., "tertia melior."—BOLL., "est de melioribus Indiae una."]

[2] The word here translated cardamoms is *Melegetæ*, for which no other concise rendering seems practicable. One Italian dictionary indeed (*Vocab. Universale Italiano*) does give *cardamomo* as the explanation of *Meleghette*; whilst Ducange gives nothing more precise than *floris species*, quoting this passage from Odoric, and another from Rolandus Patavinus out of Muratori, in which last *Meleghetæ* are coupled with camphor, cummin, cloves, and *cardamons*. This, therefore, shows that the two were not properly identical. In two passages also of Pegolotti, I find *cardamomi* and *meleghette* mentioned at short intervals, as if they were different species. And in the book of G. da Uzzano (*Della Decima* iv) *Meleghette* and *Meleaghette* appear repeatedly, and as distinct from cardamoms. In yet another passage of Pegolotti we have "meleghette *o vuoli ti dire Noci sarche o in grano o in polvere che fussero*," which might settle what was meant by meleghette in the 14th century, if one could only tell what *noci sarche* may be!

In later times the name has been applied (*Mellighetta, Malagueta, Manighetta*) sometimes to two kindred species of amomum exported from different parts of the West African coast (*Am. Granum Paradasi* and *Am. Melegueta*), and sometimes to a quite different article, the seeds of the *Unona Ethiopica* or Ethiopic Pepper. It appears to be one of the former which Gerarde and Mattioli describes as the greater cardamoms or melegette, for Gerarde states they were said to come from "Ginny," and were called in England "Graines of Paradise." The author of the article *Melligetta* in Rees's Cyclopædia however asserts that the *Cardamomum majus* of the old botanists came from

many other precious spices[1]. It hath also very great store of all victuals save wine[2].

The king of this island hath a palace which is truly marvellous. For it is very great[3], and hath very great

Madagascar, and we find Andrea Corsali praising the *meleghetta* of that island. All this does not tend to clear up the subject, which seems densely entangled.

Martin Behaim, the celebrated cosmographer of the 15th century, is found among his other occupations voyaging to the coast of Africa for *Malagueta*, and Columbus calls the whole coast of Guinea *Costa di Maniguetta*. According to Humboldt, from whom the two last facts are borrowed, the malagueta used to come across the Sahra to the north coast, and was largely exported to Antwerp. This however was perhaps rather the Ethiopic pepper than the Grains of Paradise. Mattioli derives the name from the resemblance of the grains to those of Indian millet, called *melega* in some parts of Italy. But Humboldt connects it with *molago*, a Malabar name of pepper proper; and Zedler's *Lexicon* with Melega, "a city of Africa."

There are several Asiatic species of amomum, producing aromatics resembling more or less the true cardamomum of Malabar (*Elettaria cardamomum*), two of which (*A. Cardamomum* and *A. Maximum*) are found in Java, and one of these may be the *melegeta* of Odoric, if indeed any precision is to be looked for.

(*Pegolotti* in *Della Decima*, iii, pp. 57, 114, 296–7; *Ramusio*, i, f. 115 v, and 178; *Mattioli, Discorsi ne' Sei Libri di Dioscoride*, ed. Ven. 1744, p. 24; *Gerarde's Herball*, ed. 1633, p. 1542; *Humboldt, Examen critique*, etc., i, 257 *seq.*; *English Cyclopædia*, Arts and Sciences, Art. *Cardamom*, and Nat. Hist. Articles *Amomum* and *Unona*; *Rees's Cyc.*, vol. xxiii.)

[In my own edition of Odoric, I have given a long note on these products which I think useless to repeat here. Cf. *L'Origine de la Melaguette et les Dieppois* par Edouard Le Corbeiller (*Bul. Soc. Géog.*, Paris, 1893, pp. 390–8).]

[1] ["The Island is of surpassing wealth, producing black pepper, nutmegs, spikenard, galingale, cubebs, cloves, and all other kinds of spices." *Marco Polo*, ii, p. 272.]

[2] ["In ipsa enim nascitur camphora, cubebe, melegete, nuces muschate, multeque alie species preciosse, in ea est maxima copia victualium preterquam vini." (VENNI.)—"In ipsa enim nascuntur cubebae, melegetae, nucesque muscatae, multaeque aliae species pretiosae. In eâ est copia magna victualium preterquam vini." (B. N.)—"In ipsa nascitur camphora cubebe, crescunt ibi melegote nucesque muscatae et multae species praeciosae. Illic est copia victualium praeter vinum." (CIV.)—"In ipsâ nascitur camphora, cubebae crescunt, & melegetae, nucesque musquatae, & multae species pretiosae." (BOLL.)—"Nella quale nasce la câfora, le cubebe, le melegete, le noci moscate, & molte altre specie similmente pretiose, è finalmente grassa di tutte le cose al viuere dell' huomo necessarie, eccetto che di vino." (RAM. A.)]

[3] [BOLL., "quod multis impossibile videretur."—CIV., "quod...videtur."]

staircases, broad and lofty, and the steps thereof are of gold and silver alternately. Likewise the pavement of the palace hath one tile of gold and the other of silver, and the wall of the same is on the inside plated all over with plates of gold, on which are sculptured knights all of gold, which have great golden circles round their heads, such as we give in these parts to the figures of saints[1]. And these circles are all beset with precious stones. Moreover, the ceiling is all of pure gold, and to speak briefly, this palace is richer and finer than any existing at this day in the world.

Now the Great Khan of Cathay[2] many a time engaged in war with this king; but this king always vanquished and got the better of him. And many other things there be which I write not.

22. Of the land called Thalamasin, and of the trees that give flour, and other marvels.

Near to this country is another which is called PANTEN[3], but others call it THALAMASYN[4], the king whereof hath many islands under him[5]. Here be found trees that

[1] ["Sicut apud sanctorum diademata describuntur." (CIV.)—"Sicut hic facimus sanctis nostris." (VENNI.)—"Si come qui l' imagine di nostri tengano." (RAM. A.)]

[2] [VENNI, Chaam.—B. N., Canis.—HAK., Canis de Katay.—CIV., Chan tamen magnus Chatay.—BOLL., Can autem magnus Catay.]

[3] [VEN., HAK., Panten.—FARS., Panthen.—PAL., Panthe.—RAM. A., CIV., Paten.—BOLL., Pacen.—B. N., Patem.—FRENCH TEXT, Natem; fr. 1380, Naten.]

[4] [BOLL., CIV., Thalamasym.—ARUND., Thalamasim.—B. N., Talamasim.—FARS., Thamalsi.—PAL., Talamosa.—VEN., Malamasin.—RAM. A., Malamasmi.]

[5] There are many places which might be supposed to answer in sound to the first of these names, Bantam, Bintang, Bandan, Patani, etc., but no one of them has a good claim to identification with it. And the probable meanings of the word have so large an application, as my respected friend Mr. Crawfurd tells me (in Malay, *Pantai* or *Pante*, shore or beach, *Pantan* or *Pantian*, a place on the beach; Javanese, *Panti*, a dwelling, etc.), that they point to no definite locality. Thala Masyn, the same authority considers to be probably intended for (Malay or Javanese) *Talaga Masin*, "The Salt Lake," though

produce flour, and some that produce honey, others that

with the remark that he knows of no place so called in the Archipelago. (Might it not stand for *Tanamasin*, "Salt Land"?)

What, then, are the characteristics of the region to which Odoric gives these names? They are as follows:—That it lies between Java and Champa; that it produces sago and toddy palms; a virulent vegetable poison and great bamboos and rattans; the use of amulets inserted under the skin; the use of the sumpitan or blow-pipe; and its adjacency to the Southern Ocean. All these characters but the last apply to nearly the whole Archipelago. The last appears to confine our choice to the southern part of Borneo, Celebes, and the Moluccas. It is not improbable that Banjarmasin (*Banjar*, Order, Array, *Masin*, Salt, generally rendered *Salt Garden*) is meant. This was established as a semi-civilised state in the eleventh century, and was tributary to Majapahit in the flourishing time of that monarchy.

I may mention, however, as suggestive for further examination, that in Stieler's *Hand-Atlas*, a river-delta which is shown on the coast of Biru in the east of Borneo is marked *Panteh*; and that Crawfurd's own map in his *Dict. of the Indian Islands* marks almost at the same spot a place called *Talysian*. Again, that the emporium of Cambodian trade three centuries ago was called *Ponteamas*, which has also some resemblance to a combination of the names assigned by Odoric. And, lastly, that in Extracts of the Japanese Encyclopædia, given by Rémusat, there occurs, in a list of foreign countries, the name of *Tanmaling*, as that of a region ten days south of Cambodia. It is moreover followed in the list by *Kwawa* or Java, so that it would appear to hold the same position in regard to those two countries that Odoric's Panten does. (*Rémusat, Mél. As.*, ii, 166.)

[Col. G. E. Gerini published in the *J. R. A. S.*, July 1905, pp. 485–511 a paper on the *Nāgarakretāgama*, a Javanese poem composed by a native bard named Prapañca, in honour of his sovereign Hayam Wuruk (1350–1389), the greatest ruler of Mājapāhit. He upsets all the theories accepted hitherto regarding *Panten*. The southernmost portion of the Malay Peninsula is known as the *Malaya* or *Malayu* country (Tānah Malāyu)=Chinese *Ma-li-yü-êrh*=*Malāyur*=*Maluir* of Marco Polo, witness the river *Malāyu* (*Sungei Malāyu*) still so called, and the village *Bentan*, both lying there (ignored by all Col. Gerini's predecessors) on the northern shore of the Old Singapore Strait. Col. Gerini writes (p. 509): "There exists to this day a village *Bentam* on the mainland side of Singapore Strait, right opposite the mouth of the Sungei Selitar, on the northern shore of Singapore Island, it is not likely that both travellers [Polo and Odoric] mistook the coast of the Malay Peninsula for an island. The island of *Pentam*, *Paten*, or *Pantem* must therefore be the *Be-Tūmah* (Island) of the Arab Navigators, the *Tamasak* Island of the Malays; and, in short, the Singapore Island of our day." He adds: "The island of *Pentam* cannot be either Batang or Bitang, the latter of which is likewise mentioned by Marco Polo under the same name of *Pentam*, but 60+30=90 miles before reaching the former. Batang, girt all round by dangerous reefs, is inaccessible except to small boats. So is Bintang, with the exception of its south-western side, where is now Riāu, and where, a little further towards the north, was the settlement at which the chief of the island resided in the fourteenth century. There was no reason for Marco Polo's junk to take that roundabout

produce wine[1], and others a poison the most deadly that existeth in the world. For there is no antidote to it known except one; and that is that if any one hath imbibed that poison he shall take of *stercus humanum* and dilute it with water, and of this potion shall he drink, and so shall he be absolutely quit of the poison[2]. [And the men of this

way in order to call at such, doubtlessly insignificant place. And the channel (*i.e.* Rhio Strait) has far more than four paces' depth of water, whereas there are no more than two fathoms at the western entrance to the Old Singapore Strait."

Marco Polo says (ii, p. 280): "Throughout this distance [from Pentam] there is but four paces' depth of water, so that great ships in passing this channel have to lift their rudders, for they draw nearly as much water as that." Gerini remarks that it is unmistakably the *Old Singapore Strait* and that there is no channel so shallow throughout all those parts except among reefs." The *Old Strait* or *Silat Tebrau*, says N. B. Dennys, *Descriptive Dict. of British Malaya*, separating Singapore from Johore; before the settlement of the former, this was the only known route to China; it is generally about a mile broad, but in some parts little more than three furlongs. Crawfurd went through it in a ship of 400 tons, and found the passage tedious but safe."—Most of Sinologists, Beal, Chavannes, Pelliot, *Bull. École Ext. Orient*, iv, 1904, pp. 321–322, 323–324, 332–333, 341, 347, place the Malaiur of Marco Polo at Palambang in Sumatra.]

[1] As in India, so in the islands, various palms furnish sugar and toddy. But the most important provision of these in the Archipelago comes from the Sagwire or Aren (*Borassus Gomuti*). Herodotus uses the same expressions, *wine* and *honey*, in speaking of the produce of the date-palm. *Honey* in this way probably indicates the molasses or uncrystallised sugar. Thus we find Pegolotti (p. 64) distinguish between "*Mele d'ape*, *Mele di Cannamele*, and *Mele di Carrubi*," "bees' honey, cane honey, and carob honey." [See my edition of *Odoric*, pp. 179–180.]

[2] The poisons of the Archipelago are famous, and have given rise to the fables of the upas. Dalton, in his account of the Kayans of Borneo, speaks of a man dying in four minutes from a poisoned arrow-wound in the hand. The arrow-poison used in Cambodia is said sometimes to kill an elephant in a few minutes. (*Moor's Notices of the Indian Arch.*; *J. R. G. S.*, xxx, p. 196.)

The antidote to this poison mentioned in the text is the same that is used in Abyssinia for snake-bites. At least, so the Abyssinian Abba Gregory told Ludolf: "*nam excrementis humanis in aqua dsumptis curari dicebat*," and Ludolf adds: "*Quod remedium Panthera forte homines docuit, quæ si carnem a venatoribus aconito perfricatam voraverit, merda humana sibi medetur.*" (*Hist. Æthiop.*, lib. i, c. 13, § 8, 9.)

[On poisons, see the following note.—In the catalogue of the Dutch Colonial Exhibition at Amsterdam, 1883, group II, p. 82, we find a note on these poisons: those that are most in use for hunting are the *Wali-kambing* or *Kala-kambing* (*Sarcobolus Spanoghei* [and *dichotomus?*] asclepiad., Miquel, *Flore des I. nderl.* ii, 502), and some strynach., particularly the *Shetik* (*Strychnos tieute*, Miq., ii, 381) to

country being nearly all rovers, when they go to battle they carry every man a cane in the hand about a fathom in length, and put into one end of it an iron bodkin poisoned with this poison, and when they blow into the cane, the bodkin flieth and striketh whom they list, and those who are thus stricken incontinently die[1].]

But, as for the trees that produce flour, 'tis after this fashion. These are thick, but not of any great height[2];

which is often given the better-known name of *Wali-kambing*, as well as to some menispermac., the *Brata-wali* and the *Anda-wali* (*Tinospora crispa* and *Anamirta Cocculus*, Miq., i, 77 and 78). The poison most in use is the first on the list, the true *Wali-kambing*: it is less violent than the *Shetik*, and the tiger has less suspicion of its presence. Moreover the flesh of the animal killed by this poison can be eaten, which is not the case for the other one, and they care for this property because tiger's flesh is considered as being fortifying and anti-rheumatismal.]

[1] From PAL. This is a remarkable passage from the Palatine MS., and is, I suppose, the earliest mention of the *sumpit* or blow-pipe of the aborigines of the Archipelago. The length stated is a *braccio*, which I have rendered *fathom*, as nearest the truth, a meaning which the word seems to have in sea phraseology.

[PAL.: "E quelli uomini sono quasi tutti corsali, e quando vanno a battaglia portano ciascuno una canna in mano, di lunghezza d' un braccio e pongono in capo de la canna uno ago di ferro atossiato in quel veleno, e sofiano nella canna e l' ago vola e percuotolo dove vogliono, e' ncontinente quelli ch è percosso muore. M' a egli hanno le tina piene di sterco d' uomò e una iscodella di sterco guarisce l' uomo da queste cotali ponture."

Sumpitan, a "narrow thing," Malay, from *sumpit*, "narrow," "strait."—Cf. Ling Roth, *Natives of Sarawak and Brit. N. Borneo*, ii, pp. 184 *seq.* Dennys, *Des. Dict. of Brit. Malaya*, writes: "Usually made of *Kayu jati*, *Kayu dammar laut*, or *Bulu timiang*, a species of bamboo ....The *sumpitan* of the aborigines of the Peninsula, unlike that of the Dyaks, which is bored in solid wood, consists of two *timiang* bamboos, one within the other. The darts or arrows (*damak*) are made of the stem of the *bertam* leaf, 10 inches in length and 1/16th in diameter at the base, whence they taper to a very fine point. The base is inserted into a cane of *Kayu tutu* (which is very light and porous) so as to fit the bore, while the point is dipped for nearly an inch in *ipoh* poison, said to be made by taking *ipoh* root and wood limes and *tuba*, the whole being bruised, boiled and strained. Arsenic is then added, and other drugs are sometimes mixed with it. The preparation has the consistency of *chandu*. A nick is cut below the poison to ensure the head of the arrow breaking off in the wood." Dennys gives also from the *Journ. St. Br. R. As. Soc.* a different account of the poison from a writer who says that "the chief ingredient of this poison is the juice of the well-known Upas tree of the Javanese, the *Antiaris toxicaria*."]

[2] ["Les arbres sont grans et haulz et larges." FRENCH TEXT.]

they are cut into with an axe round about the foot of the stem, so that a certain liquor flows from them resembling size. Now this is put into bags made of leaves, and put for fifteen days in the sun; and after that space of time a flour is found to have formed from the liquor. This they steep for two days in sea-water, and then wash it with fresh water. And the result is the best paste in the world, from which they make whatever they choose, cates of sorts and excellent bread, of which I friar Odoric have eaten: for all these things have I seen with mine own eyes. And this kind of bread is white outside, but inside it is somewhat blackish[1].

By the coast of this country towards the south is the

[1] ["Hic vero panis exterius pulcher, interius aliquantulum niger apparet." CIV.—"Il est au dehors un pou noir, mais dedens il est tres bel et tres blanc."—FRENCH TEXT.]

Though Odoric's account of sago is incorrect, I think it is that of an eye-witness who did not clearly understand what he saw. The palm is a good deal thicker than the coco-palm, but not nearly so tall. The trunk is cut down and lopped; a strip is then removed from the upper side, exposing the pith, which is hewn out with an adze of stone or bamboo. It is then carried to a stream, washed and strained into troughs made of the sago-trunk, and in that the starchy matter deposits. This is packed away in conical baskets made of the sago-leaves (the *sacci de foliis facti* of our author), and this is the raw sago of commerce.

In some parts of New Guinea the sago pith is filled into a house with an open floor, and trampled with water till it flows through into troughs made of the sago-trunk which are placed below. It is thus intelligible how the friar supposed the sago to flow in a starchy state (*in modum collæ*) from the stem.

The Chinese at Singapore pass this crude sago through several additional processes to produce the granulated sago of our markets.

Raw sago boiled with a little water forms a starchy mass eaten with chopsticks. More commonly it is baked into cakes in small clay pans. Fresh from the baking, these are said to taste like hot rolls.

The total cost of a sago tree, and labour in preparing the sago, is about twelve shillings; and this feeds a man twelve months. But Mr. Wallace justly remarks that this excessive cheapness is no blessing. Industry is not acquired; labour is distasteful, and sago eaters have generally the most wretched of huts and clothing. (*Wallace* in *J. R. G. S.*, xxxii; *Journ. of Ind. Archip.* iii, 288—also *A. R. Wallace's Malay Archipelago*, 1869, ii, pp. 118–121.)

[Marco Polo says, ii, p. 300, *Fansur*: "And I will tell you another great marvel. They have a kind of trees that produce flour, and excellent flour it is for food. These trees are very tall and thick, but have a very thin bark, and inside the bark they are crammed with flour. And I tell you that Messer Marco Polo, who witnessed all this,

sea called the Dead Sea, the water whereof runneth ever towards the south, and if any one falleth into that water he is never found more. [And if the shipmen go but a little way from the shore they are carried rapidly downwards and never return again. And no one knoweth whither they are carried, and many have thus passed away, and it hath never been known what became of them[1].]

In this country also there be canes or reeds like great trees, and full sixty paces in length. There be also canes of another kind which are called *Cassan*[2], and these always grow along the ground like what we call dog's grass, and at each of their knots they send out roots, and in such wise extend themselves for a good mile in length[3]. And in

related how he and his party did sundry times partake of this flour made into bread, and found it excellent."

Sago Palm = *Sagus Rhumphiana* and *S. Lævis* (DENNYS).—"From Malay sāgū. The farinaceous pith taken out of the stem of several species of a particular genus of palm, especially *Metroxylon laeve*, Mart., and *M. Rumphii*, Willd., found in every part of the Indian Archipelago, including the Philippines, wherever there is proper soil." (*Hobson-Jobson*).]

[1] ["Ed egli è tutto il contrario, che 'l mare pende e corre si forte ch' è incredibile, e se marinai si partono punto dallito vanno discendo, e non tornano mai. E non è alcuno che sapiano dove si vadono, e molti sono costi iti e non seppono mai che se ne fossono. E la nave nostra fuè in grande pericolo, andando quindi, se non se che Idio ci aiutoe miracolosamente." PAL.] De Barros says that the natives believed that whoever should proceed beyond the Straits of Bali to the South, would be hurried away by strong currents, so as never to return. (*Major's Early Voyages to Terra Australis*, HAK. SOC., p. lv.) And Fra Mauro, towards the south-east of India, has the notification, "that ships sailing towards the south, which allow themselves to approach the Dim Islands (*Isole Perse*) will be carried by the currents into the Darkness, and once entered into those regions, through the density of the air, and of the tenacious waters, they must perish." Similar rubrics occur elsewhere towards the south.

The term Νεκρὸν is applied by Agathemerus to the Arctic Sea, and perhaps some notion of the Antarctic was involved in the like term heard of by Odoric. (See *Hudson, Geog. Gr. Minores*, ii, 56.)

[2] [B. N., CIV., VEN., Casan.—FARS., Cassam.—MUN., Casan, Cassan.—PAL., Cansalle.—RAM. A., Casar.—ARUND., Cassali ex quibus in apotecariis inveniuntur cassia fistulae (absurd!).—FRENCH TEXT, Cassay.]

[3] PAL. "These are not, however, of any great thickness, but much about the same as the canes in our Frank countries." ["In hac etiam contrata sunt canaveriae seu arundines longae bene pluribus lx passibus,

these canes are found certain stones which be such that if any man wear one of them upon his person he can never be hurt or wounded by iron in any shape, and so for the most part the men of that country do wear such stones upon them[1]. And when their boys are still young they take them and make a little cut in the arm and insert one of these stones, to be a safeguard against any wound by steel. And the little wound thus made in the boy's arm is speedily healed by applying to it the powder of a certain fish[2].

magnae ut arbores." B. N.—"Sunt etiam in hac contracta canne varie longe plus 60 passibus magne ut arbores." VEN.—"Une manière de roseaulz aussi grans comme grans arbres, et sont ces roseaulz si grans que ilz ont bien quarante audains de long." FRENCH TEXT.] *Cassan* is the reading of the majority of copies, which may be a mistake for either *Cassar*, representing *Khaizurān* (Arab.), a bamboo, (and Casar is the reading in Ramusio), or for *Cassab* (Arab. *Qassab*) a cane in general. But in any case there seems to be confusion. The first canes like trees, etc., are certainly bamboos; the *Cassan*, which runs along the ground for a mile, is certainly a Rattan. But the striking out roots at the knots appears to be a feature taken from certain kinds of bamboo, and the stones of which he goes on to speak, must be the siliceous concretions (*Tabashīr*) found in the *bamboo*, though perhaps they have been confounded with the bezoar stone, which has always been a notable product of Borneo, and is still an article of trade there.

The largest known bamboos (*B. Maxima*) are found in the Malay islands and Cambodia. They reach to eighty and one hundred feet in length. In Pegu I have seen them close upon, if not quite, ten inches in diameter. Gosse quotes from Rumphius a rattan of twelve hundred feet in length. I cannot get nearer to Odoric's mile. (*Rom. of Nat. Hist.*, p. 130.)

["Le *rotin*, *panjalin*, que donne le *Calamus*, *spec. div.*, est resté à peu près complètement produit forestier. Ni le rotin de Palembang, dont on fait des *piques* et des *cannes*, ni celui de Banjermasin, mince, flexible, qui sert de *liens*, et qu'on tresse pour les *meubles* et les *nattes*, ni le rotin à *cordes* de Java, ni celui des *cables d'ancres tressés* des Moluques, ne sont des produits de la culture. Tant le commerce européen que celui des indigènes et l'exportation ont dans le rotin un article toujours demandé, toujours courant dans ses nombreuses variétés." *Cat. Sec. colon. néerl.*, 1883, gr. ii, p. 189.]

[1] PAL. "And when looking for these stones they strike every cane with steel, and if the steel cannot cut it then they search that cane for the stone, getting a piece of wood of the hardest and sharpest, with which they hack and hew until they come at the stone."

[2] ["Quivi nasce un pesce ch' à cotale natura che quando altri pigliase questo pesce e ricideselo in più parti e una di queste parti si racozi e tochi l' altra incontinente si rapica insieme e saldasi come se mai non v' avesse, avuto niente. Di questo pesce fanno seccare e

And thus through the great virtue of those stones the men who wear them become potent in battle and great corsairs at sea. But those who from being shipmen on that sea have suffered at their hands, have found out a remedy for the mischief. For they carry as weapons of offence sharp stakes of very hard wood[1], and arrows likewise that have no iron on the points; and as those corsairs are but poorly harnessed the shipmen are able to wound and pierce them through with these wooden weapons, and by this device they succeed in defending themselves most manfully[2].

Of these canes called *Cassan* they make sails for their

fannone polvere, e portala con loro duunche vanno in battaglia, e pongosela i loro ferite e'ncontinente salda."—PAI.

"Cujus nomen ignoro."—HAK., ARUND.]

[1] ["Nam ipsi portant propugnacula seu palos acutissimos de uno fortissimo ligno, portant[que] sagittas cum (!) ferro." B. N.—"Absque ferro." VEN.—"Sine ferro." FARS.—"Lances et de sajettes sans fer." FRENCH TEXT.]

[2] The Burmese formerly used to insert pellets of gold under the skin in order to render them invulnerable. But Marco Polo specifically speaks of these "consecrated stones in the arm between the skin and the flesh," in a story about Japan; and Conti mentions the amulet so used in Java Major, as a piece of an iron rod which is found in the middle of certain rare trees. (*Mission to Ava*, 1855, p. 208; *Polo*, iii, 2; *Conti* (HAK. SOC.), p. 32.)

[I have no doubt that this refers to *Bezoar*, a corruption of Persian *pādzahr*, "pellens venenum," or *pāzahr*. Marcel Devic, Supp. to Littré's *Dict.*, derives it from the Arabic *bādizahr* or *bāzahr*, from the Persian *pād-zehr*. Borneo has always been famed for that stone. "E os mâttos produze grossa madeira, onde se criaó elephantes, badas, tigres arymos, antas e grandes cobras e bogiós de pedra *bazar*, e todo genero de monstarya e volatilia e muy formosos paçaros de canto de suave armonia." *Godinho de Eredia*, f. 10v°.—Cf. the French edition of Odoric.]

Dalton says the Dyaks of Borneo have a defensive armour of leather which is proof against arrow, spear, and sword. This may have to do with the story of these invulnerables. But we find St. John alluding to a belief among the Malays of Borneo that by certain ceremonies they can render themselves invulnerable, though he does not specify what the process is. There is such a class of invulnerables also in Fiji. The use in the Archipelago of lances, etc., of cane and wood hardened in the fire is mentioned by Pigafetta. Such arms were used by the islanders of Matan, in a fray with whom the great Magellan fell. (*Crawfurd's Desc. Dict.*, 139; *J. R. G. S.*, xxvii, 251; *Pigafetta* (Milan ed.), p. 97; *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, i, 134.)

ships, dishes[1], houses, and a vast number of other things of the greatest utility to them. And many other matters there be in that country which it would cause great astonishment to read or hear tell of; wherefore I am not careful to write them at present.

23. How the King of Zampa keepeth many elephants and many wives.

At a distance of many days[2] from this kingdom is another which is called Zampa[3], and 'tis a very fine country, having great store of victuals and of all good things. The king of the country, it was said when I was there, had, what

[1] *Sestoria*, perhaps for *sessoria*=either *seats* or *dishes*. Or it may be for *sextaria*—measures for corn (It. *sestieri*).

[2] ["Ab isto regno per multas dietas." B.N.—"Ab hoc regno distans per dietas multas." VEN.]

[3] [VEN., Zampa.—PAL., CIV., RAM. A., Zapa.—HAK., DOM., B. N., Campa.—FARS, Canpa or Carpa.—MUN., Capa.—FRENCH TEXT, Campe.—Venni takes it for Zipangu (Japan!).]

The Cianba and Ziamba of Polo, the Sanf of the Arabian geographers (as Mr. Lane I believe first pointed out), the Champa of Jordanus, the Tsiompa and Champa of our modern maps, to the south of Cochin China, of which it now forms a part. Rémusat appears to consider that in the middle ages Cochin China was included in Champa.

Many of the copies read *Campa*, and this (Campaa) is the form in which the name appears in old Portuguese writers, and in Pigafetta (in Ramusio; the Milan Pigafetta has Chiempa). Probably Çampa was the intended form in these cases.

Champa [in Sansk. *Campâ*] was the name of an ancient Buddhist royal city on the Ganges, near the modern Bhágalpúr, and was probably adopted by the Indo-Chinese country after its conversion to Buddhism according to the practice so generally followed in Indo-China and the great islands.

[Champa was on the coast of Annam, the Binh-Thuan province showing more particularly what remains of the ancient kingdom. In a Chinese work published in the 14th century, by an Annamite, under the title of *Ngan-nan chi lio*, and translated into French by M. Sainson (1896), we read (p. 397): "Elephants are found only in Lin-y; this is the country which became Champa. It is the habit to have burdens carried by elephants; this country is to-day the Pu-cheng province." M. Sainson adds in a note that Pu-cheng, in Annamite Bó chánh quân, is to-day Quang-binh, and that, in this country, was placed the first capital (Dong-hoi) of the future kingdom of Champa thrown later down to the south. In 1471, the King of Tong-King, Lê Thanh-tong, conquered the country. Cf. *Marco Polo*, ii, pp. 268–271, and the French edition of Odoric. See in *T'oung pao* from May 1910, a series of articles by G. Maspero on *Le Royaume de Champa*. Lin-y is old Champa.]

with sons and with daughters, a good two hundred[1] children; for he hath many wives and other women whom he keepeth[2]. This king hath also fourteen thousand[3] tame elephants, which he made to be kept and tended by his boors as here oxen and various other animals are kept in partnership[4]. [And other folk keep elephants there just as commonly as we keep oxen here[5].]

And in that country there is one thing which is really wonderful. For every species of fish that is in the sea visits that country in such vast numbers that at the time of their coming the sea seems to consist of nothing else but fish. And when they get near the beach they leap ashore, and then the folk come and gather them as many as they list. And so these fish continue coming ashore for two or

[1] [HAK., 300.]

[2] ["In the year of Christ 1285, Messer Marco Polo was in that country, and at that time the King had, between sons and daughters, 326 children, of whom at least 150 were men fit to carry arms." *Marco Polo*, ii, p. 268.]

A Chinese account of the adjoining *Chinla* or Cambodia, translated by Rémusat, says the king of that country had five wives, and from three thousand to five thousand concubines. (*Nouv. Mélanges As.* i, 71.) The late well-known king of Persia, Futteh Ali Shah, left behind him nearly three thousand direct descendants, and his son Sheikh Ali Mirza used to ride attended by a body guard of *sixty* sons of his own. (*Rawlinson's Herodotus*, i, 221.)

[3] [ARUNDEL, xiii millia.]

[4] "*Sicut...tenentur ad* Socedam." Ital. *Soccità*, the name for a sort of *métairie* in cattle-keeping, the cattle being tended for the owners on a division of profits.

Cambodia and the adjoining regions abound in domesticated elephants to a degree unknown elsewhere in Asia. See Jordanus and note (HAK. SOC.) p. 37; also Ibn Batuta in this collection *infra*; *Rémusat* in the article just quoted; *J. R. G. S.* xxvii, 93, 105, and xxxii, p. 146.

[Marco Polo, ii, pp. 267 and 268, says: "The people are Idolaters and pay a yearly tribute to the Great Kaan, which consists of elephants and nothing but elephants...." "There are very great numbers of elephants in this kingdom." In a paper in *Exc. et Recon.*, No. 24, 1885, p. 235, Aymonier says about the Binh Thuan province: "Les éléphants également très nombreux, ne fuient ni n'attaquent l'homme qui les rencontrera souvent, en voyageant du côté des montagnes. Ces animaux dévastent les plantations et prennent la fuite quand le propriétaire les chasse."]

[5] PAL.

three days together. And then a second species of fishes comes and does the same as the first; and so with the other species each in turn and in order until the last; and this they do but once in the year. And when you ask the folk of that country how this comes about, they tell you in reply that the fish come and act in that fashion in order to pay homage to their emperor[1].

In that country also I saw a tortoise bigger in compass than the dome of St. Anthony's church in Padua[2]. And

[1] I have not been able to trace the original basis of this mythical story. Indeed very little is to be known from any books accessible to me of the coast of Champa. But perhaps this passage from Duhalde may throw a little light on the matter. "Dans la province de Kiangnan on voit surtout de gros poissons venant de la mer, ou du Fleuve Jaune, qui se jettent dans des vastes plaines toutes couvertes d'eau; tout y est disposé de telle sorte que les eaux s'écoulent aussitôt qu'ils y sont entrés. Ces poissons demeurant à sec, on les prend sans peine," etc. (ii, 140.)

[Pauthier remarks, *Marco Polo*, p. 557, note: "Cette histoire des poissons, racontée si naïvement par le frère Oderic, expliquerait peut-être l'origine du nom de *Cyamba* ou *Ciampa* donné à ce pays, car, dans la langue télingana, de la côte de Coromandel, le poisson se nomme *Champa*."

With regard to this legend, Abel Des Michels writes, *Luc Van tién*, p. 66, note: "Dans la province de Thái Nguyên (Tong King) est un golfe où se trouve un grand rocher au pied duquel un jeu de la nature a formé trois degrés assez hauts, et disposés comme les marches d'un escalier. D'après une croyance populaire, l'on verrait tous les ans, à des époques déterminées, plusieurs espèces de poissons s'y réunir et lutter à qui bondira par dessus. Ceux qui seraient assez heureux pour arriver jusqu'au degré le plus élevé, seraient, après y avoir séjourné un certain temps sans prendre aucune nourriture, transformés en animaux terrestres. A ces époques fixes, connues des habitants, un grand nombre d'entre eux s'y rendraient pour ramasser les poissons qui, ne pouvant franchir les trois degrés, se brisent la tête contre le rocher." In China, there is a legend of sturgeons ascending every year the Yellow River at the third moon and that those who are successful in crossing the rapids of Lung-men become dragons (*lung*). No doubt this phenomenon is but the natural fact altered into a legend of the ascent up river of some kind of fish to make their roe. Perhaps this fish is the alose, the *sam lai*, so appreciated in the Far East, which enter the rivers in May and leave in September to return to sea.]

[2] ["En ceste contrée vy je une lymace qui estoit si grande que ce estoit merveille. Elle estoit plus grande que le clochier Saint-Martin de Padue, se il feult ainsi tournez comme maison de lymace." FRENCH TEXT.—This is the only text having *Saint Martin* instead of *St. Anthony*.]

["There is a kingdom twenty days journey from Cathay, of which

many other like things be there, which unless they were seen would be past belief; wherefore I care not to write them[1].

When a married man dies in this country his body is burned, and his living wife along with it. For they say that she should go to keep company with her husband in the other world also[2].

the king and all the inhabitants are Christians, but heretics, being said to be Nestorians....He asserted that their churches were larger and more ornamented than ours, and were constructed entirely of tortoise-shell." *Nicolò Conti*, in Major, p. 33.—"Testudinibus tantum structas asseverabat" says the Latin Text, p. 148.]

[1] O friar! The smallest of St. Anthony's many domes is about forty feet in diameter. On big tortoises see *Tennent's Ceylon*, i, 190; *Mr. Major* in introd. to *India in the 15th cent.* p. xliii; and *Mr. Badger on Varthema*, p. 240. But I do not understand the use these gentlemen make of Falconer and Cautley's fossil monsters. *They* did not flourish in the middle ages.

Vincent le Blanc (who is very bad authority) says that many houses in Pegu were gilt and roofed with tortoise-shell, not with *a* shell. It is possible that Odoric may have seen a temple so roofed, and taken it for a single shell. But I believe the probable *rationale* of the story is that which I have given in the introductory notice of Odoric, p. 27. The largest turtle that I can find mentioned on modern authority had a carapace of about seven feet in length. (*Eng. Cyc.* Art. *Chelonia.*)

[Venni, Not. 44, p. 118, adds to the exaggeration of Odoric: "Della smisurata grandezza delle Testuggini Indiane rammentata dal Beato favella a lungo il citato Oviedo, ed altri Viaggiatori, dicendo, che una di esse basta a coprire colla scorza superiore una casa ordinaria."

The Arabs tell also stories of big tortoises. Cf. *Livre des Merveilles de l'Inde*, Leiden, 1883, pp. 36–37.

There was a letter in the *Standard* of July 9, 1895, on the gigantic land tortoises indigenous to the Aldabra group of the Seychelles Archipelago.—See also *le Monde illustré*, 7th Dec. 1895, and *l'Illustration*, 18th Jan. 1896.

M. Romanet du Caillaud took great pains in the *Comptes rendus* of the Soc. de Géog. Paris, 1896, pp. 162–4, to prove that *testitudo* in Odoric does not mean a tortoise but an arch-roof!

Mandeville relates Odoric's story and Mr. Warner points out, p. viii, that while the French texts of both change the tortoises of the latin texts into "limaces," the English text gives also *snails* (*snyles*): "I may point out also to the singular fact that, whereas in repeating Odoric of Pordenone's account of giant tortoises in the Indian Seas the French text transform them into snails, the Latin retains Odoric's own term "testudines."]

[2] [Civ., "in alio saeculo."—Ven., "in alio mundo."]
["Quant aucuns homs meurt en ce pays on ensevelist sa femme

24. Of the island of Nicoveran, where the men have dogs' faces[1].

Departing from that country and sailing towards the south over the Ocean Sea[2], I found many islands and

avec lui, car ilz dient que drois est que elle demeure avec lui en l'autre siècle." FRENCH TEXT.—"Cum vir uxoratus in hac contracta moritur comburitur eius corpus una cum uxore viva. quod ideo faciunt, quia dicunt ipsam cum marito ire ut in alio mundo similiter conversetur cum eo." VENNI.]

This story is a proof of the veracity of Odoric. Incineration has been and is still practised in these countries. Bouillevaux, *L'Annam et le Cambodge*, 1874, p. 243, writes: "Au Chiêm-thành, les épouses du roi après la mort de leur seigneur et maître, doivent monter sur le bûcher."—E. Aymonier, *Les Tchames*, 1891, pp. 57–8, witnessed in 1884 the cremation of a lady of quality. He says: "La crémation est généralement pratiquée chez les Tchames païens. N'en sont exceptés que les enfants morts avant l'âge de raison, ainsi que les cadavres des gens pauvres dont le famille n'a pas les moyens de subvenir aux frais d'une cérémonie que les usages rendent très coûteuse; alors l'inhumation a lieu sans prêtres, la tête est placée du côté du sud. Aux yeux des Tchames la crémation, indispensable pour tout adulte, détruit la chair et les péchés, la corruption physique et la corruption morale."—Tru'o'ng viñh-ký, *Cours d'histoire annamite*, i, p. 97, relates: "Le roi son mari mourut l'année même, et la loi voulait qu'à l'instar des sutties de l'Inde elle montât sur le bûcher qui allait consumer les restes de son royal époux." Recently Ant. Cabaton, *Les Chams*, 1901, gives also an account of this ceremony, pp. 47–48: The dead is placed upon the funeral pile, which may be made with any sort of wood, with his arms, clothings, and jewels; then he is served a last meal, that is to say with the help of a sword some rice is placed under the tongue, and after his wives, relations and servants have knelt before him for the last time, the body is covered up, the fire is lit and the priests place on the pile their hatam furnished with candles. When all has been consumed, a man, who bears for the nonce the name of Pô Damön or Master of Regrets, remains at the mortuary house which he curses; then he adjures the dead man not to come back and torment his family. When the cremation is over the relations offer a meal to those present after begging the Pô Damön the ritual permission to reinstate the house. After the incineration, the central part of the frontal bone (*thĕi*) is collected and broken into nine pieces of the size of a cash; they constitute the *noble bones*. The nine pieces are enclosed in a box made of gold, silver, or generally of copper, called klon. The box is buried at the foot of a tree and the spot is marked with a stone.—In the *Bull. de l'École d'Ext. Orient*, iii, 3, 1903, there is a very exact account by a missionary, Father E. M. Durand, of cremation under the title of *Notes sur une crémation chez les Chams* which begins with the saying well known in Binh-thuân: "*Čam mötai lwai bruk blok čuh; Bani mötai page byör harei dar.* Après la mort d'un Cham, on laisse son cadavre se décomposer, puis on le brûle; après la mort d'un Bani [Mohamedan], on enterre son cadavre dès la première heure du jour."]

[1] [VENNI.—De insula Nicueran ubi Cinocofuli.]

[2] ["Recedens et navigans per mare Oceanum." B.N.—"Navigans

countries, whereamong was one called NICOVERAN[1]. And

per mare oceanum." CIV.—"Nauigando per lo mare Oceano, verso il Nirisi." RAM. B.]

[1] [2810 fr., Nichonieran.—B.N., Sacimeram.—VEN., Nicuueran.—FARS., Nichovera.—PAL., Nichoverra, Nichovera.—RAM. B., Nicouerra.—DOM., Nicuvera.—CIV., Nicimeram.—RAM. A., Hicunera.—HAK., Moumoran.—ARUND., Mochimoran.—BOLL., Insimezan.—MUN., speaks of the island without naming it.]

The name no doubt is that of the Nicobar Islands, and is the same as that used by Polo. But there seems to be no feature of the narrative, except the nakedness of the people, appropriate to those islands. The whole chapter is an anomalous jumble. The Dog-faces belong, according to the usual story of the period, to the Andaman Islands; the miniature ox worn on the forehead seems derived from one of Marco's chapters on Maabar; the king's great ruby appertains to Ceylon, in connexion with which it has been celebrated by Marco, Haiton, Jordanus and Ibn Batuta; whilst the great shield covering the whole body is a genuine feature of the wilder islands of the Archipelago, being found for example upon Nyas, among the Dayaks, the more uncivilised races of the Moluccas, and on Formosa. Cannibalism is also a genuine feature characterising other races of the Archipelago besides the Battaks of whom we have spoken. Dalton, speaking of his own entertainer, the Raja of Selgie, a chief of Kayans in Borneo, says: "Should the Raja want flesh (on a war expedition)...one of the followers is killed, which not only provides a meal, but a head to boot." (*Moor's Notices*, p. 49.)

The concluding passage of this account of the Dog heads curiously coincides with one in Ctesias, who says of the Cynocephali, that "they are just in their dealings and hurt no man" (*Baehr's* edition of *Ctesiæ Reliq.*, pp. 253 and 362). Regarding the probable origin of stories of Dog-faces, see note on Ibn Batuta, *infra*.

[Marco Polo says (ii, p. 306): "In this Island they have no king nor chief, but live like beasts. And I tell you they go all naked, both men and women, and do not use the slightest covering of any kind. They are Idolaters." Mr. G. Phillips says (*J. R. A. S.*, July 1895, p. 529) that the name Ts'ui-lan given to the Nicobars by the Chinese is, he has but little doubt, "a corruption of Nocueran, the name given by Marco Polo to the group. The characters Tsui-lan are pronounced Ch'ui-lan in Amoy, out of which it is easy to make Cueran. The Chinese omitted the initial syllable and called them the Cueran Islands, while Marco Polo called them the Nocueran Islands." Schlegel, *T'oung pao*, ix, pp. 182–190, thinks that the Andaman Islands are alone represented by Ts'ui-lan; the Nicobar being the old country of the Lo-ch'a and in modern time, *Mao-shan* "Hat Island." Pelliot, *Bull. École Ext. Orient*, iv, 1904, pp. 354-5, is inclined to accept Phillips' opinion. He says that Mao-shan is one island, not a group of islands; it is not proved that [illegible] country of the Lo-ch'a is the Nicobar Islands; the name of *Lo-[illegible]-man*, Naked Barbarians, is, contrary to Schlegel's opinion, given to the Nicobar as well as to the Andaman people; the name of Andaman appears in Chinese for the first time during the XIIIth century in Chao Ju-kwa under the form *Yen-t'o-man*; Chao Ju-kwa specifies that going from Lambri (Sumatra) to Ceylon, it is an unfavourable wind which makes ships drift towards these islands; on the other hand, texts show that the Ts'ui-lan islands

this is a great isle, having a compass of a good 2,000 miles[1], and both the men and the women there have faces like dogs[2]. And these people worship the ox as their god, wherefore they always wear upon the forehead an ox made of gold or silver, in token that he is their god. All the folk of that country, whether men or women, go naked[3], wearing nothing in the world but an handkerchief[4] to cover their shame. They be stalwart men and stout in battle, going forth to war naked as they are with only a shield that covers them from he . to foot. And if they hap to take any one in war who cannot produce money to ransom himself withal they do straightway eat him. But if they can get money from him they let him go.

And the king of that country[5] weareth round his neck a string of three hundred very big pearls[6], for that he maketh to his gods daily three hundred prayers. He carrieth also in his hand a certain precious stone called a ruby, a good span in length and breadth, so that when he hath this stone in his hand it shows like a flame of fire. And this, it is said, is the most noble and valuable[7] gem that existeth at this day in the world. and the great

were on the usual route from Sumatra to Ceylon.—Gerini, *Researches*, p. 396, considers that *Ts'ui-lan shan* is but the phonetic transcript of *Tilan-chong* Island, the north-easternmost of the Nicobars.—See Hirth and Rockhill's *Chau Ju-kwa*, p. 12 *n.*—Sansk. *nārikera*, "cocoanuts" is found in Necuveram.

Cf. our Notes in *Marco Polo*; there is a long account of the dog-headed barbarians in our French edition of Odoric.]

[1] [B.N., CIV., RAM. A. and B., etc., 2000 miles.—VEN., duo millia-iorum.—2810 fr., 2 milles.]

[2] [RAM. A does not mention the dog-headed men.]

[3] ["Gli huomini sono grandi communemente, e fortissimi. La naggior parte del tempo fanno guerra." RAM. B.]

[4] [B.N., VEN., toaleam.—CIV., thoalia.—PAL., tovagliuola.—HAK., ARUND., "unum pannum lineum."]

[5] MIN. RAM. "Of these beasts." ["E'l re di queste bestie."]

[6] [B.N., PAL., VEN., DOM., 300 pearls.—ARUNDEI, cc.—RAM. A., recento perle grosse.—RAM. B., trecento perle grosse *e bianche.*—MUN., "Rex istorum portat appensas ad collū bene trecentas margaritas et rosas."]

[7] [2810 fr., riche.]

emperor of the Tartars of Cathay hath never been able to get it into his possession either by force or by money, or by any device whatever[1]. This king attends to justice and maintains it[2], and throughout his realm all men may fare safely. And there be many other things in this kingdom that I care not to write of.

25. Concerning the island of Sillan, and the marvels thereof.

There is also another island called SILLAN[3], which hath a compass of good 2,000 miles[4]. There be found therein an infinite number of serpents[5], and many other wild

[1] ["Verumptamen magnus imperator Tartarorum Cathaii illum lapidem preciosum nec vi, nec pecunia nec etiam ingenio unquam habere potuit. In hac etiam contratâ ipse rex bene justitiam tenet et observat, unde per totum suum regnum quilibet potest ire securus. Multa etiam in hac contrata sunt quae etiam ego scribere non curo." B.N.

"Veruntamen magnus imperator Tartarorum Chatay hunc lapidem ab ipso Rege nec vi nec praecio, vel aliquo umquam ingenio potuit obtinere. Rex etiam iste est bonus iusticiarius, et terram suam bene pacificat et gubernat. Unde quilibet potest in regno suo secure omni tempore ambulare." CIV.].

[2] MIN. RAM. "Albeit he is an idolater and hath a face like a dog's." ["Il Re benche sia idololatra, e col viso rassembri vn cane."]

[3] [CIV., 2810 fr., Silan.—RAM. A., FARS., Silam.—PAL., Silan and Sillia.—VEN., DOM., Sillam.—B.N., Sillan.—ARUND., Salam.—HAK., Ceilan.—RAM. B. does not mention Ceylon.]

We need not wonder at the dimensions ascribed to Ceylon, when the same have in the preceding chapter been assigned to Nicobar. But the persistence of marine tradition in exaggerating the size of Ceylon, in the face of facts tolerably manifest, is curious. The examples may be seen in *Sir Emerson Tennent's Ceylon*, ch. i.

[Marco Polo says, ii, p. 312: "You must know that it has a compass of 2400 miles, but in old times it was greater still, for it then had a circuit of about 3600 miles, as you find in the charts of the mariners of those seas. But the north wind there blows with such strength that it has caused the sea to submerge a large part of the Island; and that is the reason why it is not so big now as it used to be." See *Marco Polo*, ii, p. 314 *n.*, for the origin of the word Ceylon. The native kings of this period were Pandita Prakama Bahu II, who reigned from 1267 to 1301 at Dambadenia, about 40 miles north-north-east of Columbo (Marco Polo's time), Vijaya Bahu IV, 1301–1303; Bhuwaneka Bahu I (1303–1314); Prakama Bahu III (1314–1319); Bhuwaneka Bahu II (1319).]

[4] [DE BACKER and 2810 fr., deux cens milles.]

[5] [On serpents, cf. French ed. of Odoric, p. 224 *note*; and on elephants, *ibid.*, p. 225 *note*.]

animals in great numbers, especially elephants[1]. In this country also there is an exceeding great mountain, of which the folk relate that it was upon it that Adam mourned for his son one hundred years[2]. In the midst[3] of this mountain is a certain beautiful level place, in which there is a lake of no great size, but having a great depth of water. This they say was derived from the tears shed by Adam and Eve[4]; but I do not believe that to be the truth, seeing that the water naturally springs from the soil[5].

The bottom of this pool is full of precious stones, and the water greatly aboundeth in leeches. The king taketh not those gems for himself, but for the good of his soul once or twice a-year he suffereth the poor to search the water, and take away whatever stones they can find[6]. But that they may be able to enter the water in safety they take lemons[7] and bruise them well, and then copiously

[1] ["Ed avi una generazione di serpenti ch' anno collo di cavallo e capo di serpente e corpo di cane e coda di serpente ed anno quatro piedi e sono grandi come buoi e piccoli com' asini." PAL.]

[2] ["Adam planxit filium suum Cannis." VEN., B.N.—"Luserit Adam filium suum Cannis." CIV.—"Adam pianse al figliolo Cain." DOM.—"500 annis." HAK.—"Adam et Eve plourerent leurs pechiez C ans." FRENCH TEXT.]

[3] VEN. has "at the summit of the mountain," but the text is better. ["In montis cuius cacumine." VEN.—"In supremo huius montis." CIV.—"Au milieu de ceste montaigne." FRENCH TEXT.]

[4] ["Dicunt esse lacrimas, quas fudit Adam et Eva pro filio suo Abel." CIV.]

[5] This "*pulchra planities*" and lake are afterwards spoken of by Marignolli also (v. *infra*) where some further remarks as to the place intended will be found. Ibn Batuta also speaks of a pool below the mountain from which gems were extracted. The chief gem locality in Ceylon is still one at a short distance from the base of Adam's Peak, and *gem-fishery* is the term applied to the search by Pridham. "The tears flowed in such torrents from Adam's eyes that those of his right eye started the Euphrates, while those of his left set the Tigris in motion." (*Weil's Biblical Legends of the Mussulmans*, p. 16.)

[6] ["Istos lapides non tollit ipse Rex, sed pro salute sua semel et quinque bis in anno pauperibus terrae dimittit, ut ex iis lapidibus eorum inopia sublevatur." CIV.]

[7] UTIN. and RAM. have "take *bavoyr*, *i.e.*, a certain fruit, which they bruise," etc. This *may* be intended for some Persian word. There is *bajúra*, a citron. [PAL., Iunbors.]

anoint the whole body therewith, and after that when they dive into the water the leeches do not meddle with them. And so it is that the poor folk go down into the pool and carry off precious stones if they can find them[1].

The water which comes down from the mountain issues forth by this lake. And the finest rubies are dug there; good diamonds too are found and many other good stones[2]. And where that water descends into the sea there be found fine pearls. Wherefore the saying goes that this king hath more precious stones than any other king in the world.

In this island there be sundry kinds of animals, both of birds and other creatures; and the country folk say that the wild beasts never hurt a foreigner, but only those who are natives of the island. There be also certain birds as

[1] There *are* water-leeches in Ceylon, which are annoying to cattle chiefly, by entering their nostrils; but the land-leeches are the great pest of the island. See a fearful picture in Tennent (i, 304). Ibn Batuta, on his ascent to the Peak, says:—"Here we saw the *flying leech*, which the natives call *zulú*. It holds on by the trees and grass near water, and when a man comes near it drops upon him... *The natives take care to keep ready a lemon* and to squeeze its juice upon the leech," etc. This name of the *flying leech*, implying the power ascribed to it of springing upon a passing victim, has come down to our time (see *Heber's Journals*, ed. 1844, ii, 167). Tennent also corroborates Odoric's mention of lemon-juice as the Ceylonese remedy for leech-bites; and so does Robert Knox (first edition, p. 25).

[2] There are no diamonds in Ceylon, but some of the Arabian geographers *say* that there are. The gems were a royal monopoly under the native dynasties. (*Tennent*, i, 38.) [On pearls, see *Chau Ju-kua*, pp. 229, 230.]

["This mountain [Adam's Peak] abounds with rubies of all kinds and other precious stones. These gems are being continually washed out of the ground by heavy rains, and are sought for and found in the sand carried down the hill by the torrents. It is currently reported among the people, that these precious stones are the congealed tears of Buddha." (*Ma-Huan*, trans. by Phillips, p. 213.)

In the Chinese work *Cho keng lu*, containing notes on different matters referring to the time of the Mongol dynasty, in ch. vii, entitled *Hwui hwui shi t'ou* ("Precious Stones of the Mohammedans") among the four kinds of red stones is mentioned the *si-la-ni* of a dark red colour; *si-la-ni*, as Dr Bretschneider observes (*Med. Res.*, i, p. 174), means probably "from Ceylon." The name for ruby in China is now-a-days *hung-pao-shi*, "red precious stone." (*Ibid.*, p. 173.) Cf. *Marco Polo*, ii, p. 316 *n.*]

big as geese, which have two heads[1]. And this island hath also great store of victuals, and of many other good things whereof I do not write.

26. Of the island called Dondin and the evil manners there.

Departing from that island and going towards the south, I landed at a certain great island which is called DONDIN[2],

[1] [FARS., "mille capita"!] The history of this bird with two heads is a good example of the gradual resolution of a fable.

In 1330 Odoric tells of a bird, as big as a goose, with *two heads*.

In 1672 P. Vincenzo Maria describes a bird, also as big as a goose, but with *two beaks*, the two being perfectly distinct, one going up and the other down; with the upper one he crows or croaks, with the lower he feeds, etc. (*Viaggio*, p. 401.)

In 1796 Padre Paolino, who is usually more accurate, retrogrades; for he calls the bird "as big as an ostrich." According to him, this bird, living on high mountains where water is scarce, has the second beak as a reservoir for a supply of water. He says the Portuguese call it *Passaro di duos bicos*. (*Viag.*, p. 153.)

Lastly, Lieut. Charles White describes the same bird in the *Asiatic Researches*: "It has a large double beak, or a large beak surmounted by a horn-like shaped mandible," etc. (*Asiat. Res.*, iv, 401.) The bird is a hornbill, of which there are various species having casques or protuberances on the top of the bill, the office of which does not appear to be ascertained. How easy here to call Odoric a liar! but how unjust, when the matter has been explained.

[This is the *calao* (hornbill; lat., *buceros rhinoceros*, *buceros pica*). Cf. Odoric, French ed., p. 234 *note*.]

[2] [B.N., VEN., Dondin.—ARUND., BOLL., CIV., Dodyn.—PAL., Dodin.—DOM., Dodim.—HAK., Bodin.—RAM. A., Dadin.—RAM. B., Diddi.—FRENCH TEXT, Dondiin.]

Much of what has been said on the chapter about Necuveran applies here. These two narratives are destitute, it seems to me, of the appearance of being drawn from experience. I cannot identify Dondin with any known island, nor trace the etymology which the traveller assigns to the name. But it is just possible that Dondin or Dandin might be a misread contraction of Isola *D'Andiman* (d'andin?). [Schlegel, *T'oung-pao*, x, pp. 459-463, thought that Tan-tan might apply to Dondin, but this theory has no foundation whatever. Cf. Pelliot, *Bull. École Ext. Orient*, iv, 1904, p. 285.] Stories like that related here, about the treatment of the sick or the aged were told in old times (as by Herodotus) of the Paddæi and other people, and are still very rife in the East in regard to certain races, just as stories of men with tails are, but the alleged locality shifts with the horizon. "I was informed," says Raffles, of the Battaks, "that formerly it was usual for the people to eat their parents who were too old for work. The old people selected the horizontal branch of a tree, and quietly suspended themselves by their hands, whilst their children and neighbours, forming a circle, danced round them, crying out, '*When the fruit is ripe it will fall.*' This practice took place during the

and this signifieth the same as "Unclean." They who dwell in that island are an evil generation, who devour raw flesh[1] and every other kind of filth. They have also among them an abominable custom; for the father will eat the son, the son the father, the wife will eat the husband, or the husband the wife. And 'tis in this way:—Suppose that the father of some one is ill. The son goeth then to the astrologer or priest (for 'tis the same), and sayeth thus:—"Sir, go, I pray, and inquire of our God whether my father shall be healed of this infirmity or shall die of it." Then the priest and he whose father is ill go both unto the idol, which is made of gold or silver, and make a prayer to it, and say:—

season of limes, when salt and pepper were plenty, and as soon as the victims became fatigued and could hold on no longer they fell down, when all hands cut them up and made a hearty meal of them." (*Memoirs*, p. 427.) Gasparo Balbi tells the same story of the same people, not omitting the salt and pepper, and so does a notice in Moor. And I have heard it almost exactly as told by Raffles, from a native of Arakan, when I was travelling in that country in 1853, the alleged actors being some of the wild tribes then to the north-east of us. Something similar is related by Edward Barbosa of a tribe in the interior of Siam. Vincent Le Blanc says he was assured by the people of Pulowé that the islanders of Sumatra eat their dead, "but we found it quite the contrary," he goes on, "and saw them buried." He nevertheless tells the same story as true, of an island called *Pulovois* (apparently imaginary) south of the Maldives.

The custom, or its allegation, is not confined to the old world. Tribes (*e.g.*), both of Brazil and of Vancouver's Island, are stated to have been in the habit of putting sick relatives to death, when the conjuror or medicine-man despaired of recovery. And the Brazilian tribe *ate* the bodies of those who were thus given over.

The particular story related by Odoric is evidently the same as that told by Marco Polo of "the kingdom of Dragoian" in the island of Java Minor or Sumatra. The situation of Dragoian has been much disputed, but if Marco's kingdoms were, as they seem, recounted in geographical succession, it must have been nearly coincident with Achin. And it is worth noticing that Balbi ascribes this cannibalism to the kingdom of the "Rey del Dagin," which he afterwards lets us see is meant for Achin. Can Odoric mean the same place by Dondin?

[M. Romanet du Caillaud, *Ctes. rendus Soc. Géog.*, 1896, p. 117, writes that, in his opinion, under the name of Dondin, Odoric includes the whole of the Indian archipelago from Sumatra to the Philippine Islands included. Señor D. A. Gummá y Marti, l.c., p. 173, answers that Odoric never went to the Philippine Islands, which is true, and that Dondin includes Ceylon, some of the Sunda islands, perhaps Borneo, and Hai-nan. All this is sheer nonsense.]

[1] [RAM. A., "si humana."]

"Lord, thou art our God! and as our God we adore thee! Answer to that we ask of thee! Such an one is ailing grievously; must he die, or shall he be delivered from his ailment? We ask thee!" Then the demon replies by the mouth of the idol, and says:—"Thy father shall not die, but shall be freed from that ailment. And thou must do such and such things and so he shall recover." And so the demon shows the man all that he is to do for his father's recovery; and he returneth to his father accordingly, and tendeth him diligently until he be entirely recovered. But if the demon reply that the father will die, then the priest goeth to him and putteth a linen cloth[1] over his mouth, and so suffocateth him and he dieth. And when they have thus slain him, they cut him in pieces, and invite all their friends and relations and all the players[2] of the country round about to come to the eating of him, and eat him they do, with singing of songs and great merry-making. But they save his bones and bury them underground with great solemnity[3]. And any of the relatives who have not been invited to this wedding feast (as it were) deem themselves to have been grievously slighted[4].

I[5] rebuked these people sharply for so acting, saying to them:—"Why do ye act thus against all reason? Why, were a dog slain and put before another dog he would by no means eat thereof; and why should you do thus, who

[1] [RAM. A., un paño.—RAM. B., PAL., DOM., panno.—VEN., pannum linum.—CIV., pannum.—FRENCH TEXT, Pomme, which is an obvious mistake for *pagne*.]

[2] [RAM. A., buffoni.—CIV., cum hystrionibus.—B.N., hystriones.—VEN., aculatores.]

[3] [VEN., "Eius tamen ossa occipiunt, ipsa sub terra cum magna solemnitate sepelliunt."—CIV., "Post haec occipientes ossa sepulturae tradunt, cum magna sollemnitate."—RAM. A., "Le ossa del quale poi con grande solēnita sotterano."—RAM. B., "E dell' ossa si fan certe cerimonie e poi sono sotterrate."

[4] MIN. RAM. "And the kinsfolk rejoice when any one gets ill, in hope of eating him and having a merrymaking." ["E quasi sono lieti quando alcuno s' inferma per posser lo mangiare, e farne festa."]

[5] [CIV., etc., "Ego frater Odericus."]

seem to be men endowed with reason?" And their answer was:—"We do this lest the flesh of the dead should be eaten of worms; for if the worms should eat his flesh his soul would suffer grievous pains[1]; we eat his flesh therefore that his soul suffer not." And so, let me say what I would, they would not believe otherwise nor quit that custom of theirs.

27. A word in brief of India and the isles thereof.

And there be many other strange things in those parts which I write not, for unless a man should see them he never could believe them. For in the whole world there be no such marvels as in that realm (of India). What things I have written are only such as I was certain of, and such as I cannot doubt but they are as I have related them.

And as regards this India[2] I have inquired from many who have knowledge of the matter, and they all assured me as with one voice that it includeth in its limits a good twenty-four thousand[3] islands, in which there are sixty-four[4] crowned kings. And the greater part of these islands is well peopled. So here I have done with this India, and will say no more thereof; but I will now tell you somewhat of Upper India.

28. Friar Odoric cometh to Upper India[5] and the Province of Manzi, and discourseth of them.

Ye shall know then that after I had sailed eastward over the Ocean Sea for many days I came to that noble

[1] MIN. RAM. "For that God, offended at the stink, would refuse them admittance into his glory." ["Di modo che Iddio offeso dalla puzza non gli riceuerebbe nella gloria sua."]

[2] [CIV., "De magnitudine huius inferioris Indiae."—RAM. A., PAL., "questa India."]

[3] [VEN., 24 mili.—CIV., 24 millia.—RAM. A., vintiquattro mila isole.—HAK., 4400!]

[4] [VEN. and CIV., sexaginta quatuor reges.—RAM. A., PAL., sessantaquattro Re. -2810 fr., VIII.]

[5] ["E con questo faccio fine di scriuere altro dell' India inferiore: al presente intendo solamente dire della superiore." RAM. A.—"De hac India dicta sufficiant ut ad superiorem Indiam me traducam." VEN.]

province[1] MANZI[2], which we call Upper India[3]. And as

[1] [RAM. A., "Venni in vna nobile & grande prouincia."—B.N., nobilem provinciam.]

[2] [A.S., Manzy.—RAM. A., B.N., VEN., FARS., PAL., CIV., Manzi.—CIV., Manza.—B.N., Mansi.—HAK., Manci.—DOM., Mati.—RAM. B., Mangi.]

"Manzi," says Klaproth, "is the Chinese word *Man-tsu*, by which the people and country of Southern China were designated during the supremacy of the Mongols." Davis says the name, which he writes *Mantze*, was originally applied by the Chinese to the *barbarians* of the south. And Magaillans, giving the same account of the original meaning, tells us that in his own time (the latter part of the seventeenth century) the term *Mantzu*, or barbarians, was applied by the Tartars scoffingly to the Chinese. This is perhaps copied from Martini, who says the same. It is, therefore, a mistake to suppose, as has been put forward by Assemani and others, that Manzi or Mangi is a corruption of the Machin and Masin of the Persians and Arabs. These last are merely modifications of the Sanscrit *Maha Chin*, Magna China. But it seems probable that a confusion did take place between the two words; for in the history of Rashideddin (as probably in other Mahomedan writers) *Machin* is sometimes used for *Manzi*, as the special name of Southern China. (*Journ. As.*, ii, sér. xi, 337, 341, 343; *Davis's Chinese*, i, 180; *Baldello*, i, 29; Martini, *Atlas Sinensis.*) Pauthier, it should be added, gives quite a different explanation of Manzi. He says that Fukien was formerly called the principality of *Mán*, a name still applied in poetry. Hence the subjects of the Sung Emperors were called by the Northern Chinese *Mán-jin*, or Men of Mán (*op. inf. cit.*, p. 117). But M. Pauthier seems to have now abandoned this opinion; see his fine new edition of Polo, p. lvii.

[Before the Mongols Chinghizkhanides once more became sole masters of China, the Middle Kingdom was ruled, in the North, by the Niu-chen Tartars or Kin, reigning at Yen-king (Pe-king), in the South, by the Chinese of the Sung Dynasty, with Lin-ngan (Hang-chau) as their capital, in the Cheh-kiang province. Northern China was designated as *Kitaï*, from the K'i-tan Tartars or Leao, still in use by the Russians, KHTÁÑ, the Greeks, Κιτάϊα, and the Turks, *Khitài*, hence the name CATHAY; these northern men called the southern inhabitants of China Barbarians, *Man*, or Sons of Barbarians, *Man-tzu* or *Man-tze*, hence MANGI and MANZI; it is true the latter retaliated by calling their northern foe *Pe-taï*, "Fools of the North."—Dr. G. Schlegel has given a note on this word in *Notes and Queries on China and Japan*, i, p. 91; it is not to the point: there is every reason to believe that Odoric and Marco Polo (the latter resided at Yang-chau) heard the word *Mangi* not only at Zaytún, but in many other places.]

[RAM. B., "In molte parti di detta prouincia viddi più stretta la gente, che non e' a Vinetia al tempo dell' Ascensione."—MUN. mentions: "videlz Venecij. Januensibus. Neapoli. Brundusie."]

[3] As late as the seventeenth century we find Martini, in his *Atlas Sinensis*, calling China *Asia Superior*.

[RAM. A., DOM., India superiore.—RAM. B., PAL., India di Sopra.—B.N., VEN., "quam Indiam vocamus superiorem."]

to that India I made diligent inquiry from Christians, Saracens, and idolaters, and from all the great Khan's officers, and they all told me, with one consent as it were, that the province of Manzi[1] hath two thousand great cities[2]; cities I mean of such magnitude that neither Treviso nor Vicenza[3] would be entitled to be numbered among them[4]. Indeed in that country the number of the people is so great that among us here it would be deemed incredible; [and in many parts I have seen the population more dense than the crowds you see at Venice on the Ascension Day][5]. And the land hath great store of bread, of wine, of rice, of flesh, and of fish of sorts, and of all manner of victuals whatever that are used by mankind.

[1] [1380 fr., Mongin.—2810 fr., Mangy.]

[2] [DOM., "due cento grandi città."]

[3] [B.N., VEN., Trevisium neque Vincencia.—A.S., Taruisium & Vincentia.—CIV., Tervisum et Vincencia.—RAM. B., Vicenza, o Triuigi.—RAM. A., Venetia, ne altra città.—MUN., "talesq; nec Vincentia nec Teruisiū que sūt maiores qm Ezlinga si ponerat."]

[4] So Wassaf says: "China possesses besides Khanzai, four hundred considerable cities, of which the smallest surpasses Baghdad and Shiraz." (*D'Ohsson*, ii, 418.) There is great exaggeration in Odoric's statement. The number of cities of different classes in China (which includes much more than Manzi) is, according to modern official statements, as follows:—

Fu, or chief cities of	Prefectures	...	...	182
Chau, „ „	of circles	...	...	134
Hien, „ „	of districts	...	...	1281
Other cities ...	...	...	...	112
			Total,	1709

(From *Pauthier*, *Chine Moderne*, p. 129.)

[Father Magaillans, *Nouv. Relat. de la Chine*, pp 92—93, reckons 4402 walled cities in China.—Archdeacon J. H. Gray, *China*, 1878, i, p. 5: "The eighteen provinces of China proper, in their collective capacity, contain upwards of four thousand walled cities."]

[5] The feast of the Ascension was the first day of the great fair at Venice, in the middle ages one of the greatest fairs in the world. Like the fairs in India it combined religion and trade, for many then came as pilgrims either to visit the relics of the saints at Venice, or to take passage for the shrines beyond sea, such as Loretto, Rome, Compostella, or Jerusalem. On the Ascension Day also took place the celebrated espousals of the Adriatic. Semedo likewise compares the throng habitually encountered in China to that of great public festivals in Europe. (*Rel. della Cina*, 1643, p. 7.)

And all the people of this country are traders and artificers[1], and no man ever seeketh alms, however poor he be, as long as he can do anything with his own hands to help himself[2]. [But those who are fallen into indigence and infirmity are well looked after and provided with necessaries[3].]

The men, as to their bodily aspect, are comely enough, but colourless, having beards of long straggling hairs like mousers,—cats I mean. And as for the women, they are the most beautiful in the world!

29. Of the great city Censcalan[4].

The first city to which I came in this country was called CENSCALAN[5], and 'tis a city as big as three

[1] [VEN., artiste.]

[2] Davis notices the "cheerful industry" of the Chinese as a characteristic which is "the first to strike all visitors of China." (*Chinese*, i, 200.)

[3] [MIN. RAM., "E non ui é chi vada cercando la limosina. Perche o poueri o infermi sono ben gouernati, e prouisti delle cose necessarie. Gli huomini sono tutti vguaimente grandi, e pallidi con i peli della barba irti, & male composti alla guisa delle capre. Le donne sono bellissime."—Cf. RAM. A.—PAL., "Le più belle del mondo."—B. N., "Mulieres vero pulcherrimae de mundo."—VEN., "Pulcerime sunt de mundo."—A. S., "Mulieres nimiùm sunt formosae."—CIV., "Mulieres vero nimium sunt formosae."]

[4] [FARS., Censcalam.—DOM., Censscanlan.—B. N., Censcolan.—HAK., Censkalon.—RAM. A., Ceuscala.—VEN., Conscala.—RAM. B., Tescol.—MUN., Tascalan.—PAL., Teschalan.—CIV., Senstalay.—A. S., Soustalay.]

[5] This name, which is grievously mangled in most of the MSS. and editions of Odoric, is the *Cynkalan* of Marignolli, the *Sínkalán* of Ibn Batuta, the *Chínkalán* of Rashideddin and Wassaf the Persian historians of the Mongols, and represents, I believe, without doubt the modern Canton. Odoric's description of it as the first port reached by him, with its great estuary and vast amount of shipping, points to this identification. Ibn Batuta tells us the great junks for the Indian trade were built only at Zaitún and at Sínkalán. Now Zaitún, Canton, and Kanfu are known to have been the three ports for Indian trade; and of the first Ibn Batuta speaks by this name—he speaks of *Khansá*, of which Khanfu was probably the port, though the names were interchanged by the Arabs—but does not mention Canton unless it be Sínkalán. He also speaks more than once of the space from Khanbaliq to Sínkalán, as of the Dan and Beersheba of China, whilst

Venices[1]. It is one day's voyage from the sea[2], standing upon a certain river, the water whereof is derived from the sea, and extendeth twelve days' journey into the land[3]. The whole population of this city, as well as of all Manzi and Upper India, worship idols. And this city hath shipping so great and vast in amount that to some it would seem well nigh incredible[4]. Indeed all Italy hath not the amount of craft that this one city hath[5]. And here you can buy three

the latter city is said to adjoin barbarous and cannibal tribes. All this points to Canton. Rashideddin too indicates its position as south of the port of Zaitún.

Cincalan will also be found in its proper place, i.e. as the first port of China from the south, in the extraordinary Catalan map of 1375.

The name I have no doubt is Persian, with the meaning ascribed to it by Marignolli, "*Great China*," and is, therefore, simply a translation of Mahachín. This would consist with the practice which seems to have prevailed among the Arab seafarers of giving a chief city the name of the country to which it belonged, a practice which probably originated that city of Bengala which has given so much trouble to geographers. Indeed, I find that Rashid and Al Biruni distinctly apply the name Mahachin to a city, no doubt Canton.

Though Zaitún and Kanfu (the ancient port of King sé or Hang-chau fu) appear to have been the havens most frequented by western trade under the Mongol dynasty, Canton was a very early resort of the Arabs and Persians. In 758 they were numerous enough to master and pillage and burn the city. (See *Marignolli* infrà; *Ibn Batuta*, iv, 92, 255, 268, 274; *D'Ohsson*, 418, 638; *Deguignes*, i, 50; *Elliott's Historians of M. India*, p. 46; and *Sprenger, Post-und Reiserouten des Orients*, p. 90.)

[The singular name is but a corruption of صين كيالن *Sin Kîlan*, given by the Mohammedans to Canton.]

[1] [MUN., "Magnitudo eius benè equipollet tribus Vincentijs que ut puto maior q^{m} sit Spira, Wormacia, Moguncia."]

[2] [VEN., "Prima civitas quam inveni vocatur Conscalan que est in triplo maior Vincencia distans a mari per dietam unam."]

[3] This is very obscure; "*cujus aqua propter ipsum mare ascendit ultra terram bene xii dietis.*" I have translated as if the tidal flow were alluded to, but with great doubt as to the meaning. Hakluyt's translation runs, "the water whereof, near unto the mouth where it exonerateth itself into the sea, doth overflow the land for the space of twelve days' journey." It may be a reference to the breadth of the estuary, which is about eighty miles at the mouth. But the passage seems corrupt in all copies.

[4] [A. S., "Ciuitas autem ista sola plus habet de nauigio & mercationibus, quàm tota Italia posset habere."]

[5] "Hundreds of thousands" of boats, says Fortune. "In the river and port alone," says Linschoten, "there is more craft of different

hundred pounds of fresh ginger for less than a groat[1]! The geese too are bigger and finer and cheaper[2] than anywhere in the world[3]. For one of them is as big as two of ours[4], and 'tis all white as milk, but has a bone on the top of its head about the size of an egg, which is of a blood colour; whilst under its throat it has a skin hanging down for half a span[5]. And these geese are as fat as fat can be,

kinds (*barques et frégates*) than in the whole of Spain." (*Three Years' Wanderings*, p. 148; *Linsch.*, p. 40.)

[1] MIN. RAM. has "700 lbs. for a ducat." "E per vn ducato viddi dar 700 libre de Zenzeuero verde, e fresco."—DOM., "Tre libre di giengievo."—PAL., "In questa cittade s' à per meno d' un Viniziano ben trecento lib. di gengiovo fresco."—A. S., "In hac etiam ciuitate benè *centum* libræ zinziberis recentis possunt haberi vno minori grosso Veneto."]

[Canton is well-known for its ginger, *Kan-kiang*; the Chinese make very good preserve with it.]

[2] "*In meliori foro*," a dog-latinism which Venni does not seem to have understood, for he proposes to read "*meliori formâ*." Yet the Italians have *buon mercato*, as the French have *meilleur marché*, and our old English had *good cheap*, though we have cut it down into an elliptical adjective. The old translation of Mendoza says on the same matter, which continued to strike visitors to a much later date: "All things is so good cheape that almost it seemeth they sell them for nothing." Early in last century from 3d. to 6d. a head covered the expenses of Ripa's party for a good dinner, supper, and lodging. (*Major's* edit. of *Mendoza*, HAK. SOC. i, 12; *Father Ripa*, p. 133.)

[3] B. N., "Sunt majores et pulchriores anseres ac melius forum."—VEN., "In meliori foro."]

[4] [RAM. B., "maggiori tre uolte delle nostre."]

[5] This description of Odoric's agrees almost precisely with the following: "*Anser Cygnoides*, the Guinea goose...approaching in size to the swan...it has a fleshy tubercle rising from the base of the bill... and a pendant skin in the form of a pouch under the throat....The beak and tubercle are reddish," etc. (*Nouveau Dict. de l'Hist. Naturelle*, Paris, 1817, tom. xxiii.) I am told on excellent authority that the modern domestic goose of China has *not* the pendant skin, though it certainly has the knob or tubercle. Yet Odoric's evidence is curiously precise.

A zoological friend of mine, E. H. Giglioli, attached to the Italian expedition of circumnavigation, writes to me from Singapore (May 18th, 1866), that among a flock of "knobbed" geese in the Chinese quarter there he had seen one "with a well-developed membrane hanging under its beak." So that Odoric's account can be justified.

[Father David, *Oiseaux de la Chine*, p. 493, confirms this evidence; he says the male *anser cygnoides* has a horny tubercle in the frontal region; moreover he wrote to me that in a domesticated state, the goose has also a pendant skin (Jabot).—"The goose market which is held daily at Canton, in the street called Luen-hing Kai, is almost as

yet one of them well dressed and seasoned you shall have there for less than a groat. And as it is with the geese, so also with the ducks[1] and fowls; they are so big that you would think them perfectly marvellous.

Here too there be serpents bigger than anywhere else in the world, many of which are taken and eaten with great relish. These serpents [have quite a fragrant odour and][2] form a dish so fashionable that if a man were to give a dinner and not have one of these serpents on his table, he would be thought to have done nothing[3]. In short this city hath a great abundance of all possible kinds of victual.

large as the annual goose fair for which Nottingham is so famous. Flat-bottomed boats discharge large numbers of these birds, at the wharf immediately in front of the market. I have seen no fewer than three hundred geese removed from one boat, several others, each containing an equal number, awaiting their turn alongside the wharf." Gray, *China*, ii, pp. 186–7.]

[1] [Father Armand David wrote to me that the Chinese possess but the vulgar duck, *Anas boschas*, and its varieties.]

[2] MIN. RAM. ["E gli paiono odoriferi."]

[3] Conti speaks of the large pythons of the Burmese forests as being greatly prized for food. But, more precisely, Chinese authors quoted by Klaproth speak of a great snake called *Nan-che* or southern serpent, from being found only south of the great chain of Southern China (therefore in Kwang tung and the adjacent provinces), which is hunted and sold at a great price, the flavour of the flesh being in such high estimation. (*Journ. As.*, sér. 2, ii, 118.) Till I found this I suspected some mistake on Odoric's part, his expressions so closely resemble those of a later ecclesiastic in speaking of swallow-nest soup: "No entertainment without this dish; if it is wanting the best is wanting; and without it no dinner can be deemed in worthy style." (*P. Marini*, quoted by Kircher, *China Illust.*, 199.)

[Marco Polo, in the Province of Carajan, says, ii, p. 76: "In this province are found snakes and great serpents of such vast size as to strike fear into those who see them...they also sell the flesh of this serpent, for it is excellent eating, and the people are very fond of it." Yule, p. 81, writes that it cannot be doubted that Marco's serpents here are crocodiles.—"According to Chinese notions, Han Yü, the St Patrick of China, having persuaded the alligators in China, that he was all-powerful, induced the stupid saurians to migrate to Ngo Hu or 'Alligators' Lake in the Kwang-tung province." *North-China Herald*, 5th July 1895, p. 5.]

30 Concerning the noble city called Zayton; and how the folk thereof regale their gods.

Departing from that district, and passing through many cities and towns I came[1] to a certain noble city which is called ZAYTON[2], where we friars minor have two houses[3]:

[1] [PAL., per xxxvi giornate.—RAM. B., nauigammo 27 giornate.]

[2] [B. N., Zayton.—DOM., Zaiton.—CIV., Zaycon.—RAM. A., Zaton.—RAM. B., Zanton.—PAL., Zataiton.—BOLL., Saiton.—ARUND., Kaycon.—FARS., Caicham.—HAK., Kaitam.—FRENCH TEXT, Cartan, Catan.]

Zayton, Zaitún, Zeithum, Çayton, the great port of Chinese trade with the west in the middle ages; that from which Polo sailed on his memorable voyage; that at which Ibn Batuta landed, and from which Marignolli sailed for India, is mentioned by nearly all the authors who speak of China up to the fourteenth century inclusive. A veil falls between China and Europe on the expulsion of the Mongols, and when it rises in the sixteenth century, Zaytón has disappeared.

Martini had hinted, and De Guignes had conjectured, that Polo's Zeithum was the port of Ts'wan-chau fu; in the province of Fu-kien. It remained for Klaproth to show from the Imperial Geography that the port in question was originally called *Tseu-thung*, the corruption of which to Zeithum and Zaytún would be easy.

From this port sailed the expeditions of the Mongol sovereign against Java and Japan, and for a time after the rediscovery of China it was one of the harbours frequented by the Portuguese, under the name of *Chinceo*; that of Zaytún having passed away from common use, though it is not unlikely that an Arab or Malay skipper could have pointed out the place so called. (*Martini*, in Thévenot, iii (1666), p. 155; *De Guignes*, iv, 169, 180; *Klapr., Mém.* ii, 200 and *seq.*; *Polo*, II, 234 *seq.*; *Hakluyt* (reprint), ii, 546.)

[I think it would be fastidious to re-open the controversy regarding the respective claims of Chang-chau and Ts'wan-chau to be Zaytún. It will be remembered that the late George Phillips held for the former, and he had given many proofs of the importance of Chang-chau at the time of the Mongol dynasty, but the weak point of his discussion was his theory about Fu-chau. Drawing from Chinese sources, Dr. F. Hirth, writes that "to start for foreign countries one must embark at Ts'wan-chau, and then go to the sea of Ts'i-chau (Paracels), through the Tai-hsü pass; coming back he must look to Kwen-lun (Pulo Condor)." Cf. *Marco Polo*, ii, p. 194.—This passage in itself would be almost sufficient to show that Zaytún = Ts'wan-chau. However the question has been fully treated in my edition of *Odoric* and in *Marco Polo*, ii, pp. 237–242.]

[3] See both of these establishments spoken of by Bishop Andrew of Zaytún in a letter below, which was written [January 1326] a year or two after Odoric's visit. [In his letter Bishop Andrew speaks of the Tana Martyrs, but does not say that Odoric brought their bones to Zaytún.] John Marignolli mentions a third house in his time, twenty years later.

and there I deposited the bones[1] of our friars who suffered martyrdom for the faith of Jesus Christ.

In this city is great plenty of all things that are needful for human subsistence[2]. For example you can get three[3] pounds and eight ounces of sugar[4] for less than half a groat[5]. The city is[6] twice as great as Bologna[7], and in it are many monasteries of devotees, idol worshippers every man of them. In one of those monasteries which I visited there were three thousand monks and eleven thousand idols[8]. And one of those idols, which seemed to be smaller than the rest was as big as St. Christopher might be[9].

[1] [FRENCH TEXT: "Je portay ces III corps sains desquelx nous avons fait cy devant mention des III frères meneurs qui furent martirisiez en la cité de Cana."—CIV. has "quatuor" instead of III.]

[2] [HAK., pro lenissimo foro.]

[3] [FRENCH TEXT, IIII livres.—B. N., CIV., tres.]

[4] [CIV., BOLL., *zinziberis* instead of *zuchari*.]

[5] [FRENCH TEXT, un demi gros.—PAL., per un grosso.—RAM. B., per vn soldo.]

[6] [ARUND., ut fideliter assero.]

[7] MIN. RAM.: "Men and women, both, are of pleasing manners, handsome and courteous, especially to foreigners."
["Huomini e donne sono piaceuoli, e belli, e cortesi, massime a forastieri."]
[PAL., RAM. A. et B., Bologna.—B. N., CIV., Bononia.—FRENCH TEXT, Romme.]

[8] Far greater numbers of monks are ascribed by Fa hian to monasteries of Ceylon in his day, and by Huc to Tibetan monasteries in our own. The great establishment at Pooto, an island of the Chusan Archipelago, had three thousand monks in the beginning of the last century, and even in her modern decay, in our own day, had two thousand monks, with idols innumerable (*Astley*, iv, 43; *Davis*, ii, 189). The Dutch embassy of 1655 speaks of a famous temple near Nan king, which had ten thousand images. But most of these were small. The monastery visited by Odoric at Zaitún, or Ts'wan-chau, was probably that called the *Water-Lily*, founded [under the T'ang Dynasty, during the K'ai Yuan period (713–742)], and still magnificent, boasting two great seven-storied towers. (See *Chine Moderne*, p. 117.)

[9] "The picture of St. Christopher, that is of a man of giant-like stature, bearing upon his shoulders our Saviour Christ, and with a staff in his hand wading through the water, is known unto children; common over all Europe, not only as a sign unto houses, but is described in many churches, and stands colossus-like in the entrance of Notre Dame." (*Sir T. Brown, Vulgar Errors*, ii, 52.) [See note in my ed. of *Odoric*, pp. 130–133, 284.]
St. Christopher, I suppose, may be taken at nine to twelve feet

I went thither at the hour fixed for feeding their idols, that I might witness it; and the fashion thereof is this: All the dishes which they offer to be eaten are piping hot[1] so that the smoke riseth up in the face of the idols, and this they consider to be the idols' refection. But all else they keep for themselves and gobble up. And after such fashion as this they reckon that they feed their gods well[2].

The place is one of the best in the world, and that as regards its provision for the body of man. Many other things indeed might be related of this place, but I will not write more about them at present.

31. The friar telleth of the city Fuzo and its marvels; also of rare fashions of fishing.

Thence I passed eastward to a certain city called FUZO[3].

high. But many of the Chinese Buddhas are from thirty to forty feet in height.

[B. N., "In uno autem istorum monasteriorum ego fui in quo bene erant tria millia religiosorum habentium XI millia ydola; et unum illorum ydolorum quod minus aliis esse videbatur erat bene ita magnum esset sicut Sanctus Christophorus."—CIV., "Multa sunt monasteria religiosorum idola colencium. Et in uno monasterio ego fui, in quo erant tria millia religiosorum illorum, qui sub cura sua habebant undecim millia idolorum. Et quod minus inter illa videbatur, ita magnum erat sicut Christoforus depingitur apud nos."—PAL., "Sonci molti munasteri di religiosi di l' idolatri, ne' quali sono ben dumilia riligiosi, ed anno bene XI^m d' idoli. E 'l minore è a modo d' un grande san Christofano...."—RAM. B., "Sono in questa terra molti monasteri; & idololatrice: auisandoui che ui sono piu di 3000 idoli: & il minore è due uolte piu grande d' un huomo, & sono d' oro, o d' argento, o d' altri metalli lauorati."—FRENCH TEXT: "Il y a pluseurs abbaies de religieux ydolatrez, car tout le peuple est communément ydolatre, dont le souverain de tous leurs ydoles ilz font aussi grant comme nous faisons ici saint Christofle."]

[1] [HAK., ARUND., calidissima et fumigantia.—FRENCH TEXT, très chaudes et boullans.]

[2] "The principal hall in the house was set in order, a large table was placed in the centre, and shortly afterwards covered with small dishes filled with the various articles commonly used as food by the Chinese. All these were of the very best....Candles were lighted, and columns of smoke and fragrant odours began to rise from the incense which was burning on the table....By and bye, when the gods were supposed to have finished their repast, all the articles of food were removed from the table, cut up, and consumed by people connected with the family." (*Fortune's Three Years Wanderings*, p. 190.)

[3] [VEN., DOM., Fuzo.—B. N., Fucho.—HAK., Fuko.—ARUND.,

which hath a compass of good thirty miles[1]. And here be seen the biggest cocks in the world. And there be hens also that are white as snow, and have no feathers, but have wool only upon them, like sheep[2]. The city is a mighty fine one, and standeth upon the sea[3]

Fuco.—FARS., Fuc.—PAL., Fozzo.—RAM. B., Foggia.—RAM. A., Fluzo. —A. S., Suctio.—CIV., Sucho, quae in circuitu viginta miliaria dicitur habere.]

Undoubtedly Fu-chau, capital of Fu-kien province, one of the most wealthy and populous cities in China.

[Marco Polo, ii, p. 231, says: "Now this city of Fuju is the key of the kingdom which is called *Chonka*, and which is one of the nine great divisions of Manzi. The city is a seat of great trade and great manufactures. The people are Idolaters and subject to the Great Kaan. And a large garrison is maintained there by that prince to keep the kingdom in peace and subjection. For the city is one which is apt to revolt on very slight provocation. There flows through the middle of this city a great river, which is about a mile in width, and many ships are built at the city which are launched upon this river. Enormous quantities of sugar are made there, and there is a great traffic in pearls and precious stones. For many ships in India come to these parts bringing many merchants who traffic about the Isles of the Indies. For this city is, as I must tell you, in the vicinity of the Ocean Port of Zayton...." According to the late Mr. Phillips, Fûju is Ts'wan-chau, which view I do not accept; see Zaytún, p. 183.]

[1] [The French Text omits this sentence.]

[2] [RAM. B., "Di qui partendo verso oriente, giunsi in vna città, che e sopra il mare, grande più di 30 miglia, chiamata Foggia, i Galli sono grandissimi: le galline bianchissime, & in vece di piume sono vestite di lana, come pecore."—B. N., "De hac conffrata veni versus orientem ad unam civitatem quae vocatur Fucho, quae bene circuit per XXX miliaria, in qua sunt majores galli qui sunt in mundo. Gallinae vero sunt albae ut nix, non habentes pennas sed solum lanam ut pecus sunt portantes."]

Phasianus Lanatus, *Gallus Lanatus*, Coq à duvet, or Silk fowl. Kircher thus describes them, out of Martini: "Woolly hens, the wool of which is much like that of sheep. They are small, with very short legs, but courageous, and much petted by the women." He adds: "It is generally owned that the wool of these hens cannot be woven into cloth (!) except it be first steeped in a lye, of which I have the secret." (*China Illust.* 196.) Martini is speaking of Sze-ch'wan, but Polo also speaks of these fowls in Fu-kien as "hens that have no feathers, but skins like a cat," i.e. an Angora or Persian cat, a race of which Martini mentions in China. "It is this breed which gave rise in 1766 to the fable of the fowl-rabbit, which was shown at Brussels as the produce of a rabbit and a common hen." (*Nouv. Dict. de l'Histoire Naturelle*, vol. vii.)

[The *Gallus Lanatus* is but a race of the *Gallus ferrugineus* from which come probably all the hens of the world; this Chinese variety, by its domestication, is more delicate than the others and is very prolific.]

[3] [Sentence omitted in the French text.]

Departing thence and travelling for eighteen days, I passed through many cities and towns and witnessed a great variety of things. And as I travelled thus I came to a certain great mountain. And on the one side all the animals that dwell there are black, and the men and women have a very strange way of living. But on the other side all the animals are white, and the men and women have a quite different way of living from the others[1]. All the

[1] [BOLL., "In cuius laterè nigra animalia morabantur; ex alio autem latere eiusdem montis animalia sunt alba."—CIV., "In cuius latere magna animalia morabantur, ex alio autem latere eiusdem montis...animalia fuerunt alba."—RAM. B., "E peruenimmo ad vn monte altissimo nel qual mi parue veder cosa strana, che da quel lito, doue noi discēdessemo, io viddi huomini, le dònne, & bestie tutti negrissimi piu che carboni spenti, & da l' altro lato verso Oriente erano tutti huomini, e donne, e bestie bianchissimi: ma l' vna parte, e l' altra mi pareua che viuessino, e vestisseno come bestie."]

"Though on both one side and the other methought they lived and dressed in a beastly manner." MIN. RAM. It is difficult to explain precisely what this theory means, but doubtless the range of mountains [called Nan Shan] was that which separates Fu-kien from the rest of the empire, and which Odoric may have crossed either northwards into Che-Kiang, or westwards into Kiang-si, which last we shall see was the route followed by Ibn Batuta in going to King se or Hang-chau fu.

The differences between the races on the two sides of the mountain probably point to the friar's having passed a part occupied by the Meau-tze or other aboriginal tribes. These do not now extend so far east, but what Polo says of savage cannibals with blue-painted (i.e. tattooed) faces in Fu-kien, seems to imply that they did so in his time; and some observations of Sir John Davis's corroborate this (*Polo*, i, 78; *Chinese, supp. vol.* p. 260). And in the modern Chinese census one class of population in a district of the province of Canton appear as *Blacks* (*Chine Mod.*, p. 167). Indeed Semedo (about 1632) says there was still an independent kingdom, presumably of the Meau-tze, in the mountains dividing Fu-kien, Canton, and Kiang-si, viz., those of which Odoric speaks (*Rel. della Cina*, p. 19).

The habits and appearances of those races would, no doubt, stand in strong contrast to those of the Chinese, who call them *Dogmen* and *Wolfmen*. The "barrel of horn" worn on the head may perhaps be identified with the grotesque coiffure of the Meau-tze women, described by Duhalde as "a light board, more than a foot long and five or six inches wide, which they cover with their hair, and fix it with wax, so that they seem to have a hair hat on. They can't rest the head nor lie down, except by putting something under the neck, and they are obliged constantly to twist the head right or left in passing along the forest paths. And the business of combing the hair is a still greater difficulty; they must then hold their heads for hours by the fire to melt the wax," etc.

The description of this head-dress in the *Minor Ramusian* version, however, rather recalls that of the wooden sugar-loaf head-dress worn

married women there wear on their heads a great barrel of horn[1], that they may be known to be married[2].

Passing hence, and travelling for eighteen days more, through many cities and towns, I came to a certain great river[3], and I tarried at a certain city [called Belsa][4] which

by the Druze women; and it is curious in connexion with this to remember the Chinese origin of the Druzes, which their traditions maintain (see Mr. Cyril Graham on the Druzes of Bashan, in *J.R.G.S.*). Hiuen Tsang describes a horn of some three feet in height as worn by the married women of *Himatala*, apparently a district of Upper Badakhshan. (*Vie de H.T.*, p. 269.)

[Dr. D. J. Macgowan in his *Note on the Chihkiang Miautsz'*, in the *Journ. of the North China B. Roy. As. Soc.*, N. S., vi, p. 124, crossing the hilly country between Kin hwa fu and Chu Chau fu, writes: "In 1859 I crossed with a fellow traveller the mountains which divide the departments of Kin hwa and Chi-chau, in one of the glens of which we met a party of women whose extraordinary habiliments attracted our attention. They were evidently out on a holiday ramble which their full-sized unbound feet (so unlike those of their Chinese sisters), enabled them to enjoy. They wore their hair folded towards the forehead in the form of an arch, from which was suspended by a silver chain a silver plate, isoceles shape, rounded at the angles, and inscribed with felicitous characters, as "longevity," "happiness," and the like. These were amulets. As I merely regarded them as a hill clan, and as they were extremely timid, I made no attempt to interrogate them. On descending the valley, however, I made inquiries concerning them and was informed they were Miautsz'; that they lived secluded in the recesses of the adjacent mountains, conforming to a considerable extent to the customs of the neighbouring country; the men presenting no peculiarity in dress."]

[1] [B. N., barile de cornu.—RAM. A., un gran barile di corna.—Fr. 1380, couronne.]

[2] MIN. RAM. has "wear on the head, in the middle of the forehead, a horn of wood covered with skin, and more than two spans in length." ["Le donne maritate portano in testa vn corno di legno couerto di pelle, lungo piu di due spanne, a mezzo la fronte."—FRENCH TEXT: "Les dames mariées y portent une corne sur leur chief et par celle corne recognoist-on les dames mariées des autres."]

[3] [Odoric having just crossed the Nan Shan range, on his way to Hang-chau, is in the Che-Kiang province, and the great river mentioned by him is very probably the Ts'ien t'ang River.]

[4] I suppose it is not possible to determine the city on a great river where Odoric saw the fishing cormorants. Even if the name *Belsa* given in the *Min. Ram.* be genuine, I find nothing nearer it than Wen-chau in Che-Kiang, and it is doubtful if Odoric's route could have lain that way.

The story of the fishing birds is a perfectly accurate account of the practice, as it still exists in China, and is described by Duhalde, Staunton (these two give plates of the operation), Mendoza, Martini, Father Ripa, Davis, Fortune, and many more. The last-named author says the bird "is as docile as a dog; he swims after his master, and

hath a bridge[1] across that river. And at the head of the bridge was a hostel in which I was entertained[2]. And

allows himself to be pulled into the sanpan, where he disgorges his prey, and again resumes his labours. And what is more wonderful still, if one of the cormorants gets hold of a fish of a large size, so large that he would have some difficulty in taking it to the boat, some of the others haste to his assistance," etc. (*Three years' Wand.*, p. 110.) Fortune procured specimens to carry home, but could not bring them alive to England. The price in China was from six to eight dollars a pair.

The bird, which is called by the Chinese, with contempt for generic accuracy, "Fishing Hawk," or "Fishing Duck," is a cormorant, and has been termed *Phalacrocorax sinensis*, as differing from the English species (*Ph. Carbo*). I learn however that Mr. Swinhoe considers it to be only a variety produced by domestication. The English bird was formerly used for fishing both in England and in Holland quite in the Chinese way. Charles II had a *master of the cormorants*. (*Knight's Mus. of Animated Nature*, ii, 781.)

[This refers of course to Cormorant fishing, very much in favour in this very province of Che-Kiang. Cf. French ed. of Odoric, note, pp. 290-6.—In *The Special Cat. of the Chinese Col. Int. Fisheries Exhib.*, Lond., 1883, p. 46, we read: "Many are the ways used in this province for catching fish of all kinds in the rivers, lakes, and canals, but none of them are more curious than the cormorant fishing, which may be seen everywhere about Ningpo. Certain places are noted for the excellence of the birds which are bred and trained there; amongst these we may name Fênghua and Shaohsing. The most celebrated place, however, is a small town called T'anghsichên, 50 *li* north-west of Hang-chau, the people of which are currently believed to possess a secret in cormorant-rearing which gives them special success. The cormorant's book name is *Lu tzŭ*, and the common name is *Yü ying*, "fish hawk," or *Yü ya*, "fish crow."]

[1] [RAM. A., di marmo.]

[2] MIN. RAM. This edition has in this passage an exceedingly curious variation, difficult to account for. It runs thus: "Mine host ...took us to one side of the bridge where the river was wider, and there we found many boats, and there was one of them employed in fishing by aid of a certain fish called *Marigione*. The host had another such, and this he took and kept it by a cord attached to a fine collar. And this indeed is a creature that we have seen in our own seas, where many call it the *sea-calf*. It had the muzzle and neck like a fox's, and the forepaws like a dog's, but the toes longer, and the hind feet like a duck's, and the tail with the rest of the body like a fish's. Mine host made him go in the water, and he began to catch quantities of fish with his mouth, always depositing them in the boat. And I swear that in less than two hours he had filled more than two big baskets," etc. ["E lo hostieri p darci piacere, ci disse, se noi voleuamo ueder pescare, e menocci al lato del ponte, doue il fiume era piu largo: la oue erano molte barche, & eracene una, che pescaua con un pesce, che loro chiamano marigione. E l' hoste ne haueua un' altro, e quello tolse, e teneualo con vna corda messa in vna bella collana: e ben vero che noi ne haueuamo ueduti ne' nostri paesi assai: e molti lo chiamano Veglio marino. Questa bestia hauea il muso, e 'l collo com' vna volpe,

mine host, wishing to gratify me, said: "If thou wouldst like to see good fishing, come with me." And so he led me upon the bridge, and I looked and saw in some boats of his that were there certain water-fowl[1] tied upon perches. And these he now tied with a cord round the throat that they might not be able to swallow the fish which they caught. Next he proceeded to put three great baskets[2] into a boat, one at each end and the third in the middle, and then he let the water-fowl loose. Straightway they began to dive into the water, catching great numbers of fish, and ever as they caught them putting them of their own accord into the baskets, so that before long all the three baskets were full. And mine host then took the cord off their necks and let them dive again to catch fish for their own food. And when they had thus fed they returned to their perches and were tied up as before. And some of those fish I had for my dinner.

After departing thence and travelling for many days, I witnessed another fashion of fishing. The men this time were in a boat, wherein they had a tub full of hot water; and they were naked, and had each of them a bag slung

& i piedi dauanti com' vn cane, ma hauea le dita piû longhe, & i piedi di dietro com un'oca, e la coda col resto del busto come un pesce: quale l'hoste lo mandò giù nel fiume: & eglì cacciatosi dentro cominciò a prendere di molto pesce con la bocca tutta via mettendolo nella barca. E giuro che in meno di due hore n' empì piu di dui cestoni: e similmente fecero gli altri pescatori: quando poi non volean piu pescare, lasciauano la bestia nell' acqua, acciochè andasse a pascerci: e quando era ben pasciuta, ritornaua ciascuna al suo pescatore, come cosa domestica."

RAM. A. is much shorter: "Nel capo d'esso [ponte era] una casa di un pescatore, doue allogiai: qual, volendo darmi alquanto spasso, mi disse: che se voleuo andar seco, a uedere vn bel pescare."]

Apollonius related that he had seen at Ægæ, near Issus, a female *phoca*, which was kept for fishing purposes. And the authority quoted in the preceding note [*Knight*], says the seal may be taught to assist in fishing. So probably the story was altered by some one aware of these facts about the seal, but indisposed to believe in the cormorants, and the use of the word *marigione*, apparently for *marangone* "a diver," appears to be a trace of the unaltered narrative.

[1] [Fr. Text, plungons.]

[2] [Fr. 1380, IIII queste9]

over his shoulder. Now they dived under water [for half a quarter of an hour or so][1], and caught the fish with their hands, stowing them in those bags that they had. And when they came up again they emptied the bags into the boat, whilst they themselves got into the tub of hot water[2], and others went in their turn and did as the first; and so great numbers of fish were taken[3].

[1] MIN. RAM. [Per un ottauo d' hora in circa.]

[2] [B.N., se ponentes.—VEN., ponebant.—CIV., se ponebant.—ARUND., balnearunt.]

[3] [RAM. B., "Stauano gli huomini tutti nudi in barca, e ciascuno haueua un sacchetto a torno, e buttauasi in acqua per un *ottauo d' hora* in circa, e prendeua del pesce con mano, mettendolo in sacchetto, e poi tornaua in barca: & incontinente si metteua in una tina d' acqua calda, & un' altra volta poi si buttauano in acqua, a pigliar del pesce."

The A.S. do not mention any fishing, and HAK. does not speak of the second manner.]

Fortune describes this mode of fishing also. "The fisherman," he says, "is literally amphibious. He is to be seen perfectly naked, half walking, half swimming; now he raises his arms and hands above his head, and, bringing them down, strikes a sharp blow upon the water, making a loud and splashing noise. His feet are not idle: they warn him that a fish is at hand, and they are now feeling for him amongst the mud at the bottom of the pond. The next moment the fisherman has disappeared...he appears rubbing his face and eyes with one hand, and in the other the poor little fish which he has just captured. It is immediately placed safely in his basket, and the work goes on as before." He says nothing of the tub of hot water (p. 109).

[This passage of Dabry's *Pisciculture en Chine*, pp. 170–1, will make clear this text: "A la fin de l'automne, et au commencement de l'hiver, c'est-à-dire pendant les dixième, onzième, douzième et premières lunes, quelques espèces de poissons aiment à rester blottis sous les pierres ou les éminences de terre qui s'élèvent au milieu des eaux. Les pêcheurs qui connaissent ces sortes de réservoirs, dans lesquels la température descend moins bas que dans les endroits non abrités, en profitent pour y prendre à la main cinq ou six espèces de poissons, tels que *yong-yu* (Hypophthalmichtys Simoni), *ky-yu* (Siniperca), *nien-yu* (Silurus Xansthosteus), *houang-chang-yu* (Peltobagrus calvarius). Comme ces trous sont généralement à des profondeurs assez considérables, le pêcheur est obligé de plonger pour les découvrir; il porte attaché autour de ses reins un petit filet, en forme de panier, dans lequel il met le poisson qu'il est parvenu à saisir avec ses mains; lorsque celui-çi est très gluant, le pêcheur le serre entre le pouce, le médium et l'annulaire formant ainsi une véritable pince. Quand le poisson est armé d'ailerons et de nageoires dangereuses, il le saisit sous le ventre et évite ainsi de se blesser. Chaque pêcheur, à tour de rôle (ils sont ordinairement quatre associés), plonge trois fois par demi-heure; aussitôt sorti de l'eau, il vient se réchauffer près du feu que l'on entretient continuellement sur le bâteau. Les jours où le

32. Concerning the city of Cansay, which is the greatest city on earth[1].

Departing thence, I came unto the city of Cansay, a name which signifieth "*the City of Heaven*[2]." And 'tis the

froid est très considérable, on ne plonge pas. Quelquefois, après une grande fatigue, le pêcheur éprouve de violentes hémorrhagies."]

[1] [B.N., de civitate Cansaiâ.—VIENNA, de civitate Cansana.—RAM. A., Cansay.—PAL., Chansay.—VEN., Campsay, of which he wrongly makes *Nanking*, p. 123.—A. S., Chamsana.—CIV., Ahamsane.—DOM., Cansave.—RAM. B., Guinzai.—Fr. 2810, Casaie.—FRENCH TEXT, De la cité Casay la grande, alias Catusaie.]

[This chapter on Hang-chau is one of the most important of Odoric's Travels; we may refer the reader to Yule-Cordier's *Marco Polo*, Cordier's *Odoric*, the papers by Vissière and Hirth mentioned in the notes and especially Bishop Moule's *Notes on Col. Yule's Edition of Marco Polo* (*Journ. N. C. B. R. As. Soc.*, ix, 1874, p. 1), *Notes on Hangchow past and present* [1889], a second edition of which was published in 1907.]

[2] Cansay or Campsay is, of course, the Quinsai of Marco Polo (see his more detailed account of its marvels), the modern Hang-chau-fu, called at that time properly Lin-ngan [a name given by the Sung Emperor Kao-tsung, 1127–1162, when he was compelled, 1129, by the Kin Tartars, to remove his capital from K'ai fung, in Ho-nan, to Che-kiang] but also popularly *King-sze*, Seat of the Court or Capital (the term now officially applied to Pe-king), from its having been the seat of the Sung dynasty from 1127 to 1276, when the city was captured by the Mongols, when Northern China was in the hands of the *Kin*, or Niu-chen Tartars and afterwards of the house of Chinghiz. That is, as Odoric expresses it: "it was the royal city in which the Kings of Manzi formerly dwelt." The city is mentioned under various forms of the same name, representing the King sze of the Chinese, by Marignolli, Pegolotti, Ibn Batuta and other Arabic and Persian writers. It seems to have retained the name, indeed, centuries after it ceased to be a capital. For it is marked *Camse* in Carletti's transcription of the name in the *Chinese Atlas* (dated 1595) which he brought home in 1603, and which is now in the Magliabecchian Library. (*Baldelli Boni*, i, cxiii, cxxi.)

The interpretation of the name as City of Heaven, given by Polo as well as Odoric, was probably current among the Western Asiatics in the ports of China, and may have grown out of the proverb quoted by Duhalde, Davis, and others: "*Above is Paradise, but Su-chau and Hang-chau are here below.*" The glories of these sister cities have vanished under the barbarities of T'aï-p'ing occupation and imperial re-conquest, but they existed till these recent events with no vast diminution of wealth and splendour. The most enthusiastic corroboration, in comparatively modern times, of Marco Polo's details, is probably that of Father Martini in the *Atlas Sinensis*. He even stands up, on a certain latitude of interpretation, for the ten thousand bridges, which meet with no corroboration from modern official works; the Imperial Geography, quoted in *Chine Moderne*, mentioning only two as worthy of note. But Ibn Batuta's account in the present

greatest city in the whole world, [so great indeed that I should scarcely venture to tell of it, but that I have met at Venice

volume may be compared with Odoric's, and also the following from Wassaf, one of the Persian historians of the Mongols. "Khanzai," he says, "is the greatest city of China, having nearly twenty-four farsangs of compass. Its houses are of wood, adorned with beautiful paintings. From one end to the other there is a distance of three posts. Most of the streets have a length of three farsangs. The city contains sixty-four squares bordered with houses uniformly built. The produce of the salt duty amounts daily to 700 *balish* of paper money. One may judge of the great number of its artizans by that of the working dyers, for of these there are 30,000. The garrison amounts to seven *tománs* (70,000). The census lets us know that there are seventy *tománs* of families taxed. There are seven hundred temples, which look like fortified castles; all full of monks. There are three hundred and sixty bridges [the number which Odoric assigns to Nanking]. An innumerable multitude of boats of all sizes serve for communication. One finds there a prodigious concourse of strangers of all countries on earth, merchants and others. Such is the capital." (In *D'Ohsson*, ii, 417.) Extracts of other accounts of Quinsai or Khansa from Arabic and Persian authors are given by Quatremère (*Introd. to Rashideddin*, pp. lxxxvii *seq.*).

[Marco Polo affirms: "the city of Kinsay to be so great that it hath an hundred miles of compass. And there are in it twelve thousand bridges of stone, for the most part so lofty that a great fleet could pass beneath them. And let no man marvel that there are so many bridges, for you see the whole city stands as it were in the water and surrounded by water, so that a great many bridges are required to give free passage about it....Since the Great Kaan occupied the city he has ordained that each of the 12,000 bridges should be provided with a guard of ten men, in case of any disturbance, or of any being so rash as to plot treason or insurrection against him."

The 100 *miles* of Marco Polo and of Odoric may stand for 100 *li*. "The wall existing in the Sung Dynasty was repaired or perhaps rebuilt after great rains about A.D. 1159. The Yung Kin gate certainly, and the Li-shê probably, existed before this date, and it is possible that the wall was substantially the same as the original wall of the Sui dynasty. There are, however, indications that that early wall did not include the Fêng-hwang hill." (Moule, *Hangchow*, 1907, p. 55.) Referring to Mr. E. H. Parker's travels in Che-kiang, Mr. Moule wrote in the *Journal of the China Br. Roy. Asiat. Soc.*, xx, 1885, p. 55: "Hangchow is described as having a circuit of from 20 to 25 miles. Now whether we take this as meaning English miles, or Chinese *li*, the computation is equally misleading. The circuit of the walls of Hangchow is given by the latest survey as 36 *li* and 90 paces; or about 12 English miles....Six hundred years ago, in the time of the great Venetian, the circuit of Hangchow was given as 100 *miles*, evidently Chinese *li*, or about 30 English miles; and the city walls are known to have stretched in those days to the S.W. far beyond the present boundary; and they included several of the neighbouring hills." Cf. *Marco Polo*, 3rd ed., ii, pp. 193-4.

Mr. Moule says (*Jour. N. C. B. R. As. Soc.*, ix, 1875, p. 7): "The Bridges, neither of the Sung Map, nor of the existing city, will justify Marco's number [the same as Odoric's]. Some of them, especially

people in plenty who have been there][1]. It is a good hundred miles in compass, and there is not in it a span of ground which is not well peopled. And many a tenement is there which shall have ten or twelve households[2] comprised in it[3]. And there be also great suburbs which contain a greater population than even the city itself. For the city hath twelve[4] chief gates, and from each of them cities extend to

outside the present north wall, are lofty enough for large river junks to carry their masts in passing them; but all told, they seem never to have numbered more than from one to two hundred."]

[Dr. F. Hirth, in a paper published in the *T'oung pao*, v, pp.386–390 (*Ueber den Schiffverkehr von Kinsay zu Marco Polo's Zeit*), has some interesting notes on the maritime trade of Hang-chau, collected from a work in twenty books, kept at the Berlin Royal Library, in which is to be found a description of Hang-chau under the title of *Mêng-liang-lu*, published in 1274 by Wu Tzu-mu, himself a native of this city: there are various classes of sea-going vessels; large boats measuring 5000 *liao* and carrying from five to six hundred passengers; smaller boats measuring from 2 to 1000 *liao* and carrying from two to three hundred passengers; there are small fast boats called *tsuan-fêng*, "wind-breaker," with six or eight oarsmen, which can carry easily 100 passengers, and are generally used for fishing; sampans are not taken into account."]

[1] MIN. RAM. ["Arriuãmo in vna città marauigliosa detta Guinzai ...questa città e la maggiore che sia in tutto 'l mondo, & e si grande, che a pena ardisco di dir lo: *Ma ho ben trouate in Vinetia assai persone, che ui sono state.*"—A.S., "Omni aliâ quam conspexi."—CIV., "Haec maior est omnium aliarum quam conspexi."—RAM. A., "Venni doppo questo in vna città, domandata Cansay, che appresso noi vuol dire città, celestiale, di pane, di vino, di carne, di porco, di riso, & finalmente di tutte quelle cose, che sono all' humano vso necessarie, copiosa, & ancora di mercantie grandi, & nobilissima, questa è la maggior città, che sia hoggi al mondo."]

[2] [PAL., dieci e dodici.—A.S., "decem vel duodecim suppellectibiles, id est familias."—FRENCH TEXT, "Et si y a maintes maisons esquelles il y a x mainages ou plus."]

[3] This is absurdly converted in HAK. into "houses having ten or twelve stories, one above another"; a circumstance which Chinese habits notoriously contradict. The real reference is probably to the Chinese mode of living, which Davis calls "a universal system of clubbing upon the most economical plan. The Emperor observes in the Sacred Institutions that nine generations once lived under the same roof, and that in the family of Chang-she of Kiang-chau seven hundred partook of the same daily repast" (iii, 162). I must add, however, that I find the *Masâlak-al-Absâr*, quoted by Quatremère (*Rashideddin*, p. lxxxviii), says the houses of Khansa "*have five stories.*"

[4] [French 1380 gives X gates, but Fr. 2810, and all the other MSS., PAL., CIV., DOM., VEN., A.S., etc., give twelve gates.]

[Under the Sung dynasty, Kao-tsung period (1127–1162), the gates

a distance of some eight miles, each one greater than Venice is or Padua[1]. So that you may for six or seven days travel continually about one of these suburbs, and yet shall you seem to have gone but a very little way.

This city is situated upon lagoons of standing water [with canals][2] like the city of Venice[3]. And it hath more than twelve thousand bridges[4], on each of which are stationed guards guarding the city on behalf of the great Khan. And at the side of this city there flows a river near which it is built like Ferrara by the Po, for it is longer than it is broad[5].

I made diligent inquiry regarding the city, and asked questions of Christians, Saracens, idolaters, and everybody else, and they all agreed as with one voice that it had a circuit of one hundred miles[6]. And they have an

were thirteen: on the east: Kan shan, Tung Ts'ing, T's'ung-sin, Sin, Pao-ngan, Hou-ch'ao, Pien; on the south: Li-she; on the west: Ts'ien hu, Ts'ing-po, Yung-kin, Ts'ien-t'ang; on the north: Yû-hang. Three gates were closed in 1370. (Moule, *Journ. N. China Br. Roy. As. Soc.*, ix, 1875, p. 12; *Notes on Hangchow*, 1907, p. 56.)]

[1] [PAL., Padova o Vinegia.—B.N., A.S., Civitas Venetiarum et Padua.—CIV., Civitas Veneciarum et Pudua.—DOM., Vinegia o Padoa.—RAM. A., Venetia, & Padoua.—FRENCH TEXT, Venise.]

[2] MIN. RAM.

[3] [PAL., "in aqua di lagune a modo di Vinegia."—B.N., CIV., "in aquis lacunarum...sicut civitas Venetiarum."—RAM. B., "e fatto lagune, *per certi canali*, come sono a Vinetia."—FRENCH TEXT, "Ceste cité est assise en bas terroir, entre lacs, mares, et estancs, ainsi que la cité de Venise."]

[4] MIN. RAM. makes Odoric take an oath to this. ["O uero lagune hanno porte, che *per Dio uero*, sono di certo di piu di diece miglia."—RAM. A., 11,000 porti.—FRENCH TEXT, "Si y a plus de XII mille pons, et à chascun pont a gens qui le gardent de part le grant Kaan."]

[5] [B.N., "Flumen juxta quod sita est civitas ista, sicut Ferraria ipsa manet."—VEN., A.S., sicut Ferraria juxta Padum.—CIV., Ferraria super Padum.—RAM. A., si come in Ferrara.—FRENCH TEXT, "A un lez de la ville, cuert un très grand fleuve, et pour ce est ceste cité plus longue que large."]

The Arabic work *Masâlâk-al-Absâr* says "the city of Khansa extends in length the space of a whole day's journey, and in breadth the space of a half-day's journey." (In *Quatremère's Rashideddin*, p. lxxxviii.)

[The river alluded to is the Ts'ien T'ang kiang, famous by its bore.]

[6] [FRENCH TEXT, "Tous me dirent que ceste cité a plus de C

edict from their Lord that every fire shall pay to the great Khan annually[1] a tax of one *balis*, i.e. of five pieces of paper like silk[2], a sum equal to one florin and a half[3].

milles de tour, sanz les fourbours et ces XII citez susdittes, qui sont à VIII milles au dehors de chascune porte, et si est toute subgette au seigneur le grant Kaan qui en lève si grand avoir que c'est merveilles."]

[1] [FRENCH TEXT, "Car chascun feu lui paye tous les ans V *cacques de coton* qui bien valent là un flourin et demi; mais tant y a que X ou XI mainages ne font que un feu; au payer, le nombre des feux de la ville monte à IIII^{xx} V tumans de ceulz de leur loy, et IIII tumans de Sarrazins, qui en tout font IIII^{xx} IX tumans. dont un tuman vault X^{m} feux."—*cacques de coton* is absurd.]

[2] [Odoric says that one *balis* = one florin and a half. L. Cibrario writes, *Dict. de la Conversation*, that at the end of the XIVth century, there were several kinds of florins varying in price from 12 francs 80 c. to 10 fr. 93. In the French edition of Odoric, I came to the conclusion that every fire paid to the great Khan a sum varying from 18 fr. 87 c. to 16 fr. 40; the actual equivalent would be five times as much.]

[3] [PAL., "bastise, ciò cinque carte bambagine."—B.N., "balis..., id est quinque cartas ad instar bombicis."—CIV., "ballis id est quinque cartas bombicis"—MUN., basis.—RAM. A., bastagne.—The whole of this passage is left out in the A.S.]

A note on the Chinese paper currency will be found in the comment on Pegolotti. In the meantime there is something to be said about the term *balis* which Odoric applies to it, or rather to a certain sum estimated in that currency. It is a genuine word, applied by the Western Asiatics in the same way. We shall meet with it in Pegolotti under the form *balish* (*balisci*), and in Ibn Batuta as *bálisht*, plural *bawálisht*, identical in spelling with a word which he uses elsewhere for a kind of cushion. Two questions arise about the word; Whence is it? and what value did it indicate?

As to the first, my friend Mr. Badger writes: "If corrupted from an Arabic word, which is not improbable, I take this to be *fals*, a small coin, money; a term in common use throughout the East, but vulgarly pronounced *fils*. According to the author of the Kâmus it also signifies *sigillo impressa charta in collo pendens, quo tributarium esse significabatur*. Perhaps this term was similarly applied to the stamped paper money of the Tartar dynasty." This is *almost* satisfactory, but does not quite carry conviction, both because we find Arabic authors like Ibn Batuta using *bálisht* as a distinct word, and because its meaning seems to have been that of a certain sum or monetary unit, apart from any connexion with paper currency. The Arabic *fals*, according to Reinaud (*Mém. de l'Acad. des Insc.*, xviii, 237), is merely a corruption of *obolus*, representing copper coin, as *dirhem* from drachma represents silver coin, and *dínár* from denarius gold. It seems therefore unlikely that it should be applied to a large sum of gold or silver. Ibn Batuta tells us that "*bálisht* means the same as a dínár or piece of gold with us," whilst we find that Shah Rokh's embassy to the Ming Emperor in 1420 receives, amongst other presents, *eight balish of silver*. Another of the presents is five thousand *chao*, which was the genuine Chinese name for the paper

money. In a story about certain merchants, related by Gregory Abulpharagius in connexion with the invasion of Turkestan by Chinghiz, we find the Khan ordering one *balish of gold* to be paid for each piece of gold brocade, and two *balish of silver* for each piece of muslin. We are told also that Húlakú deposited his treasures in a castle on Lake Urumia, after casting his gold into *balish*.

D'Ohsson does not explain the word, but he quotes three valuations of it from Persian historians. The author of *Tarikh Jahan Kushai* (d. 1282) says that the balish, whether of gold or silver, was a weight of five hundred *mithkals*. Wassaf, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, says the balish of gold was equal to two thousand dínárs; the balish of silver, two hundred dínárs; and the balish cháo, or of paper money, was but ten dínárs. The author of *Rozát ul Janát*, written in the fifteenth century, estimated the balish of gold at five hundred dínárs. I may add that the author of the *Livre du Grant Caan*, a contemporary of Odoric, says the *balisme* of gold was equal to one thousand golden florins. Pétis de la Croix says (but I do not know on what authority) that a balish of gold was worth seventy-five golden dínárs, and adds that in short a balish was what in his own day was in Turkey called a *purse*. (*Vie de Genghiz Can*, Ital. tr. Ven., 1737, p. 195.)

With regard to the paper *balish*, Ibn Batuta tells us only that *twenty-five* notes went to it, whilst Odoric says *five* notes went to it, and that it was worth a florin and a half, i.e. about fourteen shillings. Pegolotti says four balish were worth a *sommo*, and that was worth about five florins. This would make the balish about twelve shillings.

It would seem from these various statements that the value of the metallic *balish* had varied, though perhaps a weight of five hundred *mithkals* was its original standard. The difference in value of the paper and silver *balish* was probably entirely due to the depreciation of paper caused by the excessive issues and strange financial pranks of the Mongol emperors, including the great Kúblái himself.

Freytag's *Lexicon* gives the word and explains it as a Tartar designation for a certain great sum of gold or silver, but offers no etymology. Richardson gives "BALISH, P., *a cushion or pillow, bedding, a staple.* A certain weight of gold; *from* balídan, *to extend, spread, reach, overtake*; to match or equal, *to grow long, to ripen*," etc.; and also "BALISHE, *a little cushion put on a saddle, which it resembles in shape.*" Now may not the balish have been an ingot of gold or silver resembling in form such a cushion, or some other object of like name? For instance, Richardson also gives "BALIK, *a shoe or slipper*"; and we find in Barrow's account of the presents given at the Chinese court to Lord Macartney's suite, that, as in the case of their Persian predecessors centuries before, a part consisted of ingots of silver, and these were "cast in the form of a Tartar shoe [*Yuen-pao*], each being about an ounce in weight."...More about *balish* is to be seen, I find, in Quatremère's notes on Rashideddin, pp. 320–21.

["Le *balich* d'or ou d'argent," says C. Schefer, *Chrestomathie persane*, ii, p. 155, "était une monnaie de compte. Les lexicographes persans nous disent que le balich était un lingot du poids de cinq cents miçqals. Ala Eddin auquel cette définition est empruntée, nous apprend que de son temps, le balich d'argent avait la valeur de 75 dinars (*roukny*), chacun ayant le poids de quatre dangs. Le dinar Roukny était la pièce d'or frappée au nom de Roukn Eddin de la dynastie de Kharezmchâh. Wassaf dit, à la fin du chapitre consacré à l'avènement au trône de Qoubilay Qaân, que le balich d'or valait deux

And their way of managing is this, that ten or twelve households[1] will unite to have one fire, and so pay for one fire only[2]. Now of these fires there are reckoned eighty-five *tumans*[3], and with four more of Saracens[4], making eighty-

mille dinars, le balich d'argent, deux cents dinars, et le balich *tchao*, ou en papier-monnaie, dix dinars. Plus tard, le balich d'or ne valut plus que huit dinars et deux dangs et le balich d'argent huit dirhems et deux dangs."]

[See Yule, *Hobson Jobson*, s.v. "Shoe" and "Tael," and N. Elias' *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 256 *n*.]

[1] [FRENCH TEXT, X ou XI mainages.]

[2] The term "fires" (*ignes*) used by Odoric is technically correct, or nearly so. The official word used in the Chinese census is *yen-hu*, literally *fires-doors*. Persons called *Pao-kia*, or "chiefs of ten fires," are appointed to collect the numbers of their tithing, and this may have been misunderstood by Odoric. (See *Chine Moderne*, p. 167.)

[This may be an explanation of this passage; Pauthier writes, *Chine moderne*, p. 167: "Pour établir le chiffre exact de la population de chaque province, le gouverneur et le lieutenant gouverneur font recueillir dans tous les lieux qui sont de leur ressort, par des préposés nommés *Pao-kiâ* ou *chefs de dix feux*, les chiffres portés sur les tablettes en bois attachées aux portes des maisons (*mên pâï-tsê*), pour avoir le nombre réel des personnes qui les habitent."

According to the *Yuan shi*, quoted by Pauthier, *Marco Polo*, p. 492, there were in 1290 in the circuit of Hang-chau 360,850 Heads of Families and 1,834,719 women, old men and children.]

[3] *Tuman* in the Mongol language signifies ten thousand. It was borrowed by the Persians and Arabs, and with them means a weight or sum of money, originally equal to ten thousand *mithkals* or Arab drachms of silver. "The Mogols and Khwaresmians often use the word for ten thousand men, and say (e.g.) that the city of Samarkand affords seven *tumans*, i.e. seventy thousand men capable of bearing arms." (*D'Herbelot* in voce.)

Polo reckons the population of Quinsai at one hundred and sixty tumans of fires, but he does not add Odoric's exaggeration about each fire representing ten or twelve families.

["Moreover, I must tell you that in this city there are 160 tomans of fire, or in other words 160 tomans of houses. Now I shall tell you that the toman is 10,000, so that you can reckon the total as altogether 1,600,000 houses, among which are a great number of rich palaces." *Marco Polo*, ii, p. 192.]

[4] Fires of the *Hwei Hwei* or Mahomedans appear as a separate class also in the modern Chinese census. (*Chine Mod.*, p. 166.)

[In the heart of Hang-chau, one of the bridges spanning the canal which divides into two parts the walled city from north to south is called *Hwei Hwei K'iao* (Bridge of the Mohamedans) or *Hwei Hwei Sin K'iao* (New Bridge of the Mohamedans) while its literary name is *Tsi Shan K'iao* (Bridge of Accumulated Wealth); it is situated between the *Tsien K'iao* on the south and the *Fung lo K'iao* on the north. Near the *Tsi Shan K'iao* was a mosk and near the *Tsien K'iao*, at the time of the Yuen, there existed Eight Pavilions (*Pa kien lew*) inhabited by wealthy Mussulmans. Mohammedans from Arabia and

nine[1] *tumans*. Now one tuman is equal to ten thousand fires[2]. And besides these there are the Christians[3] and the merchants and others only passing through the country.

This being so, I greatly marvelled how such numbers of human bodies could manage to dwell in one place, and yet there is always there great plenty of bread and pork[4], and rice and wine, which wine is otherwise called *Bigni*[5], and is reputed a noble drink; and indeed great abundance of all other victuals is found there.

Turkestan were sent by the Yuen to Hang-chau; they had prominent noses, did not eat pork and were called *So mu chung* (Coloured-eye race). Visssère, *Rev. du Monde Musulman*, March, 1913.]

[1] [RAM. A., 90.]

[2] [RAM. B., "E mi fu detto, che ciascuna casa paga l' anno al Signore vn bastagne, che val vn ducato, e mezzo: e dieci fameglie fanno vn fuoco per focolaro, questi focolari della terra sono 85 & ogni focolaro è dieci mila fochi, & ogni foco è communemente 10 famiglie: e questo è solamente de' Saracini, tutti il resto è di Christiani, e mercadanti, & altre genti forastiere che sono dieci volte piu di Saracini."]

[3] [Marco Polo, II, p. 192, says: "There is one church only, belonging to the Nestorian Christians." It was one of the seven churches built in China by Mar Sarghis, called *Ta p'u hing sze* (Great Temple of Universal Success) or *Yang yi Hu-mu-la*, near the *Tsien-k'iao men*. Cf. *Marco Polo*, II, p. 177; Vissiere, *Rev. du Monde Musulman*, March 1913, p. 8.]

[4] [B. N., VEN., carnium de porco.—FRENCH TEXT, char.]

[5] [Fr. 2810, bygun.—FRENCH TEXT, *bigum*.—VEN., bigini.—B. N., vigim.]

In calling this Chinese liquor *wine*, Odoric does the same as many later travellers. Before his time Rubruquis says he could not distinguish it except by the smell from the best wine of Auxerre (*Vinum Autisiodorense, qu.* of the Chablis kind?). Ysbrandt Ides says when kept a year or two it very much resembled in colour, taste, and strength the best Rhenish. Father Ripa: "Rice is bruised and compressed into solid cakes. When used these cakes are broken and put into vessels with hot water and fermented. The liquor thus produced might be mistaken for excellent grape-wine. It is made sweet or acid at pleasure by the addition of certain herbs during the fermentation, and a colour is given to it as required." John Bell of Antermony calls it "clear and strong as Canary." A modern traveller's description quoted by Davis compares it to Madeira in colour, and a little in taste. (*Rubruq.*, 299; *Astley*, iii, 567; *Father Ripa*, p. 51; *Davis*, ii, 21.)

This liquor was called by the Mongols *darassun*, the *terracina* of Rubruquis. The word *bigini* or *bignii* is probably the Persian *bagni*, "malt liquor or beer," though this is not a good description of the Chinese beverage. This word *bagni* is applied by some of the people of the Caucasus to their own beer (which Klaproth says is very like London porter), and might be used by the Alans, with whom, as

33. Of the marvellous sight that Friar Odoric beheld in a certain monastery of the idolaters.

This is the royal city in which the king of Manzi[1] formerly dwelt. And four[2] of our friars that were in that city had converted a man[3] that was in authority there, in whose house I was entertained. And he said to me one day: "*Atha* (which

disciples of the old Archbishop John, Odoric would be much in contact whilst at Cambalec. (*Richardson's Pers. Dict.*; *Klaproth, Voy. au Caucase*, i, 243.)

[Schlegel, *T'oung-pao*, Sept. 1891, says that in the "Ancient Informations of *K'io-wei*," there is a complete list of the celebrated wines of China, and that he finds for Hang-chau the wine "Bamboo-leaves Green," the "Fragrant Saphire" and the "White Wine," but that Odoric's wine is probably the liquor made with the date *Mi-yin* (in ancient times, pronounced *Bi-in*).

This passage may refer to rice wine in use among the Mongols who called it *tarassun*, the *terracina* of Rubruck, *cervisia* (beer) *de risio*. Rockhill says however that "here Chinese rice made wine, or *Shao hing chiu*, is meant. There is another stronger liquor distilled from millet, and called *shao chiu*; in Anglo-Chinese, *samshu*. Mongols call it *araka*, *arrak*, and *arreki*. Ma Tuan-lin (bk. 327) says that the Moho (the early Nu-chên Tartars) drank rice wine (*mi chiu*), but I fancy that they, like the Mongols, got it from the Chinese." (*William of Rubruck*, pp. 166-7, note.)

Speaking of the shops of Kinsay, Marco Polo says (ii, p. 202): "Some of these shops are entirely devoted to the sale of wine made from rice and spices, which is constantly made fresh and fresh, and is sold very cheap." He had said just before: "Neither grapes nor wine are produced there, but very good raisins are brought from abroad, and wine likewise. The natives, however, do not much care about wine, being used to that kind of their own made from rice and spices."

Dr. E. Bretschneider (*Botanicon sinicum*, ii, pp. 154 seq.) has an interesting note on the use of intoxicating beverages prepared from the grains of cereals. "The invention of wine or spirits in China is generally ascribed to a certain Iti, who lived in the time of the Emperor Yü. According to others the inventor of wine was Tu K'ang."... "In Middle and South China glutinous rice is more generally used. This rice is employed for the fabrication of the much-esteemed wine of Shao-hing, a city of Che-kiang." This confirms Rockhill's note.

Marco Polo has a chapter (i, p. 441) *Concerning the Rice-Wine drunk by the people of Cathay*: "Most of the people of Cathay drink wine of the kind that I shall now describe. It is a liquor which they brew of rice with a quantity of excellent spice, in such fashion that it makes better drink than any other kind of wine; it is not only good, but clear and pleasing to the eye. And being very hot stuff, it makes one drunk sooner than any other wine."]

[1] [Fr. 1380, Mangin.] [2] [French Text, III freres.]

[3] [RAM. B., "Doue è vn luogo di frati minori, che conuertirono vn grandissimo barone."]

is to say *Father*)[1] wilt thou come and see the place?" And when I said that I would willingly go, we got into a boat, and went[2] to a certain great monastery[3] of the people of the

[1] [B. N., Ram. A., Dom., Atha.—Ram. B., Acta.—French Text, Mun., Acha.—Ven., Archà—A. S., Civ., Ara.—Pal., Atta.]

Atha is a Turkish word signifying, as Odoric says, *father*. Taking it in connection with *Rabban*, which occurs just below, it may be noted that in 1288 there came on a mission from the Ilkhan of Persia to the court of France, a certain Nestorian Bishop, who is termed by the chroniclers *Rabban Ata*. Rémusat observes that this is probably no proper name, but the union of two titles in different languages, and cites a certain Syrian priest at the court of Okkodai Khan who was called by the sovereign *Ata*, father, and by the courtiers *Rabban*, master. (*Mém. de l'Acad. des Insc.*, vii, 359.)

It is curious that Ibn Batuta should quote this Turkish word *Atha* as being commonly addressed to old men in this very city of Cansai (iv, 288).

[Quatremère, *Hist. des Mongols*, i, p. xxxviii, note, observes that Odoric's narrative is here slightly inexact, and that his word *acha* does not mean *father*, but *eldest brother*. At times, the *khan* would merely take the title of elder brother, *âka*, "which is somewhat simple and patriarchal." (Quatremère, *l.c.*, p. 86, note.) The Chinese give an idea of respect, of friendship, to the expression of elder brother, *kô kô*, *ta-kô*, *Kô-tze*, my elder brother; *lao kô*, respectable Sir.]

[2] [B. N., "Et sibi semel dixi me velle ire, unde ascendimus unam barcham et sic ivimus ad unum magnum illorum monasteriorum quae ibi erant."—Civ., "Ascendimus simul in unam barcham."]

[3] [Pal., Al munistero di Rabani.]

The monastery which they visited in a boat was probably on the lake called *Si-hu* ("Western Lake"), of which, with the temples, monasteries, gardens, and palaces which bordered it, Polo gives a brilliant account, confirmed by Martini and Alvaro Semedo, and to some considerable extent in later times by Barrow. (*Autobiog.*, p. 104.)

["Inside the city," says Marco Polo, ii, pp. 186–7, "there is a Lake which has a compass of some 30 miles: and all round it are erected beautiful palaces and mansions, of the richest and most exquisite structure that you can imagine, belonging to the nobles of the city. There are also on its shores many abbeys and churches of the Idolaters. In the middle of the Lake are two Islands, on each of which stands a rich, beautiful and spacious edifice, furnished in such style as to seem fit for the palace of an Emperor. And when any one of the citizens desired to hold a marriage feast, or to give any other entertainment, it used to be done at one of these palaces. And everything would be found there ready to order, such as silver plate, trenchers, and dishes [napkins and table-cloths], and whatever else was needful. The King made this provision for the gratification of his people, and the place was open to every one who desired to give an entertainment. [Sometimes there would be at these palaces an hundred different parties; some holding a banquet, others celebrating a wedding; and yet all would find good accommodation in the different apartments and pavilions, and that in so well ordered a manner that one party was never in the way of another."]

country [which was called THEBE][1]. And he called to him one of their monks, saying: "Seest here this *Franki Rabban*? (which meaneth this Frank monk). He cometh from where the sun sets, and goeth now to Cambalech to pray for the life of the great Khan[2]. Show him therefore, prithee, something worth seeing, so that if he get back to his own country he may be able to say, I have seen such and such strange things in Cansai!" And the monk replied that he would do so with pleasure.

So he took two great buckets full of scraps from the table, and opening the door of a certain shrubbery which was there we went therein. Now in this shrubbery there is a little hill covered with pleasant trees [and all full of grottoes][3]. And as we stood there he took a gong[4], and began to beat upon it, and at the sound[5] a multitude of animals of divers kinds began to come down from the hill, such as apes, monkeys, and many other animals having faces like men[6], to the number of some three thousand[7], and took up their places round

[1] MIN. RAM. ["Salimmo in vna barchetta, e mi menò in *un monastero chiamata* THEBE."]

[2] [B. N., Et nunc vadit Cambaleth.—PAL., E vae a Chanbalu.—DOM., Va a Cambalec.—VEN., A. S., Cambalech.—RAM. A., Cabalec.—FRENCH TEXT, "Est du bout et de la fin du monde là où le soleil se escousse est venus en ce pais pour la vie et le salut de nostre Kaan."]

[3] [VEN., B. N., CIV., A. S., plenus arboribus amoenis.—PAL., ch' era pieno d' albori.—DOM., pieno d' alberi dilettevoli.—RAM. B., "un monticello *tutto pien di cauerne*, & intorno intorno d' alberi fruttiferi."]

[4] [PAL., DOM., RAM. B., cembalo.—RAM. A., CIV., cimbalo.—B. N., cimballum.—VEN., timpanum.—A. S., tintinnabulo.]

Cimbalum. No doubt *gong* is the proper thing, though perhaps not the proper word to put into Odoric's mouth.

[5] [RAM. B., "& subito viddi cosa piu marauigliosa, che hauessi mai visto per viaggio."]

[6] [Fr. 2810, bestelettes.—FRENCH TEXT, "III mille bestes qui toutes avoient les visages comme gens ainsi que ont les marmotes."—RAM. B., "Le migliaia di bestie saluatiche le piu diuerse, e strane, che mai piu fussino vedute: fra quali conobbi gatti saluatichi, mattarelli, scimie, maimoni, volpi, lupi, spinosi: & erano bestie cornute con viso humano, é altri assai diuersi, ma la piu parte haueano viso humano."—B. N., "Symiae, catti, maymones."—CIV., "Simeae, cathi et maymones."—VEN., "Symie gati maymones."]

[7] [Fr. 2810, 200,000.—DE BACKER, H. C. mille bestelettes.—A. S., ad tria millia circa.]

about him in regular ranks. And when they were thus ranged round about him, he put down the vessels before them and fed them as fast as he was able. And when they had been fed he began again to beat the gong, and all returned to their retreats. So I, laughing heartily[1], began to say: "Tell me, prithee, what this meaneth?" And he answered: "These animals be the souls of gentlemen, which we feed in this fashion for the love of God!" But quoth I: "No souls be these, but brute beasts of sundry kinds." And he said: "No, forsooth, they be nought else but the souls of gentlemen. For if a man be noble his soul entereth the form of some one of these noble animals; but the souls of boors enter the forms of baser animals and dwell therein!" And say what I list against it, nought else would he believe[2].

[1] [CIV., "Ego autem multum ridens illi seni dixi."—VEN., "Tunc multum ridere cepi dicens."—FRENCH TEXT, "Je en eus grant merveille."]

[2] That this exhibition really took place and was well known to travellers in China, is obvious from the allusion which John Marignolli makes to it (*infra*).

[Here is a confirmation of Odoric's relation: In the French edition of Odoric, I have reproduced, pp. 337–339, the following note of the Right Rev. G. E. Moule, bishop of Hang-chau, sent to me by Sir H. Yule, who had printed it in the *Geographical Magazine*, Lond., 1875, pp. 137–8:

"Extract from the *Si-Hu Che* [Topography of the Western Lake], sect. vi, fol. 19.

"*Apes' call Grotto*, at the foot of Fei-lai Hill. This grotto has a passage leading all the way to *T'ien-chuh* (India). Under the Sung there was a monk called Che-yih, good at whistling, who used to keep apes among the hills. When he went down to the stream and gave a long whistle, every one of the apes would assemble. They called him 'Father of Apes.'

"Fei-lai Hill is a rocky hill, perhaps 80 to 100 feet above the plain, within the precints of Linyin Convent, one of the most famous of those among the hills west of the Si-hu. The convent is said to have been built early in the Sung period, by a monk from India, who, walking there with his white ape, thought the place so much like his home in India that he called it after his old convent, *Lin-tsiu* (Spirit Eagle), changed afterwards to *Lin-yin* (Spirit Retreat), and vowed that the grottoed rock must have "flown hither" (*Fei-lai*) from India. It is added that the ape thought so too! Whether this means that he betook himself naturally to the peaks and caverns, I do not know. It is certain that there is a strong flavour of apes about the traditional notices and poetical quotations which make up most of the topographical chapter on this Lin-yin convent. Only the other day a monk told me that the

But if anyone should desire to tell all the vastness and great marvels of this city, a good quire of stationery[1] would not hold the matter I trow. For 'tis the greatest and noblest city, and the finest for merchandize, that the whole world containeth.

34. Of the city called Chilenfu, and of the great river Talay, and of certain Pygmies.

Departing from that city and travelling for six days, I arrived at another great[2] city called CHILENFU[3], the walls

apes had been seen on the rocks within this twelve month. No animals are now kept there except a few goats. There are plenty of squirrels in the trees. The great emporium of animals privileged on Buddhist (transmigration) principles, is further off, at "Cloud-Lodge-Convent!" (*Yun-tsi-she*) where cattle, swine, etc., are offered by devotees, and fed by the monks in privileged idleness.

"I cannot hear that apes or any other wild animals are treated in this way. Nor can I find 'poor gentlemen,' or metempsychosis, in any form to be specially connected with the apes either of tradition or of the present time. At one of the chief convents in this province, three days' journey from hence (*T'ien Muh*, Eye of Heaven Convent), there are said to be many apes or monkeys, wild and somewhat formidable.

"For the rest, I think Lin-yin and the Fei-lai Hill probably were the object of Odoric's excursion, since, though not on the lake shores, they are often visited by crossing the lake, and walking thence 1 or 2 miles through the woodland." What *Thebe* is I cannot tell! If Odoric wrote badly is it possibly *Phé-lé*=Fei-lai?" (*G. E. M.*)

[The French sinologue A. VISSIÈRE in a relation of *Une visite à l'ancienne capitale du Manzi* (*Bul. Soc. Géog. comm. Paris*, T. xxiii, 1901, p. 113) after speaking of the *Monasteries* of the Si-hu, writes: "Si les singes du Fei-lai-fong paraissent avoir disparu de nos jours, ils ont laissé de nombreux souvenirs. Le *Pic du singe blanc*, la *Grotte où l'on appelle les singes* et la *Terrasse où l'on nourrissait les singes*, sont autant de témoins de leur importance passée, subsistant aujourd'hui et qui viennent corroborer les données précises des historiens chinois."]

[1] *Unus bonus quaternus stationis hæc talia tenere non posset.* This use of the word *statio* for paper, though so directly leading to our use of the word *stationer*, does not occur among thirteen significations of *statio* in the modern Paris edition of Ducange.

[2] [RAM. B., beilissima città.—A. S., bene muratam.]

[3] [FRENCH TEXT; FR. 2810, Gilenfo.—DOM., Chilenfo.—VEN., Chilemfo. — CIV., Chilefo. — B. N., Chilenfu.—ARUND., Chilefu or Chilenfu.—FARS., Chilopho or Chilepho.—HAK., Chnenzo.—PAL., Chilensi.—RAM. B., Chilense.—RAM. A., Chileraphe.—A. S. Chyleso.]

The city of Chilenfu is undoubtedly Nan-king, a conclusion at which I had arrived before seeing that Professor Kunstmann had come to

the same. Six days is, however, too short an estimate of the distance from Hang-chau, which in a straight line appears to be about 125 miles.

Though the plan of Nan-king in Duhalde does not show its canals and bridges, Martini says expressly of it: "This city has very many bridges of stone, supported on arches"; and again, in speaking of Su-chau, he observes, "that though that city has a great number of bridges all of stone, and some of them magnificent, there are not so many as at the capital of the province." (In *Thévenot*, pp. 120, 124.)

The circuit of the modern walls of Nan-king is about twenty miles; so that if the suburbs were at all extensive the compass of the *town* may have been nearly what Odoric gives. Le Comte calls the circuit of the city forty-eight miles; Gemelli Carreri calls it thirty-six, and quotes others who called it forty. (*Astley*, iii, 553; *Carreri, Giro del Mondo.*) The latter also speaks of its canals as *molti e profondi.*

["La ville mesurait alors 15 kil. de tour, et ses murailles, larges de 8 à 15 mètres au sommet, de 15 ou 20 à la base, atteignaient ça et là 10 mètres de hauteur. Elles étaient percées de huit portes; des fossés profonds de 5 m. sur 100 de largeur suivaient les murs à l'extérieur; ils avaient été creusés de 1260 à 1265," under Li Tsung, 5th of the Nan Sung, 14th of the Sung Emperors. *Gaillard*, p. 149.]

[It is well known that Nan-king had been several times the capital of the Empire, for instance under the Wu (3rd cent. A.D.) the Eastern Ts'in (4th cent. A.D.), when it was called Kien Yeh, and the Southern Ts'i; when the Sung were defeated in 1127, Kao Tsung (1127–1163), the first of the Nan Sung Emperors, settled first at Kien k'ang fu, the name given to Nan-king in 1129, and then removed to Yang-chau and after to Lin-ngan (Hang-chau, *vide supra*, p. 192). Kien k'ang remained one year in the hands of the Kin Tartars. After Odoric's time, Nan-king became again the capital of the Empire on the expulsion of the Mongols by the Ming in 1368, and remained so until Yung-lo in 1406 decided upon the transfer of his government to the Northern Capital (Pe-king).]

With regard to the name which our traveller gives the city, it must be noted that *Nan-king* signifies merely "Southern Court"; the name of the city being Kiang-ning-fu. *Kin-ling-fu* is also given by de Mailla as one of the ancient names of Nan-king, and it would appear from Pauthier (*Chine Moderne*, p. 60) that this name, signifying the "Golden Hill," is still in occasional use. [Biot, *Dict. des noms...de l'Empire chinois*, p. 73, mentions *Kin-ling* under the T'ang; this name is also given by Playfair, *Cities and Towns of China*, p. 43.] But perhaps the Chelinfu of Odoric is merely a provincial pronunciation of Kiang-ning-fu, putting *l* for *n*, as we find that the Portuguese in later days called Nan-king *Lankin* and Ningpo *Liampo*, after what was, as we are told, the *Fu-kien* pronunciation. Indeed, in Hakluyt's "Early Reports of China learned through the Portugals," this province of Kiang-nan or Nan-king, "the fift shire of China," as he quaintly calls it, is termed *Chelim*, the very name that we have here. (See Martini in *Thévenot*, p. 120; *Mendez Pinto* passim; *Hakluyt*, l. c.)

It is true that Marco Polo mentions a city of the same name, Quelinfu, also noted for fine stone bridges. But this is *Kien-ning-fu* in the interior of Fu-kien, a region which Odoric has now left far behind. Here, however, we see exactly the same change of letters that we have supposed.

[Wylie, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, p. 48, writes: "The *Kin ling koo kin t'oo k'aou* is a series of 16 plans of the city and neighbourhood of Nanking, from 1000 years before the Christian era, down to the

whereof have a circuit of forty miles[1]. And in it there be some three hundred and sixty stone bridges, finer than the whole world can show[2]. In this city was the first residence of the king of Manzi[3], where he used to dwell. It is very well peopled, and there is such an amount of craft thereat as is right marvellous to behold. The city is planted passing well, and hath great store of all good things.

And quitting this city[4], I came to a certain great river which is called TALAY[5], and this is the greatest river that

Ming dynasty, with a description to each, by Ch'in E, dated 1516. A companion volume entitled *Kin ling t'oŭ yung*, gives 40 plates of remarkable spots in Nan-king, with a short topographical notice, and a few lines of poetry accompanying each. This was published in 1623. I have not been able to get a copy of this work, but Father Gaillard, S. J., of Zi-ka-wei, has been more fortunate, and in his valuable work: *Nankin d'alors et d'aujourd'hui, Aperçu historique et géographique*, Shang-hai, 1903, 8vo, he has reproduced the 16 or rather 17 plans of the book, and among them the plan of Nan-king under the Nan-Sung, p. 140. The reader should refer to the chapter devoted by Father Gaillard to the Southern Sung, p. 140, and especially to the part of it devoted to the archaeology of Nan-king under the Sung, p. 145; also to the chapter of Yuen dynasty, pp. 152 seq. In 1277 the prefectoral title of *Kien k'ang fu* was altered into *Kien k'ang lu tsung-kwan fu*.]

[1] [RAM. B., piu di quaranta.]

[2] [B. N., 340 ponts.—FRENCH TEXT, XL pons.—DOM., trecento quaranta cinque.—CIV., tercentum sexaginta pontes murati lapidei.—PAL., VEN., 360.—RAM. B., "360 porte tutte lauorate di marmo con intagli bellissimi."—RAM. A., "370 ponti di pietre."—A. S., "quadraginta."]

[3] [B. N., "In hac civitate fuit prima sedes Regis Manzi in qua ipse morari solebat."—CIV., VEN., A. S., "In hac civitate fuit prima sedes Regis Manzi."—DOM., "In questa città fue la prima sedia del re (Mazi) ne la quale egli solea stare."—PAL., "Questa cittade fue la prima sedia del Re de Manzi."—RAM. B., "E dicesi che questa terra fu la prima che hauesse il Re de Mangi."—RAM. A., "Nella quale fu la prima sede del Re Manzo, & nella quale sono circa 370 ponti di pietre, piu belli, che siano al mondo: quiui ancora è vna sorte di barche per nauigare, di grandezza mirabile."—1380, Magin.]

[4] [PAL., "Di quindi partendomi per tre giornate veni a uno grande fiume de maggiori del mondo che là dove gli è più istretto e largo ben VII miglia."—RAM. B., "Ma perche non vi erano cose degne di merauiglia, poco ui dimorammo, & nauigando trouammo un fiume largo piu di 20 miglia, di cui un ramo passa la tierra, chiamato Piemaronni."]

[5] [VEN., B. N., Talay.—DOM., Talai.—ARUND., HAK., Thalay.—RAM. A., Dotalay.—A. S., Tannay.—VIEN., Thanay.—FARS. gives *Thanai* with the addition quoted by Yule: "de quo scripsit Isidorus 12° libro etymologiarum, a Thano primo rege Sitharum denominatus, qui ex nivosis (?) fluviis descendens determinavit Europam ab Asia et est inter illas partes mundi medias currens, atque in Pontum fluens."

exists in the world. For where it is narrowest it is some seven miles in width[1]. And this river passeth through the land of the Pygmies, or Biduini[2], whose city is called CATHAN, and that is one of the best and finest cities in the world. These pygmies are three spans[3] in height, and they do greater work in cotton[4], as it is called, than any people in the world[5]. And the full-sized men who dwell there

—CIV., Chanay, with this explanation: "Homo est de quo scripsit Isidorus decimo tertio libro Ethymologiarum a Chane primo Rege Scitarum denominatus, qui ex cipheis foliis descendens determinavit Europam ab Asia. Istud flumen currit cum impetu in duas partes mundi; medium est mirae magnitudinis." Fr. 2810, Calay.]

This name in some versions reads *Tanay*, which is a confusion with the better known Tanais or Don (called *Tanay* in the Catalan map), and in others *Doltalay* and the like, a mistake of the kind spoken of in note at p. 115. The great river is of course the Ta-kiang or Yang-tze, and the name given by Odoric (which seems to be mentioned by no other traveller of his time) is the Mongol *Dalai* or *Talai*, "the sea," which lends a figurative title to the Great Lama. That this word was applied as a name to the Kiang by the Mongols, I learn by an incidental quotation (from *Fischer de Origine Tartarorum*, p. 76, cited by J. G. Meinert in his Essay on Marignolli's Travels; see Introd. to Marignolli *infrà*). The use of the word *Dalai* in this way seems, therefore, to be quite parallel to that of *Bahr* as applied by the Arabs to the Nile. So also the Tibetans apply the term *Samandrang* (*Samudra*, "the Ocean") to the Indus and Sutlej (*J.R.G.S.*, xxiii, 34).

[1] [PAL., "Questo fiume passa per mezzo la città Piomario la cui contrada si chiama Chaitho, ch'è delle più belle cittadi del mondo, e delle maggiori."—Fr. 2810, un mille.]

[2] [RAM. A., Pymei.—CIV., bidumii.—B. N., terram pigmeorum scilicet vidinnorum.—DOM., bidorni.—VEN., per medium terre pigmeorum.—VIEN., terram biduinorum.—Fr. 2810, Pumeaux.]

[3] [VEN., tribus spannis.—DOM., tre spanne.—RAM. A., tre spanne o palmi.—CIV., tribus palmis.]

[4] [B. N., "Faciunt magna opera Goton, id est bombicis, quam aliqui homines qui sunt in mundo."—VEN., "Faciunt maiora opera bonbacis quam homines qui sint in mundo."—CIV., "Et tamen faciunt maiora opera goton, id est bombacis, quam aliqui homines in hoc mundo."]

[5] [VIEN., Cathan.—CIV., Catan.—DOM., Chacan.—B. N., Chathan. VEN., Cacham.—PAL., Chaicho.—MUN., Kakan.—RAM. A., Tacchara. —Fr. 2810, Chaam.]

The *Cathan* of the text is only one out of many readings, but it is that to which the others seem to point. It may be Khoten that is meant, if it is worth while to connect any real name with this legend. But the fine cotton was an element nearer at hand, as the western part of the province of Kiang-nan was noted for its enormous production of cotton cloth.

[In the Ngan-hwei province there is a town called Su-sung which

beget sons who are more than half of them like those pygmies who are so small. The women are wedded[1] in their fifth year, and so there are born and begotten of these

was named Kao-t'ang under the Liang Dynasty. Does it refer to our Cathan? Cf. Biot, *Dict.*, p. 348; Playfair, *Dict.*, No. 6677.]

Sir Thomas Brown points out that the stories of pygmies were brought under the shield of Scripture by the Vulgate version of Ezekiel xxvii, 12, *Sed et* Pygmæi *qui erant in turribus tuis*, etc., and goes on afterwards: "Though Paulus Jovius delivers that there are pygmies in Japan, Pigafetta about the Moluccas, and Olaus Magnus placeth them in Greenland, yet wanting frequent confirmation in a matter so confirmable, this affirmation carrieth but slow persuasion." (*Vulgar Errors*, i, 424.)

Though we cannot tell how Odoric got hold of this story, there is a considerable combination of "authorities" to place pygmies in the inland countries west of China. We may cite two of these. Reinaud's Arab voyagers say that in the mountains of China there is a town called *Táyu*, whose inhabitants are pygmies. But the story most in point is contained in a rubric of the Catalan world-map (1375). To the N.W of Catayo near the Himalayas it represents a combat of pygmies and cranes, with a legend that runs thus: "Here grow little men who have but five palms in length; and though they be little, and not fit for weighty matters, yet be they brave and *clever at weaving*, and at keeping cattle. And know ye that these men have children when they be but twelve years old; and they live commonly to but forty years, and have not a proper age (?). And valiantly they defend themselves from the cranes, and take and eat them. And here endeth the land of Catay." (See *Ctesias* xi, in Didot's edit. 1858; *Pliny* vii, 2; *Rémusat, Nouv. Mél. Asiat.*, i; *Reinaud, Rel. des Voyages, etc.*, p. 47; *Notices et Extraits*, xiv, 141.)

[This is the text of the Catalan Map concerning the pygmies:

"Ací nexen homs pochs quj no han sino. v. palms d'lōchs
e jassia q̄ síen pochs | e no aptes a fer coses greus | ells empo son | [forts aptes
a texir z guardar bestiar | E sapiats q̄ aquets homēs con son de XII anys
de aquí auant engenren | z entro a XL anys comunamēt ujuen | [e no han
prospiatat | E ualentament se defenen de les grues | z les prenen e les
menjen | Açy feneys la terra del senyor de catayo."]

[I have written a lengthy note on the Pygmies in the French edition of Odoric, pp. 348–355; I refer the reader to it; however I may say that the Chinese Documents are full of information on the *Siao-jen* or dwarfs, and that to this day some sort of negritos are to be found in south-western China.]

[1] [RAM. A., "Quali essendo nell' età di cinque anni si maritano: onde vi nasce, & è tanto il numero di questi, che non si può ne dire, ne numerare: per la lor picciolezza vengono da tutto il mondo nominati, & famosi."]

[VEN., "Hii pigmei formosi sunt tam mares quam femine per magnitudinem suam, & femine nubunt in quinto anno, habent autem hii animam rationalem sicut nos."]

little people a countless number. These pygmies, both male and female, are famous for their small size. But they have rational souls like ourselves[1].

35. Concerning the cities of Iamzai and of Mênzu.

And as I travelled upon this river Talay[2], I passed many cities and towns, and I came to a certain city called IAMZAI[3],

[1] This passage is very confused in almost all versions. I have closely followed Ramusio's (larger) which is the most intelligible.

[FRENCH TEXT: "Ces Pymains ont tousjours guerre aux grues et aux cygnes du pays qui là sont plus grans que les Pymains. Et souvent en l'année s'on vont ces Pymains à très grant ost et à très grant multitude contre ces oyseaux et se combatent à eulx aussi cruelment et aussi mortelment comme nulle autre grant peuple ou monde se combatent les uns aux autres. In ceste cité, les Pymains ne labourent point les terres ne les vignes ne telz fortes labeurs, mais ilz font le meilleur ouvraige de coton que on teinst ou monde,—et si ont en leurs citez grandes gens qui labeurent les terres et les vignes et font les autres grandes labeurs; de ces grandes gens se truffent ces Pymains ainsi que nous faisons en ces parties des gens qui sont grant oultre mesure de raison. Le grant Chaan [fait] garder ces Pymains très soingneusement et fait leur ville garnir de tous biens à très grant habundance. Ils sont droitement gens visans raison comme nous."]

[2] [RAM. B., "Di qui vsciti, caminando, e passando vna infinità di città, e castella, giũgessimo in vna città chiamata *Sai*, oue è vn luogo de frati minori."—B. N., "Dum per istud flumen del Talai sic irem transivi per multas civitates et veni ad unam que vocatur *Jamzai*, in qua est unus locus nostrorum fratrum minorum."—HAK., "Indè per illud flumen transiens, veni ad vnam ciuitatē Ianzu...."—FRENCH TEXT, "Quant j'eus regardé cel affaire de ces Pymains, je m'en alay vers une cité qui a nom Jamathay, alias Jansu."]

[3] [B.N., Iamzai and Jamzai.—VEN., Iamzay and Iamzai.—DOM., RAM. A., Iamzai.—PAL., Jamsai.—HAK., Ianzu.—ARUND., Jancus.—A.S., Ianzi.—CIV., Jancy.—FARS., Iantu.—FR. 1380, Jamathoy and Jamathay.]

This great city of Yamzai, which he approaches from Nan-king by the Kiang, is, I think, undoubtedly Yang-chau-fu, the first great city on the canal north of the Kiang, and only a short distance from that river. It is the Yangui of Marco Polo, who was governor there for three years. At an earlier period the province under Yang-chau had comprehended all Kiang-nan and part of Ho-nan and Kiang-si. But it has always continued a place of great trade and population, insomuch that P. Bouvet and his party estimated the latter at two millions!

Martini specifies that the emperor had in this city a revenue office which drew very large sums, *chiefly from the distribution of salt*, there being many salt works to the east of the city.

The city appears as *Iangio* in the Catalan map, almost always surpassing in accuracy of knowledge; whilst in travellers of the

at which our minor friars have a house[1]. And here also be three churches of the Nestorians[2]. This is a noble city, and hath good forty-eight to fifty-eight tumans of fire-places[3], every tuman being ten thousand. In this city are to be had in great abundance all kinds of things on which Christian people live. And the lord of this city hath from salt alone a revenue of five hundred[4] tumans of *balis*; and a *balis*

sixteenth and seventeenth centuries we find *Iamceu* (Trigault), *Iangsé* (Nieuhof), *Yamsé* (Montanus), forms close to that of Odoric. It is probably also the *Yaneku* or *Janku* of Arab writers.

[In Marco Polo's edition, ii, pp. 155-6, I have given two plans of Yang-chau from the *Yang-chau fu ché* (ed. 1733); one bears the title: "The Three Cities under the Sung," and the other: "The Great City under the Sung." The three cities are *Pao yew cheng*, built in 1256, *Sin Pao-cheng* or *Kia cheng*, built after 1256, and *Ta cheng*, the "Great City," built in 1175; in 1357, Ta cheng was rebuilt, and in 1557 it was augmented, taking the place of the three cities; from 553 B.C. until the 12th century, Yang-chau had no less than five enclosures.—Abulfeda (ed. *Guyard*, II, ii, 122) says that Yang-chau is the capital of the Faghfûr of China, and that he is called Tamghâdj-Khan.—According to Pauthier, Yang-chau belonged to the administration of the Chi-li province; the population included 249,466 families and 1,471,194 people including women and children. (*Marc. Pol.*, pp. 466, 467.)]

[1] [FR. TEXT. "Une maison et couvent."]

[2] [RAM. B., "Qui trouassimo tre belle chiese di Christiani."—B.N., "In hoc etiam sunt tres ecclesiae Nestorinorum, *scilicet virorum religiosorum*."—CIV., "In hac eciam civitate sunt ecclesiae Nestorianorum."—HAK., "In ea tres ecclesiae Nestorianorū."—FR. TEXT, "Si y a pluseurs autres Eglises de religieux, mais ceulz sont nestorins."]

Marco Polo does not mention the Nestorian churches and the Franciscan establishments were all subsequent to his time. (*Duhalde*, i, 69; *Martini in Thévenot*, p. 129, etc.)

[Prof. Pelliot writes to me that a text of 1317 in the *Yuen tien chang* mentions a certain Ngao-la-han [Abraham?] still alive at Yang-chau, who was, according to the text, the son of the founder of the "Church of the Cross of the ärkägün" (*Ye-li-ko-wen she-tze-szé*) of Yang-chau.]

[3] [RAM. B., 18 tomani di focolari.—RAM. A., 80 tumne, cioè 80,000 fuochi.—PAL., lviii tomani di focolari.—B.N., "Habens bene xlviii vel lviii tuman ignium."—ARUND., xlviii vel l thumans.—HAK., 48. Thuman ignium.—FRENCH TEXT, "Il y a bien à tout le moins XL, autres dient LII tumans de feux."]

[4] [FRENCH TEXT, "L tumans de balisses dont une balisse vault un florin et demi; si que un tuman vault XV mille florins; et non pourquant leurs sires leur fait grâce chascun an de CC tumans affin que en la ville ne soit pas trop grant chierté."—B.N., Quinquaginta milia Tuman balisi.—HAK., "50 Thuman balisi, & valet balisus vnum florenū cum dimidio: Ita quòd vnum Thuman facit 15. millia florenorum, vnā tamen gratiam facit dominus populo, quia dimittit ei,

being worth a florin and a half, thus a tuman maketh fifteen thousand florins. But as a grace to this people the said lord made a remission to them of two hundred tumans, lest distress should be created[1].

There is a custom in this city that if any one desire to give a great dinner or entertainment to his friends he goes to one of the hostels which are established for this very purpose, and saith to the host thereof: "Make me a dinner for such a number of my friends, and I propose to expend such and such a sum upon it." Then the host does exactly as ordered, and the guests are better served than they would have been in the entertainer's own house[2].

This city hath also a vast amount of shipping.

About ten miles from this city, towards the mouth of that great river Talay, there is a certain other city called MENZU[3]. This city hath shipping finer and more numerous peradventure than any other city in the world. And all the

ne sit caristia in eo, 200. Thuman."—RAM. A., "Rendita 50 tunne di balassi, cioè numero de 750,000 fiorini, essendo che pur habbiamo detto, che ogni balasso importa il valore de vn fiorino & mezzo delli nostri: Ma, accioche per il pagare di una tanta summa di denari detta città non patisse disaggio, & impouerisse: il detto Signore gli lassaua dugento tunne."]

[1] The numbers in this paragrapn seem corrupt in all the MSS. For some state the revenue at fifty tumans of balish, others at fifty thousand tumans, whilst all state the *remission* at two hundred tumans. As this would exceed the whole amount in the first reading, and be a too insignificant fraction of the second, I have thought that *five hundred tumans* must have been the true reading of the amount of revenue. At Odoric's estimate of the balish this would be equal to about £3,400,000. According to a statement quoted by Pauthier the Chinese revenue from salt in 1753 was equivalent to about £1,779,372 (*Chine Moderne*, p. 195).

[2] [HAK., "& per illum modum meliùs conuiuant amici in pluribus hospitijs quam facerent in vno." [*sic*]]

[3] [B.N., PAL., VEN., Menzu.—DOM., Mezu.—CIV., Mency.—A.S., Mensy.—ARUND., Mencu. — FARS., Menchu. — HAK., Montu. — RAM. A., Meugu.]

I believe that Odoric's expression, "*in capite hujus fluminis*," is correctly rendered above, though our inconsistent idiom puts a river's head and its mouth at opposite extremities. Thus Polo says of the same great river (Ramusian edition), "*E per lunghezza fine dove* mette capo *nel mare Oceano*," etc. And Barbaro says of the Erdil or Volga, "*il quale* mette capo *nel Mar di Bachu.*" Fra Mauro,

vessels are as white as snow, being coated with whitewash[1]. And on board of them you find halls and taverns and many other conveniences, as handsome and well ordered as are anywhere to be found. Indeed it is something hard to believe when you hear of, or even when you see, the vast scale of the shipping in those parts[2].

36. Of the river Caramoran; and of certain other cities visited by Friar Odoric.

Quitting that city and travelling by fresh water channels, I passed many cities and towns, and after eight[3] days I came to a certain city named LENZIN[4], which standeth on a river

however, has not understood it so; for though here evidently making use of Odoric, he has put the name of Menzu *up* the river from Lamzai.

The distance and direction assigned would bring us to about Chin-kiang-fu, which was indeed celebrated for the vast numbers of vessels that used to be gathered there. But it does not seem to have borne any name resembling Menzu.

[I believe that Odoric refers to Chin-kiang, though this place has kept the same name since the Sung dynasty.]

The fact is, that Mingchu (or Menzu in Odoric's spelling) is the old name of Ningpo, and there can be little doubt that there is some mistake in the text as to the position assigned to it. Perhaps Odoric was here speaking only from hearsay, and had not visited the place himself. *Mingio* appears in the Catalan map as the next seaport northward from Zaytún. (See *Biot, Diction. des Noms Anciens et Mod. compris dans l'Empire Chinois.*)

[1] "*Gesso depicta.*" The Chinese caulk with "a kind of composition of lime, oil, or rather rosin which distils from the tree called *tongshu*, and okam of Bambu. When the stuff is dry one would take it for lime, which is the chief ingredient, and nothing else." (*Astley*, iv, 128.) [See *Marco Polo*, II, p. 250, and *note* 4, p. 251.]

[2] Two examples are worth quoting of the view taken by more modern travellers of the vast amount of craft. One party of missionaries estimated that the vessels of all sizes which they met on the canal would suffice to build a bridge from Macao to Goa. (*Astley*, iv, 109.) And Barrow calculated that there were at the single city of Nan-c'ang fu, south of the Poyang Lake, 100,000 tons of a class of vessels averaging 250 tons, besides multitudes of smaller craft. (*Autobiog.*, p. 107.)

[3] [B.N., "Ab ista civitate recedens et transiens per iiii dietas per multas terras et civitates per aquam dulcem, veni ad quamdam civitatem quae vocatur Lenzin."]

[4] [DOM., B.N., Lenzin.—VEN., Lenzi.—ARUND., Lencyn.—FARS., Lencim.—A.S., Lensium.—CIV., Lencui.—HAK., Lencym.—RAM. A., Benzin.—PAL., Launcj.—RAM. B., Laurenza.—FRENCH TEXT, Lancerny.—French 2833, Lanterny.]

called CARAMORAN[1]. This river passeth through the very midst of Cathay, and doth great damage to that country when it breaks its banks, just as the Po does by

[1] [B.N., PAL., VEN., HAK., DOM., Caramoram.—CIV., Canamoran.—MAGL., Charamorani.—RAM. A., Caramoraz.—FARS., Tharamoram.—A.S., Tharamorim.—Fr. 2810, Caramarion.—FRENCH TEXT, Caramorian.]

Kara-muren (*Mong.*, "the Black River"), called by the Chinese *Hwang Ho* or the Yellow River. The embankment of the river is said to date from the twenty-second century B.C. Its regulation has ever been a source of anxiety to the Chinese Government, and there used to be a tax on the Hong merchants at Canton expressly on account of this object. The will of the Emperor Kia King, who died in 1820, has the following passage:—"The Yellow River has, from the remotest ages, been China's sorrow. Whenever the mouth of the stream has been impeded by sand-banks, it has higher up its banks created alarm by flooding the country," etc. This seems to have been eminently the case in 1855 or 1856, when the stream of the Hwang Ho near the debouchment of the Great Canal was reduced to a few yards in width, the northern banks having given way far up, and the inundations poured over Shan-tung. On this occasion, much of the water was reported to have escaped into the Gulf of Pe Chi-li, which the Chinese believe to have been the original exit. During the reign of the last Mongol Emperor, a project was adopted for restoring it to this channel. The discontent created by this scheme assisted in exciting the movement for the expulsion of the dynasty. (*Davis*, i, 137, 190; *De Guignes*, iv, 216; *J. R. G. S.*, xxviii, 294; see also *Biot* in *Jour. As.*, sér. iv, vols. i and ii.)

Lenzin is Lin-ching, which appears in Berghaus, and in Keith Johnston's Royal Atlas, on the Great Canal very near the 35th degree of latitude. It is plain that Odoric either confounds the canal with the Hwang Ho or takes it for a branch of that river. Indeed, the Chinese official geography quoted in Pauthier's *Chine Moderne* (p. 5), describes a river called the *Yu-hwang-ho*, as traversing Shan-tung and Pe Chi-li, and introducing itself successively into the Y-ho, the Wen-ho, the Wei-ho, the Chang-ho, and the Tien. This must surely be the canal itself, and the name seems to show that it has been in some way identified with the Hwang-ho. [No doubt Odoric is making a confusion between the Hwang-ho and the Yun-ho, the Grand Canal, on the banks of which were built both Lin-t'sing and Ts'i-ning chau. The length of the Grand Canal from Hang-chau to Pe-king is about 3630 *li*. From Chen-kiang on the Yang-tze to Pe-king it is about 2850 *li* long. Cf. D. Gandar, *Canal Impérial*, Shang-hai, 1894.] Lin-ching is also the Linju of Polo, and the Lincegam of Nieuhof.

[This is Lin-t'sing chau on the bank of the Grand Canal; it lost a great deal of its importance during the T'aï P'ing war (1855). Marco Polo calls it Linju and says it is eight days towards the south of Sinju-matu. The Rev. D. Z. Sheffield wrote in 1885 (*Chin. Rec.*, March, 1886, p. 122): "Lin-ching is a city of upwards of 200,000 inhabitants [Richard says 48,000], I should judge. It is on the Grand Canal, at the point of divergence from the Wei river. The people were very civil to us, the merchants often inviting us into their shops.

Ferrara[1]. And as I travelled by that river towards the east, and passed many towns and cities, I came to a certain city which is called SUNZUMATU[2], which hath a greater plenty

From one-fourth to one-third of the population is Mohammedan. There are three large mosques, near the city but in bad repair."]

[From a letter from Father Jose Maria Vila, missionary at Tsi-nan fu, published in the *Missioni Francescane* of Florence, 31st August 1892, M. Romanet du Caillaud (*Cte. rendu Soc. Geog. Paris*, 1893, p. 39) writes that at two leagues from Lin-ts'ing two tombs of franciscan missionaries of the XIVth century have been discovered: on one the name *Bernard* may be read; this Bernard accompanied Odoric, who left him at Lin-ts'ing in charge of a Christian mission existing already; the other was the grave of a franciscan bishop buried in 1387, whose name cannot be deciphered; in his tomb were found a sealed bottle with a MS. which fell to ashes when handled, a small bronze box with an episcopal ring and a pectoral cross with the seal of St. Francis.]

[1] [B.N., "Sicut est Padus transiens per Ferrariam."—VEN., "Dum rumpitur sicut facit Padus Ferarie."—CIV., A.S., "Sicut est Padus transiens versus Ferrariam."—FRENCH TEXT, "un grant fleuve qui... passe parmi le royaume de Cathay et y porte moult grant dommaige quant il croist trop et ist hors de son chanel."]

[2] [VEN., DOM., B.N., Suzumato.—FARS., A.S., CIV., Sucumat.—HAK., Sumacoto.—ARUND., Sumakoto.—PAL., Sogomerca.—RAM. B., Sunzomaco.—RAM. A., Suzupato.—FRENCH TEXT, Ingarmato.]

There is no doubt this is the Singuimatu of Polo, who nearly always substitutes *gui* for *zu* or *chu*, a Tartar idiom according to Martini (p. 145). *Mat'u* (matheu) signifies a place of river trade; literally a "horse's head," and so a "jetty, [a landing place]." Marsden and Baldelli Boni are probably right in identifying Singuimatu with Lin-tsin-chu, a well known city of Shan-tung, near the junction of the Canal with the Wei River coming from the south-west. I am aware of what Klaproth has written on this subject, identifying the place with that called *Fenchui-nanwang*, where the river Wen-ho, introduced from the north-east, is made to divide its waters north and south in the manner described by Marco. He supposes the name in Polo to be a corrupt transcript of *Fenchui-matheu*, "The Port of the Division of the Waters." I venture to doubt this ingenious suggestion; *first*, because the independent occurrence of the name in Odoric shows that it is not corrupt; *secondly*, because Marco says distinctly that the stream in question comes from the *south*, which corresponds with the Wei and not with the Wen; and, *thirdly*, because we have no evidence adduced that this Fenchui was a place of trade at all; whereas Trigault, Martini, Nieuhof and others concur with later authorities in speaking of Lin ts'in as one of the most important commercial towns of the empire, in accordance with Odoric's notice. *E.g.* Trigautius says:—"Lincinum urbs est e maximis, et commercio celebris in paucis (?), ad eam enim non provincialia solum mercimonia sed e toto quoque regno pervadunt." (*Polo* in *Ram.*, cliii; *Klaproth, Mém. Rel. à l'Asie*, iii, 325; *Trigautii, Exp. Sinensis*, 345; *Martini Atlas Sinensis in loc.*; *Astley*, iii, 418.)

MIN. RAM. places Sunzomatu four days from Pe-king, which would

of silk than perhaps any other place on earth, for when silk there is at its dearest you can still have forty pounds for less than eight groats[1]. There is in the place likewise great store of all kinds of merchandize, and likewise of bread and wine, and all other good things[2]. [And seeing that there were in this place more people than I had seen in any other, when I asked how that came to pass, they told me that it was because the air of the place was so salubrious, insomuch that there were few that died of aught but old age[3].]

37. The Friar reacheth Cambalech, and discourseth thereof, and of the Great Caan's Palace there.

And departing thence, I passed on through many a city and many a town towards the east, until I came to that noble city CAMBALECH[4], an old city of that famous

tend to identify it with T'ien-tsin. But T'ien-tsin is said to be quite modern. (*Biot* in voc.) P.S. I find since writing the above that Pauthier (*Le Livre de Marc Pol*, p. 444) considers the Singui of Polo to be certainly *Thsiningchau*. And if he is right in saying that the vulgar pronunciation of that name would be *Thsinju*, this may well be accepted.

[Pauthier is no doubt right here and Yule has since accepted his theory in *Marco Polo*; this is Ts'i-ning chau along the bank of the Grand Canal. This is the Sinjumatu of Marco Polo (see ii, p. 138 and 139 note). Sir John F. Davis writes that Ts'i-ning chau is a town of considerable dimensions...."The *ma-tow*, or platforms, before the principal boats had ornamental gateways over them....The canal seems to render this an opulent and flourishing place, to judge by the gilded and carved shops, temples, and public offices, along the eastern banks." (*Sketches of China*, i, pp. 255—257.) See *Marco Polo's Sinjumatu* by A. C. Moule. (*T'oung pao*, July 1912, pp. 431–3.)]

[1] [DOM., "Quaranta libre [di seta] per meno de otto."—RAM. A., Otto grossi.—RAM. B., vn soldo.—A.S., "octo solidis grossorum minorum."—FRENCH TEXT, "XL livres pesant pour IX gros."]

[2] [HAK., "In ea est copia omnium mercimoniorū, & omnium victualium, panis, vini, carnium, piscium, & omnium specierum electarum."]

[3] MIN. RAM.

["E perche ui era in questo loco piu gẽte, che in niun' altro, che hauessi visto, domandando, donde ciò auuenisse mi fu risposto, p conto che l' aria, & il luogo sono alla generatione molto salutiferi, di modo tale, che pochi sono che muoiono, se nō di vecchizza."]

[4] [RAM. B., "E nauigando da quattro giornate, peruenimmo nella nobil città chiamata Cambalù."]

province of CATHAY[1]. The Tartars took the city, and then

[1] [Khân Bâliq خان بالیغ, the City of the Khan., VEN., Cambalech.—CIV., Cambalet.—RAM. A., Cabalec.] PEKING. The Chinese capital was still so called by the Turks in the time of P. Ricci, and may probably be called so to this day.

[The Chinese Annals, quoted by Bretschneider, report that in 1121 B.C., a descendant of the celebrated Emperor Hwang-ti was invested with a fief in the north, and that he resided at *Ki*, which city is supposed by the Chinese to have been situated at about the same place where Pe-king now stands. During the Ch'un tsew period (723—481) and the Chau kwo (418—221) the city of Ki is mentioned as the capital of the kingdom of Yen destroyed in the 3rd century B.C. by Shi Hwang-ti. During the T'ang dynasty (618—907), Peking was known under the name of Yu-chau and was captured in 936 by the K'itan or Leao and became their southern capital as *Nan-king*; in 1031, the name was changed to Yen-king; in 1151, Peking received from the fourth Kin sovereign the name of *Chung-tu* or Middle Capital; in 1215 it was captured by Chinghiz and in 1264 Kúblái transferred there the capital of the Empire, but in 1267, he built a new city called since 1271 *Ta-tu* (Great Capital) by the Chinese and *Khan-baliq* by the Mongols to the north-east of the Kin Capital.

Marco Polo says, i, p. 374: "Now there was on that spot in old times a great and noble city called Cambaluc, which is as much as to say in our tongue 'The city of the Emperor.' But the Great Kaan was informed by his Astrologers that this city would prove rebellious, and raise great disorders against his imperial authority. So he caused the present city to be built close beside the old one, with only a river between them. And he caused the people of the old city to be removed to the new town that he had founded; and this is called Taidu."]

This city was abandoned as a royal residence on the expulsion of the Mongol dynasty in 1368 [and the first Ming Emperor, Hung Wu, changed its name into *Pei-p'ing fu*, but in 1409 the third Ming Emperor Yung-lo left his capital *Ying-tien*, or *Nan-king*, and established his court at *Pei p'ing* which became Pe-king; in 1421, all the work was finished.] He built the walls as they now exist, reducing their extent and the number of the gates to nine. This is what is commonly called the *Tartar city* of the present day (called also by the Chinese *Lau-ch'eng* or "Old Town"), which therefore represents the Taydo of Odoric. The ruins of the older Yen-king or Chung-tu were still visible in the time of the Ming, but they were embraced in the new southern city called *Wai-ch'eng* or "Outer Town," the wall of which [28 *li* long] was built in 1543.

The circumference of the present Tartar city appears from the plans to be about fifteen miles. [According to the French astronomers (Fleuriais and Lapied) sent to Peking for the Transit of Venus in December, 1875, the present Tartar City is 23 kil. 55 in circuit, viz. if 1 *li*=575 mètres, 41 *li*; from the north to the south 5400 m.; from east to west 6700 m.; the wall is 13 m. in height and 12 m. in width.] Martini speaks of it as having still twelve gates in his time, but he was almost certainly wrong. It has three on the south side, and two on each of the others. The circuit of the two cities together is about twenty-two miles according to the scale on the plan given by Pauthier,

ouilt another[1] at a distance of half-a-mile[2], which they called TAYDO[3].

This latter city hath twelve gates[4], between every two of which there is a space of two long miles; and betwixt the two cities also there is a good amount of population, the compass of the two together being more than forty miles[5]. Here the Great Khan[6] hath his residence, and hath

though Timkowski states it at forty versts, or 26⅔ miles. But Odoric's dimensions may have been quite correct, for the Tartar city was larger, and there was a space of more than half-a-mile between the two. (*Timkowski*, i, 315, etc., etc.)

[1] [RAM. B., "Gira 24 miglia, & vn' altra appresso a questa meno di un mezzo miglio. Il circuito di ambedue e da 60 miglia. Sono poi tutte dui insieme cerchiata da vn' altra muraglia, che gira in tutto circa 100 miglia."—DOM., "Lo circuito di queste due città circonda più che quaranta miglia."—RAM. A., Cinquanta.]

[2] [A.S., dimidio milliari.]

[3] [VEN., DOM., Taydo.—PAL., Taido.—B.N., CIV., Caydo.—FARS., HAK., Caido.—FRENCH TEXT, Cayto.—A.S., Thayde.]

[4] [Marco Polo says also, ii, p. 374, that "there are 12 gates, and over each gate there is a great and handsome palace, so that there are on each side of the square three gates and five palaces; for (I ought to mention) there is at each angle also a great and handsome palace. In those palaces are vast halls in which are kept the arms of the city garrison." Gaubil and Martini also say that there were 12 gates. "The *Yuen shi*, as well as the *Ch'ue keng lu*, and other works of the Yuen, agree in stating that the capital had *eleven* gates. They are enumerated in the following order. Southern wall: 1. The gate direct south (mid.) was called *Li-cheng men*; 2. The gate direct to the left (east) was called *Wen-ming men*; 3. The gate direct to the right (west) was called *Shun-ch'eng men*.—Eastern wall: 4. The gate direct east (mid.) was called *Ch'ung-jen men*; 5. The gate direct to the south-east was called *Ts'i-hua men*; 6. The gate direct to the north-east was called *Kuang-hi men*.—Western wall: 7. The gate direct west (mid.) was called *Ho-i men*; 8. The gate direct to the south-west was called *P'ing-tse men*; 9. The gate direct to the north-west was called *Su-ts'ing men*.—Northern wall: 10. The gate to the north-west was called *K'ien-te men*; 11. The gate to the north-east was called *An-chen men*." (Bretschneider, *Peking*, pp. 13, 14.) There are now nine gates in the Tartar City.]

[5] [A.S., "Harum civitatum circuitus plus ambit quàm quadraginta milliaria magna."]

[6] I am not sure that a faithful version should not render *Magnus Canis* as the "Great Dog," for in most copies the word is regularly declined, *Canis*, *Cani*, *Canem*, as if he were really a bow-wow. According to Ludolf, an old German translation of Mandeville does introduce the mighty prince as *Der Grosse Hund*. That author thinks that some such *double entente* may have led to the story in Pliny about a people who have a dog for their king, a suggestion which would have

a great palace, the walls of which are some four miles in compass[1]. And within this space be many other fine palaces. [For within the great palace wall is a second enclosure, with a distance between them of perhaps half a bowshot, and in the midst between those two walls are kept his stores and all his slaves; whilst within the inner enclosure dwells the Great Khan with all his family, who are most numerous, so many sons and daughters, sons-in-law, and grandchildren hath he; with such a multitude of wives and councillors and secretaries and servants, that the whole palace of four miles' circuit is inhabited[2].]

And within the enclosure of the great palace there hath been a hill thrown up on which another palace is built, the most beautiful in the whole world. And this whole hill is planted over with trees, wherefrom it hath the name of the *Green Mount*. And at the side of this hill hath been formed a lake [more than a mile round[3]], and a most beautiful bridge built across it[4]. And on this lake there be such multitudes of wild-geese and ducks and swans[5], that it is

been a happy one had the people in question dwelt in the heart of Asia instead of the heart of Africa. (*Ludolf, Supp. to Comm. in Hist. Æthiop.* p. 26.) The familiarity of North Italy with the Can Grande of Verona may have made Odoric and his contemporaries look less strangely on the denomination.

[1] [RAM. B., "& ad ogni cātone è un palazzo doue dimora vno di quattro suo baroni principali."]

[2] [MIN. RAM. "E dentro al palazzo grāde è vn' altro circuito di muro, che da vn muro all' altro e forse mezza tirata d' arco, e tra questi muri vi stanno i suoi prouisionati con tutte le sue fameglie: Et nell' altro circuito habita il gran cane con tutti i suoi congiunti, che sono assaissimi cō tanti figluoli, figluole, generi, de nepoti: con tante moglie, consiglieri, secretarij, e famegli, che tutto il palazzo, che gira 4 miglia, viene ad esser habitato."]

[3] [RAM. B., "Che gira piu d' vn miglio."]

[4] [RAM. B., "E 'l piu bel pōte che nō ho mai visto il migliore, in considerando il marmo, e l' artificio, che è vna marauiglia."—DOM., un bellissimo ponte.]

[5] [RAM. B., "Eran nell' acqua le centinaia dell' anatre, et de assaissimi vccelli, che viuono di pesce, d' ogni sorte, che quel lago produce." —DOM., "Tante oche salvatiche, anitre et cesani."—B.N., "Sunt anseres silvestres, anathes, et cesenae."—CIV., "Silvestres anseres et anete et cessene."]

something to wonder at; so that there is no need for that lord to go from home when he wisheth for sport. Also within the walls are thickets full of sundry sorts of wild animals; so that he can follow the chase when he chooses without ever quitting the domain[1].

The word is in all the best MSS. *Cesuni* or *Cesenæ*, for which MUS. substitutes a gloss "*avium aquaticarum*." The word is not to be found in Ducange, or, I believe, any Italian dictionary. It occurs also in some of the MSS. of Marco Polo describing the Khan's falconry as *Cesini*, where others have *Cycni*, and where Baldello Boni considers it a copyist's error for that word. I do not believe it to be so, for I find *Cecini* also coupled with *gruve* or cranes, in a list of poultry and game, etc., in the book of Giovanni da Uzzano on Merchandize. (*Della Decima*, iv, 63.) It is, therefore, almost certainly a word which should be recognised, though most likely it means swans, and so I have rendered it. Indeed the old French Polo just edited by Pauthier has *seznes* (p. 310).

[1] In this account of the palace we have an instance of true particulars occurring only in the Minor Ramusian version, e.g. the double enceinte. This is mentioned by Polo, and is found in the existing palace, which appears to preserve many of the features of that of the Mongols, though the latter was burnt about thirty years after their fall. Indeed the arrangement of royal enclosures in all the Indo-Chinese countries, including Burma and Java, appears to follow the same traditional rules, probably derived originally from India. The palace at Amarapura, with its square form, its successive enclosures, its masonry basement eight or nine feet from the ground, its hall of gold and vermilion, etc., quite corresponded on a smaller scale with this description.

[Dr. Bretschneider observes "that in the ancient Chinese works, three concentric inclosures are mentioned in connection with the palace. The innermost inclosed the *Ta-nei*, the middle inclosure, called *Kung-ch'eng* or *Hwang-ch'eng*, answering to the wall surrounding the present prohibited city, and was about 6 *li* in circuit. Besides this there was an outer wall (a rampart apparently) 20 *li* in circuit, answering to the wall of the present imperial city (which now has 18 *li* in circuit)." The *Hwang-ch'eng* of the Yuen was measured by imperial order, and found to be 7 *li* in circuit; the wall of the Mongol palace was 6 *li* in circuit, according to the *Ch'ue keng lu*. (Bretschneider, *Peking*, 24.)—Marco Polo's mile could be approximately estimated=2·77 Chinese *li*. (*Ibid.*, p. 24, note.) The common Chinese *li*=360 *pu*, or 180 *chang*, or 1800 *ch'i* (feet); 1 *li*=1894 English feet or 575 mètres; at least according to the old Venice measures quoted in Yule's *Marco Polo*, ii, one pace =5 feet. Beside the common *li*, the Chinese have another *li*, used for measuring fields, which has only 240 *pu* or 1200 *ch'i*. This is the *li* spoken of in the *Ch'ue keng lu*. (*Ibid.*, p. 13, note.)]

The existing Tartar city at Pe-king officially termed *Nei-ch'eng* or "Inner-Town," encloses a second called *Hwang-ch'eng* or "Imperial (yellow) Town," which, no doubt, represents the outer palace of Odoric's day, and that includes a third called *Tsze-kin-ch'eng*, or "Red City," which is the actual residence.

The Green Mount, to which Kúblái, anticipating the experiments

But his own palace in which he dwells is of vast size and splendour. The basement[1] thereof is raised about two paces from the ground, and within there be four-and-twenty columns of gold[2]; and all the walls are hung with skins of red leather, said to be the finest[3] in the world. In the midst of the palace is a certain great jar[4], more than two

of zealous planters in our day, caused remarkable trees of every bulk to be transferred with the earth attaching to their roots, still stands conspicuous within the palace walls of Pekin. "Your eye rests with pleasure upon this round wood-covered hill, rising picturesquely from the middle of the glittering roofs and umbrageous trees within the palace walls." (*Swinhoe, North China Campaign*, p. 353.) It is called by the Chinese *King-Shan*, "Court Mountain," *Wan-Su-Shan*, "Ten thousand years Mount," or *Mei-Shan*, "Coal Hill," the last from the material of which it is traditionally said to be composed, as a reserve store in case of siege. It rises 160 feet above the natural soil, and on it the last Ming Emperor met a miserable end. The lake also (called *Thai-i-chi*) still exists as a swampy hollow; and the "beautiful bridge" is there in decay. (*Polo*, i, 10; *Expéd. de Chine par P. Varin*, 1862; *Davis*, ii, 75; *Timkowski*, ii, 154; *Swinhoe*, *u.s.*; *Pauthier*, *Chine Moderne*, p. 19.)

[Marco Polo speaks also of the Green Mount (i, p. 365): "Not only are the trees all green, but the hill itself is all green likewise; and there is nothing to be seen on it that is not green; and hence it is called the *Green Mount*; and in good sooth 'tis named well." The "Green Mount" was an island called *Pai-t'a shan* or *K'ung-hua tao* at the time of the Kin; in 1271, it received the name of *Wan-sui-shan*; it is about 100 feet in height, as is the only hill mentioned by Chinese writers of the Mongol time who refer to the palace grounds. It is not the present *King-shan*, north of the palace, called also *Wan-sui-shan* under the Ming, and now the *Mei-shan* of more recent formation. "I have no doubt," says Bretschneider (*Peking*, p. 35), "that Marco Polo's handsome palace on the top of the Green Mount is the same as the *Kwang-han tien*" of the *Ch'ue keng lu*. It was a hall in which there was a jar of black jade, big enough to hold more than 30 piculs of wine; this jade had white veins, and in accordance with these veins, fish and animals have been carved on the jar. (*Ibid.*, p. 35.) "The *Ku kung i lu*, in describing the *Wan-sui-shan*, praises the beautiful shady green of the vegetation there." (*Ibid.*, p. 37.)]

[1] [Civ., "Cuius pavimentum est duobus passibus elevatum."—Dom., "Del quale la terra è piu alta duo passa."]

[2] [Hak., 14 columnas.—French Text, "XXIIII colompnes toutes de fin or pur."]

[3] [Fr. 2810, belles.—Fr. Text, nobles.]

[4] [Ram. B., "Vna pigna di pietra pretiosa, & è si fina, si come io intesi, che 'l suo prezzo non lo potrebbono agguagliare *quattro grosse cittadi*."—French Text, "Une grant pigne, c'est-à-dire un pignetaire un grand vaissel là ou on met piment et buvrage."—Bretschneider, *Archaeolog. Res. on Peking*, p. 28, mentions from the *Ch'ue keng lu*: "There is further a *large jar* made of wood and varnished, the inside

paces in height, entirely formed of a certain precious stone called *Merdacas*[1] [and so fine, that I was told its price exceeded the value of four great towns[2]]. It is all hooped round with gold, and in every corner thereof is a dragon[3] represented as in act to strike most fiercely. And this jar hath also fringes of network of great pearls hanging therefrom, and these fringes are a span in breadth. Into this vessel drink is conveyed by certain conduits from the court

lined with silver. A dragon in golden clouds twines around the jar, which is 17 feet in height and holds more than 50 piculs of wine. There is also a jar of jade."]

[1] Certainly the oriental Jade or *Yu* of the Chinese, which stood as high in the estimation of the Mongols, and figures largely in their legends and their poetry. Thus when Chinghiz was proclaimed Khagan on the grassy meadows of the river Kerulan, a certain stone spontaneously flew asunder, and disclosed a great seal of graven jade, which was kept as a palladium by his descendants, and was almost the only thing saved by the last emperor of his house when flying from the Chinese insurgents. (*Schmidt*, pp. 71, 133.)

The Mongol word for jade cited in this authority is *khas*, which is doubtless the termination of the name used in the text.

I cannot say what the first part of that name is. But it is worthy of notice that the mountain near Khotan, which supplies some of the best jade, is called, according to Timkowski, *Mirjái*, or *Kash-tash* (*Turk.* "Jade-rock"). Can Merdacas = *Mirjai-khas*? Further, can the Tartar name have anything to do with the Persian *khás*, "royal, noble"? Crawfurd technically styles the Burmese jade "noble serpentine," and in the narrative of Goës we find the jade of Yarkand spoken of as "*marmoris illius apud Sinas* nobilissimi."

It may be added that Pegolotti names, among various kinds of silk in the Eastern markets, *seta merdachascia*; what does *this* mean? (*Pegolotti*, p. 301.) Since writing these words I find that Freytag's Arab. lexicon has "*Midaqs*; Sericum crudum," found also in Armenian as *Metaks* (*St. Martin* in *Lebeau*, ix, 226), which is, therefore, probably the *seta merdachascia* of Pegolotti, as well as the *μέταξα*, *μέταξις* of the Byzantines. It is possible that this word was an Orientalised reflexion of Μηδικὴ which Procopius says had been the old Greek name for silk stuffs?

[VEN., CIV., merdacas.—RAM. A., merdicas.—FARS., DOM., B.N., merdatas.—PAL., medacas.—RAM. B., medecas.—HAK., merdochas.—MAGL., mordacas.—FRENCH TEXT, marthatedes.—I believe this is the name of the contents for the name of the jar. We find in Francis Johnson's *Dict. Persian, Arabic, and English*, Lond., 1852, p. 1161 the Arabic مردقوش *mardakūsh* after the Persian مردەگوش *murda-gosh* "Marjoram, Saffron. A kind of aromatics of a reddish black colour, with which women perfume their combs." I prefer this explanation to Yule's.]

[2] MIN. RAM.

[3] *Serpens.* [FRENCH TEXT, "serpent."—Fr. 2810, "serpent d'or."]

of the palace; and beside it are many golden goblets from which those drink who list.

In the hall of the palace also are many peacocks of gold. And when any of the Tartars wish to amuse their lord then they go one after the other and clap their hands; upon which the peacocks flap their wings, and make as if they would dance. Now this must be done either by diabolic art, or by some engine underground[1].

38. The friar setteth forth the state of the Khan's court.

But when the Lord Khan[2] is seated on his imperial throne, the Queen is placed at his left hand; and a step lower are two others of his women; whilst at the bottom of the steps stand all the other ladies of his family[3]. And all who are married wear upon their heads the foot of a man as it were, a cubit and a half in length, and at the top of that foot there are certain cranes' feathers, the whole foot being set with great pearls[4], so that if there be in the whole world any fine and large pearls they are to be found in the decorations of those ladies[5].

[1] [B.N., "Hoc autem fit vel arte dyabolica vel ingenio quodam sub terra fit."—HAK., "Et hoc credo factū arte Magica, vel aliqua cautela subterranea."—CIV., "Hoc autem ut puto fit arte diabolica, vel forte ingenio humano sub terra."—FRENCH TEXT, "Et quant aucuns Tartres veult en ce palais faire aucune feste à son seigneur, il bat les mains ensemble et tantost ces paons espandent les elles et alettent et semble droit que ilz dancent tellement; sont faits cilz paon par science d'homme ou par art de diable."]

[2] [The Great Khans of Odoric's time were the Yuen Emperors Ying Tsung (Che Che, 1321)=Shodibala Gegen and Tai Ting Ti (Tai Ting, 1324; Che Ho, 1328)=Yissun Timur.]

[3] [FRENCH TEXT, "Quant le Grant Caan siet sur son trosne en sa majesté impérial, à son senestre costé siet la royne un degré plus bas que le roy, puis deux autres femmes concubines que li roys tient au tiers degré qui est le plus bas. Et après ces concubines sient les autres dames du sang royal."]

[4] [FRENCH TEXT, "Tous ces piés est d'or aournez et de grosses perles."]

[5] The coiffure of the Tartar married women is thus described by Rubruquis: "They have an ornament for the head called *Boc* (or *Botta*, perhaps *Bocta*). This is made of the bark of trees or similar light stuff, round, and large enough to require both hands to span it. It

On the right hand of the king is placed his first-born son that shall reign after him; and below stand all who are

is more than a cubit high, and is square above, like the capital of a pillar. The whole affair is covered with silk, and on the top or capital they put in the middle a thin tuft of quills or slender canes, also of a cubit or more. And this tuft is adorned at top with peacock's feathers, and round about with mallard's feathers and precious stones" (p. 232). Carpini describes it in the same way (p. 615). And Ibn Batuta says of a princess of Kipchak: "On her head was a *boghthak*, that is, a high tiara incrusted with jewels, and decked at the apex with peacock's feathers" (ii, 379 and 388). But the only confirmation of Odoric about the "man's foot" that I find is given by Ricold of Montecroce. After telling a story of how the Tartar women helped to gain a great victory he adds: "In memory of this victory the Tartars granted leave to their wives to wear lofty crowns to the height of a cubit or more. But lest the women should wax over proud thereupon, the Tartars also determined that these crowns should at the summit take the form of a foot. And in fact at the top of such a great crown there is as it were a foot over it, as if to maintain a testimony that the women did not win the victory alone, but by help of their husbands, who came to their rescue; and as if it were said to them:—'Crowned though ye be, forget not that ye be under the power of your husbands!' and so by a kind of natural reason they seem to have divined that which is written in the Law of God, '*Sub viri potestate eris.*'" (*Peregrinatores Quatuor*, p. 116.) Notices of relics of this Tartar head-dress still existing are quoted in the *Journ. Asiat.*, sér. iv, tom. x, 169, xvi, 157. It appears from one of these that the name *Bogtac* still indicates the head-dress of women of a certain age among the Circassians and Ossetes.

[Cf. FRENCH EDITION, p. 409.—Vincent de Beauvais (bk. xxix, ch. lxxxv, 421 *b*) describes the *bogtak*, but does not mention it by its name. Rockhill (*Rubruck*, p. 74) makes the following remarks on this subject: "Such high head-dresses seem to have been worn at various times by many Asiatic peoples or tribes; whether they were quite like the Mongol *bogtak* or not I am unable to say. *Wei shu* (bk. 102, 13) speaking of an Uigur people called the Yen-ta, says: 'It was the custom of the Yen-ta for brothers to have the same wife: if a man had no brothers, his wife wore a head-dress (or cap) with but one horn. If he had brothers, she added as many points (or horns) as he had brothers.' Yüan-chuang describes in about the same terms the head-dress of the women of Himatala, who may, by the way, be the Yen-ta of the *Wei shu* (Julien, *Voyages*, ii, 197). The nearest modern approach to the Mongol *bogtak* seems to me to be the high head-dress, covered with bark or red cloth, of the Votiak women of Kasan (Pallas, *Voyages*, v, 32). We find another head-dress of like description, which may owe its origin to the *bogtak*, worn at the present time by the Christian women of Urfah, between Diarbekir and Aleppo (Percy Badger, i, 329). The head-dress of the Kirghiz women, and the high Flemish head-dress called *hennin*, introduced into France by Isabeau de Bavière, should not be omitted in this enumeration." Cf. *Hennins or Conical lady's hats in Asia, China and Europe* by G. Schlegel (*T'oung Pao*, iii, 1892, pp. 422–429). "But in the reign of Jin-tsung of the Sung dynasty (1023–1063), the court ladies made hats and combs

of the blood royal. And there be four scribes also, to take down all the words that the king may utter. And in front of the king stand his barons and others, an innumerable multitude, and nobody dares say a word[1] unless the lord shall address him, except the jesters[2], who may say something to amuse their lord. But even they must not be bold enough to transgress the bounds which the king hath laid down for them.

And before the gates of the palace stand barons as warders, to see that no one touch the threshold of the door; and if they catch anyone doing so they beat him soundly[3].

And when that great lord wishes to make an entertainment he shall h[ave] e fourteen thousand[4] barons with coronets on their heads waiting upon him at the banquet. And every one of them shall have a coat on his back such that

of white horn; these hats reached a height of *three feet*, and the combs that of *one foot*....During the Mongol dynasty (1206–1367), the royal ladies and legitimate spouses of the great officers all wore *Koo-koo's*. The *Kookoo* was about *two feet* high, and was covered with red silk.... We thus see, that this strange and absurd fashion, invented by the ladies of *Ye-tha*, or Chorasmia, reigned paramount in China from the 11th to the 14th century, notwithstanding imperial edicts against it."—The married women of Phari in Tibet, says Waddell, *Lhasa*, p. 101, "wear a wonderful piece of headgear, a large hoop like the framework of a tall crown, suggestive of the Norwegian bride's hat, and set with a wealth of turquoise, coral, etc."]

[1] [FRENCH TEXT, sorier.—Fr. 2810, sonner.]

[2] [FRENCH TEXT, "excepté les héraux et les menestrelz."]

[3] Marco Polo explains that it was a grievous offence to touch the imperial threshold, and strangers were officially warned of this before their entrance. Rubruquis mentions the same; his comrade got into a scrape for breaking the rule, and was not allowed again to visit the court. Carpini indeed says: "*Si quis calcat limen stationis alicujus ducis* interficitur." (*Polo*, i, 15; *Rub.*, 255, 268; 320, 338; *Carpini*, 625, 741.)

[Mr. Rockhill remarks (*Rubruck*, p. 104): "The prohibition extended to the tent-ropes. The same custom existed among the Fijians, I believe. I may note that it also prevailed in ancient China. It is said of Confucius 'when he was standing he did not occupy the middle of the gate-way; when he passed in or out, he did not tread on the threshold.' (*Lun-yü*, bk. x, ch. iv, 2.)"]

[4] [RAM. B., Quindecimila baroni.—B.N., XIIII milia.—FRENCH TEXT, "IIII[m] barons couronnez tous de couronnes d'or qui le servent."]

the pearls[1] on it alone are worth some fifteen thousand florins. And the court is ordered passing well, all being ranked by tens and hundreds and thousands, and all having their duties assigned, standing answerable one to another for any breach either to their own charges or in the charges of those subordinate to them[2].

I, Friar Odoric, was full three years in that city of his, and often present at those festivals of theirs[3]; for we Minor Friars have a place assigned to us at the emperor's court, and we be always in duty bound to go and give him our benison. So I took the opportunity to make diligent inquiry from Christians, Saracens, and all kinds of idolaters, and likewise from our own converts to the faith, of whom there be some who are great barons[4] at that court, and have to do with the king's person only[5]. Now these all told me

[1] [FRENCH TE› T, rubis.]

[2] ["Moreouer, the Emperour of the Tartars hath a wonderfull dominion ouer all his subiects. For no man dare abide in any place, vnles he hath assigned him to be there. Also he himselfe appointeth to his dukes where they should inhabite. Likewise the dukes assigne places vnto euery Millenarie or conductor of a thousand soldiers, the Millenaries vnto each captaine of an 100, the capitaines vnto euerv corporall of ten." (Beazley, *Carpini*, p. 120.)]

[3] [MIN. RAM., "in company with the Minor Friars, who have a monastery there; and they used to send us from the court supplies enough for a thousand friars! And, by the true God, there is as great a difference between that prince and those of Italy, as between a very rich man and a beggar." "Et io vi stetti tre anni in compagnia di frati minori, che vi hanno il monastero: doue dalla corte vi veniua tanta robba, che sarebbe stata bastante per mille frati. E per lo Dio vero è tãta differẽza da questo Signore a questi d' Italia, come da vn huomo richissimo ad vn che sia il piu pouero del mondo."—B.N., "Ego frater Odoricus ibi fui bene tribus annis in hac sua civitate et multotiens in istis suis festis presens fui, nam nos fratres minores in hâc curia suâ habemus locum deputatum, et nos semper sic oportet ire et dare sibi benedictionem nostram, unde diligenter petii."—A.S., "Ego Fr. Odoricus mansi ibi tribus annis & festis regiis saepius inter fui. Nam nos Fratres Minores...."]

[4] [RAM. B., "Questo Signore teneua da ducento ottanta mila huomini, li quali non attendeuano se non a cani, e caualli, & a tutte le cose, che appartengono alla caccia per seruigio del Signore."]

[5] These great courtiers may have been some of the Christian Alans of whom we hear some years later in connection with the legation of Marignolli.

with one voice as follows: that the king's players alone amount to xiii[1] tumans; that of those others who keep the dogs and wild beasts and fowls there be xv tumans[2]; of leeches[3] to take charge of the royal person there be four hundred idolaters[4], eight Christians, and one Saracen[5]. And all these have from the king's court whatever provision they require[6]. [And there be never more nor fewer, but when one dies another is appointed in his place[7].] As for the rest of the establishment it is past counting. [In short, the court is truly magnificent, and the most perfectly ordered that there is in the world, with barons, gentlemen, servants, secretaries, Christians, Turks, and idolaters, all receiving from the court what they have need of[8].]

39. Of the order of the Great Caan when he journeyeth.

Now, this lord passeth the summer at a certain place

[1] [HAK., 18 thuman.—FARS., 12.—DOM., XIV.]

[2] [B.N., "Alii autem custodientes canes, bestias silvestres, et aves bene XV sunt tuman." Passage omitted in the French Text.]

[3] [CIV., "Sunt Tartari, quatercentum Christiani...."]

[4] [FRENCH TEXT, III[c] ydolâtres.—ARUND., CCC[ti].—RAM. B., 400.—B.N., quadringinti.]

[5] [B.N., unus.—FRENCH TEXT, VII sarrazins.]

[6] The Sultan of Delhi about this time was said to have 10,000 falconers, 1200 musicians, 1200 physicians, and 1000 *poets*! (*Notices et Extraits*, xiii, 185.)

It is not inappropriate to these statistics which Odoric puts forward so solemnly, to refer to a passage in the history of Yesontimur, the Emperor at this time. Alarmed by evil prognostics, he called for an honest report as to what fault in his administration could have excited divine displeasure. The report, after blaming the superstitious cherishing of Bonzes and Fo-worship, goes on: "Whilst the palace is crammed with eunuchs, astrologers, physicians, women, and other idlers, whose entertainment amounts to exorbitant sums, the people are plunged in extreme misery, etc., etc." (*Deguignes*, iv, 206; *Gaubil*, p. 259.)

[7] [MIN. RAM., "Ma morto l' vno in suo loco si mette l' altro."]

[8] [MIN. RAM., "In somma la corte è ordinatissima e magnifica quanto sia per tutto 'l mondo di baroni, gentilhuomini, famegli, agenti, Christiani, Turchi, idololatri: quali tutti hanno dalla corte quel che gli fa di mestieri."]

which is called SANDU[1], situated towards the north[2], and the coolest habitation in the world[3]. But in the winter

[1] [FARS., DOM., ARUND., Sandu.—B.N., Zandú.—RAM. B., Sandoy.—VEN., Sanday.—CIV., Sando.—Fr. 2810, Sandur.—FRENCH TEXT, Sadu.]

The Ciandu or Chandu of Marco Polo, where stood that magnificent park and palace, his description of which set Coleridge a-dreaming (or dreaming that he dreamt) that wonderful poem which tells how

"In Xanadu did Kubla Khan
A stately pleasure-dome decree."

This becomes all the more curious when we are told on an authority of which Coleridge could have known nothing, that the palace was designed to correspond with one which Kúblái *had seen in a dream*, and of which *his memory had retained the plan.*

The place was originally Kai p'ingfu, called by the Tartars Kaiminfu, the Chemenfu (miswritten Clemenfu) of Polo; it stood about 150 *li* beyond the wall, and ten days' journey from Peking. From Kúblái it received the name of *Shang-tu* or "Upper Court"; more than one palace was built in the vicinity, and from 1264, when Kúblái began to visit this district, till the fall of the dynasty, these palaces continued to be frequented by the emperors as summer residences.

In the wail which Ssanang Setzen, the Mongol historian, puts into the mouth of Toghon Temur, the last of the Yuen dynasty, when flying from his throne, the changes of lamentation are rung upon the loss of "My DAÏTU, my capital, my gloriously adorned! my SHANGTU, my cool and delicious summer-seat, pleasure dwelling of the earlier gods!" Cf. *Marco Polo*, i, p. 305.

The ruins of the palace and city existed at the end of the seventeenth century, when they were seen, not described, by Gerbillon in 1691; and the imperial geography of the existing dynasty mentions that those ruins contained an inscription of the reign of Kúblái. The city is stated to be that which appears in D'Anville's map as *Tchao-Naiman-Soumé-hoton.* (*Klaproth's Rashideddin* in *Journ. Asiat.*, 2nd sér., xi, 345-350; *M. Polo, Introd.* 6; i, 24; *DuHalde*, iv; *Deguignes*, i, 296; *Schmidt*, p. 137.)

[Kai-p'ing fu, *Mongolicé* Keibung, is called also *Loan king, i.e.* "the capital of the Loan River," according to Palladius. The ruins still exist, and the site is 118 miles in direct line from Chaghan-nor; it was visited in 1872 by Dr. S. W. Bushell, of the British Legation, Peking.

"The Khans usually resorted to Shang-tu in the 4th moon and returned to Pe-king in the 9th. On the 7th day of the 7th moon there were libations performed in honour of the ancestors; a shaman, his face to the north, uttered in a loud voice the names of Chinghiz Khan and of other deceased Khans, and poured mare's milk on the ground. The propitious day for the return journey to Peking was also appointed then." (*Palladius*, p. 26.)]

[2] [RAM. B., Sotto la tramontana.]

[3] [FRENCH TEXT, "Et siet dessus une montaigne dont celle cité est moult froide."]

season he abideth in Cambalech[1]. And when he will ride from the one place[2] to the other this is the order thereof. He hath four[3] armies of horsemen, one of which goeth a day's march in front of him, one at each side, and one a day's march in rear, so that he goeth always, as it were, in the middle of a cross. And marching thus, each army hath its route laid down for it day by day, and findeth at its halts all necessary provender. But his own immediate company hath its order of march thus. The king travelleth in a two-wheeled carriage, in which is formed a very goodly chamber, all of lign-aloes and gold[4], and covered over with great and fine skins, and set with many precious stones. And the carriage is drawn by four elephants, well broken in and harnessed, and also by four splendid horses, richly caparisoned. And alongside go four barons[5], who are called *Cuthe*[6], keeping watch and ward over the chariot that no hurt come to the king[7]. Moreover, he carrieth with

[1] [RAM. B., "L' inuerno dimora in vn' altra città caldissima chiamata Cambalù."]

[2] [RAM. B., "E di rado il detto Signore colla sua fameglia more di malatthie, se non di vecchiezza."]

[3] [FR. 2810, "trois Osts ou quatre."]

[4] [PAL., "Tutta di legne d' aloe, ch' è tanto odorifero e prezioso."]

[5] [RAM. B., 50 baroni.]

[6] [CIV., Chuche.—B.N., Zuche.—FARS., Cuthe.—Fr 2810, Serigi-nez.—FRENCH TEXT, Strigenes.]

Most read *Zuche* or *Çuche*. This *Cuthe*, which seems best, is in FAR. only.

[*Kin* or *Ju tche* which means mandarin says Rashideddin.]

[7] De Mailla and Gaubil relate that there were four Mongol captains who had devoted themselves with singular fidelity to guarding the person of Chinghiz Khan; the descendants of these four Mongols were all employed in the body-guard, and were called the four *Kie-sie* (according to Gaubil *Kuesie*); they were withdrawn from this office only to become ministers of state. (*De Mailla, Hist. Gén. de la Chine*, quoted in *Il Milione*, ii, 181; *Gaubil*, p. 6.)

Odoric's four barons undoubtedly were these Kuesie, whom Polo calls *Quesitan*, and the reading *Cuthe* has therefore been preferred to the Zuche of most MSS.

[*Quesitàn* or *Keshican* is evidently *Keshikten*. "This is a general Mongol term to designate the Khan's lifeguard It is derived from the word *Keshik*, meaning a guard by turns; a corps on tour of duty. *Keshik* is one of the archaisms of the Mongol language, for now this word has another meaning in Mongol. Col. Yule has brought together

him in his chariot twelve gerfalcons[1]; so that even as he sits therein upon his chair of state or other seat, if he sees any birds pass he lets fly his hawks at them. And none may dare to approach within a stone's throw of the carriage, unless those whose duty brings them there[2]. And thus it is that the king travelleth.

And so also his women travel, according to their degree; and his heir-apparent travels in similar state.

As for the numbers which the lord hath with him on his progress, 'tis difficult to believe or conceive of them. The number of the troops in those armies that attend the lord is fifty tumans[3], and these are entirely provided with everything by the lord. And if anyone happen to die of those who are enrolled among them, another instantly replaces him; so that the number is always complete[4].

several explanations of the term. It seems to me that among his suppositions the following is the most consistent with the ancient meaning of the word:—

"We find *Kishik* still used at the court of Hindustan, under the great kings of Timur's House, for the corps on tour of duty at the palace.... The royal guards in Persia, who watch the King's person at night, are termed *Keshikchi*."

"The Keshikten was divided into a day-watch called *Turgaut* and a night-watch *Kebteul*. The Kebte-ul consisted of pure Mongols, whilst the Turgaut was composed of the sons of the vassal princes and governors of the provinces, and of hostages. The watch of the Khan was changed every three days, and contained 400 men. In 1330 it was reduced to 100 men." (*Palladius*, 42–43. *Marco Polo*, i, pp. 380–1.)

On Tartar Waggons, etc., see *Marco Polo*, i, p. 254.]

[1] [FRENCH TEXT, XII griffons.—RAM. B., Diece Girfalchi.—HAK., "Supra currum sedent duo Gerfalcones albissimi."—Fr. 2810, gerfaux.]

[2] [FRENCH TEXT, "Les gens des contrées par ou li roys doit passer font grans feus à leurs huis et y mettent encens et autres espices bien flairans et font grant fumée afin que li roys ne sente fors que toute bonne oudeur; et les pluseurs se mettent à genoulz devant lui en mi la rue et lui font révérence."]

[3] [FARS., v^c.—HAK., XV Thuman.]

[4] Here MIN. RAM. has the following passage. [And countless is the number of strange beasts that he keeps. Among these were six horses, each of which had six feet and legs. And I saw two very great ostriches, and two smaller ones behind them, that had each two necks and two heads with which they ate; not to mention the wild men who were in the lord's garden, and women all hairy with long grey hair though of human form, which ate apples and drunk drinks such as were supplied to them by the lord's order. And among these were men not bigger than two spans, and these are called *Gomiti*

(Cubits). And in the court I saw men with an eye in the forehead; and these were called *Minocchi* (Monoculi). And at that time there were presented to the lord a pair, male and female, which had a span length of body, with big heads and long legs, and no hands, and which fed themselves with the foot. I also saw a giant about twenty feet high who led two lions, one red and the other black; and another had in charge lionesses and leopards, and such like beasts, with which the lord went hunting stags, wild goats, wolves, boars, bears, and other wild animals. "Le bestie poi di tâte sorti strane sono infinite che luj tiene: fra quali erano sej caualli, che haueano sei piedi e sei gambe per vno: e viddi dui grandissimi struzzi, e dui piccioli dietro di loro cō dui colli per ciascuno, e dui teste, dalle quali māgiauano, senza far mentione di altri huomini Saluatichi che stanno nello giardino di detto Signore, e donne tutte pelose di vn pelo grande e bigio, quali han forma humana, e si pascono di poma, & d' altre beuande, che gli ordina il Signore che se gli dia. Fra quali erano huomini non piu grandi di dui spanne, e q̄stí chiamano *Gomiti*. Nella corte ho visto huomini di un' occhio nella fronte, che si chiamauano Minocchi. E a quel tempo furono appresentati al Signore dui, un maschio, & vna femina, quali haueuano vna spanna di busto, colla testa grossa, e le gambe lunghe, e senza mani, e s' imboccauano con uno de i piedi. E uiddi un gigāte grande circa 20 piedi, che menaua dui leoni l' un rosso, & l' altro nero, e l' altro haueua in guardia Leonesse, e Leopardi, e con si fatte bestie andaua il Signore a far caccia a prender cerui, caprioli, lupi, cingiali, orsi, & altre bestie saluatiche."]

Though there is probably interpolation in this passage, and it has not therefore been introduced into the text, there are symptoms of genuineness about it. Even the sagacious Kúblái, the second founder of the dynasty, had a passion for curiosities and sent envoys far and near to procure them. In his day if Napoleon III had turned his attention to the collection of live monsters he would speedily have had a very remarkable gathering, and the influence of the Grand Khan probably extended over a larger area of population than his. As regards some of the monsters mentioned by the writer above, parallels will easily occur to many. I have myself described in print "a woman all hairy," as remarkable as his, though possibly those "in the lord's garden" were only some kind of monkey. I recollect a tame hoolak or black gibbon at a station in India which "ate apples and drunk drinks supplied to it," and was universally called by the natives round the *Jungalí Admí*, or wild man, which indeed is the literal meaning of our *Orang-outang*. And I remember, when a boy, seeing both the Siamese twins and the seven legs of Pin-cushion Jenny, a thoroughbred mare. Miss Biffin not only fed herself with her feet, but threaded her needle and did embroidery work therewith. As to the height of the giants and dwarfs, when very remarkable of their kind they make very exaggerated impressions upon everybody. It is not long since we have ceased to hear from respectable writers of elephants fifteen and eighteen feet high. The *Minocchi*, of course, I give up; they were doubtless factitious, if not fictitious, but the name is not like one that Odoric would give. The names he assigns generally represent some Oriental word; and this is probably an interpolation.

Live monsters are sometimes manufactured, as well as dead ones like Barnum's. I once saw, at Agra, going about as a show, a small bullock which had one or two (apparent) legs and hoofs growing out of its hump. These hung flabbily and boneless, but were certainly, as far as I could judge, vitally united to the flesh of the hump. My

40. The greatness of the Khan's dominion; and how hostels are provided therein; and how news are carried to the lord.

This empire hath been divided by the lord thereof into twelve parts; each one whereof is termed a *Singo*[1]. And of those twelve parts that of Manzi forms one which hath under it two thousand great cities[2]. And, indeed, so vast is that empire of his, that if one wished to visit each of these provinces he would have enough to do for six[3] months; and that exclusive of the islands[4], five thousand in number, which are not comprehended in the number of the twelve provinces. [Moreover, there be four chief ministers to govern the empire of this great lord[5].]

impression (be it just or not) was that they had been *grafted in*. Similar, perhaps, was the calf which Ælian says he saw at Alexandria, with a supernumerary foot hanging useless from the shoulder. (*De Nat. Animal.*, xi, 40.)

[1] [VEN., Singo.—B.N., Syno.—PAL., Siglo.—RAM. A., "Dodici parti nominata ciascuna con il segno de 12. delle quali vna è quella Prouincia di Manzo."—FRENCH TEXT, Strigo.]

"In the whole empire of the Kaan," says Rashideddin, "there are twelve *Sing*." And Klaproth annotates: "This word *Sing* is the Chinese *Sing* or *Ching*, by which is designated a province and its administration." (*As above*, p. 447.)

It is correct that the empire of Cathay was divided as Odoric says, into twelve great provinces, but not that Manzi constituted only *one* of those provinces. It is true, however, that the one province of Kiang-che embraced all the great cities south of the Kiang which he had visited, except Canton. The twelve provinces as constituted by Kúblái and his successor, will be found stated in an extract from Rashideddin hereafter.

[However, we may state in the meantime that the twelve provinces or *sheng* under the Yuen Dynasty were: Cheng tung, Liao yang, Chung shu, Shen si, Ling Pe (Karakorum), Kan-su, Sze ch'wan, Ho nan Kiang Pe, Kiang che, Kiang si, Hu kwang, Yun nan.—Oxenham, in his *Historic Atlas*, gives only ten provinces, leaving out Cheng tung and Ling Pe.]

[2] [FRENCH TEXT, "le royaume de Mangy ouquel a plus de II^M grosses citez comme dit est par devant."]

[3] [ARUNDEL, v.]

[4] [FRENCH TEXT, grandes et riches.]

[5] MIN. RAM. ["E ui sono proposti quattro che gouernano l' imperio di questo grā Signore."]

This passage from the MIN. RAM. again shows the claims of that version to attention. The four chief governors are the four wazirs whom the Mongols called *Chingsang* (Chin. *Chhingsiang*). These were Mongolian princes, and were aided in their deliberations by four others

And that travellers may have their needs provided for, throughout his whole empire he hath caused houses and courts to be established as hostelries and these houses are called *Yam*[1]. In these houses is found everything necessary for subsistence, [and for every person who travels throughout those territories, whatever be his condition, it is ordained that he shall have two meals without payment[2]]. And when any matter of news arises in the empire messengers start incontinently at a great pace on horseback for the court; but if the matter be very serious and urgent they set off upon dromedaries. And when they come near those *yam*, hostels or stations, they blow a horn, whereupon mine host of the hostel straightway maketh another messenger get ready; and to him the rider who hath come posting up delivereth the letter, whilst he himself tarrieth for refreshment. And the other taking the letter, maketh haste to the next *yam*, and there doth as did the first. And in this manner the emperor receiveth in the course of one natural day the news of matters from a distance of thirty[3] days' journey[4].

But the despatch of foot runners is otherwise ordered. For certain appointed runners abide continually in certain station-houses called *chidebeo*[5], and these have a girdle with

(*Fanchán*), who were Chinese, Uighurs, or Persians. (See extracts from *Rashideddin*, and notes, *infrà*.)

[Morrison, *Dict.*, Pt. II, Vol. i, p. 70, says: "Chin-seang, a Minister of State, was so called under the Ming Dynasty." According to Mr. E. H. Parker (*China Review*, xxiv, p. 101), *Ching Siang* were abolished in 1395.—Cf. *Marco Polo*, i, pp. 431—433.]

[1] [B.N., "Domus *Yam* vocatur."]

[2] MIN. RAM. ["E ciascuna persona, che facendo viaggio, passa per quei paesi, di qual condition sia è ordinato, che per dui pasti che fa, non paghi nulla."]

[3] [B.N., FARS., HAK., XXX.—FRENCH TEXT, trois.—ARUND., XX.—VEN., "Sic per istum modum in die una naturali nova dictarum trium Imperator habet."]

[4] The MIN. RAM. describes these post-stations as "very high towers." But this seems a confusion arising from some knowledge of the beacon towers mentioned in a note below.

["Per tutto il paese ui sono torri altissime, doue sono assaissime guardie, le quali hanno sempre dui, o tre corni da sonare grandissimi."]

[5] [VEN., B.N., Chidebo.—FRENCH TEXT, Chiribo.]

a number of bells attached to it. Now those stations are distant the one from the other perhaps three miles[1]; and when a runner approaches one of those houses he causes those bells of his to jingle very loudly; on which the other runner in waiting at the station getteth ready in haste, and taking the letter hastens on to another station as fast as he can. And so it goes from runner to runner until it reaches the great Khan himself. And so nothing can happen, in short, throughout the whole empire, but he hath instantly, or at least very speedily, full tidings thereof[2].

[1] [VEN., B.N., "Distat ab alia milliaribus forte tribus."]

[2] With this account of the Chinese posts we may compare that given by Shah-Rokh's ambassadors about a century later. We find in it the *yam* and the *chidebeo* of Odoric both named: "This city (Sokcheu) is the first on passing the frontier of Cathay; thence to Kambálik, the emperor's residence, there are ninety-nine *yams* or post-houses. ..Every *yam* is situated opposite to a city or town, and in the intervals between the *yams* you may count many *kargús* and *kidifús*. The word *kargú* is applied to a tower of some sixty cubits in height, where two men are constantly on duty. The tower is so placed that the next *kargú* is in sight from it; and when any event of importance occurs, like the approach of an enemy's army, the men on watch immediately light a fire, and this being seen from the next *kargú* they make haste to light another. And so the signal passes from one to another, till in the space of one day and night a piece of news passes over a distance of three months' march. Despatches are also sent along without stopping, being passed from hand to hand and from one *kidifu* to another. The word *kidifu* is the name applied to a party of men attached to a station with the following duty. Immediately that a letter or a piece of news reaches them, one who is waiting all ready starts off with it to the next *kidifu*, and so on till it reaches the foot of the imperial throne. The distance from one *kidifu* to another is ten *mereh*; sixteen of which are equal to a *parasang*. The men posted at the *kargu* are ten in number, and are relieved every ten days. But those of the *kidifu* live at their post, building themselves houses there and engaging in agriculture." (From *Notices et Extraits*, xiv, 396.) The *kidifu* is Odoric's *chidebeo*, but I have not been able to make sure of the language or etymology. I may observe however that Ibn Batuta applies to the posts or stages of the foot-runners in India the term *dáwuh* (vol. iii, pp. 96, 145, 191), and the term may possibly be *kad-i-dáwuh* or *kad-dáwuh*, "the house of the runners or foot-post." On the other hand, Martini tells us that the arch which indicated a post station was called in Chinese *P'u*. And the word may be a hybrid, *Kad-i-Pu*, analogous to the equally hybrid *Dak-House* of India. *Kargú* is doubtless connected with the *Karághúl* "Excubitores," and "Viarum Custodes," of Pococke's *Abulpharagius* (363, 369). The double system of horse and foot posts was also found by Ibn Batuta established in India in 1333. The posts of Timur are noticed by Clavijo (p. 105). And

41. Concerning the Khan's great hunting matches[1].

When the Great Khan goes a hunting 'tis thus ordered.

Baber describes his own post between Agra and Cabul, using the word *yam*, but adding that it was called in India *dak-choki*, the term in use in all Northern India to this day. (*Erskine's Baber*, p. 393.) Pauthier thinks *yam* to have been taken from the Chinese *yi-ma*, "horse-post." (*Marc. Pol.*, p. 335.)

[Mr. Rockhill (*Rubruck*, 101, note) says that these post-stations were established by Okkodai in 1234 throughout the Mongol empire. (*D'Ohsson*, ii, 63.) Dr. G. Schlegel (*T'oung Pao*, ii, 1891, 265, note) observes that *iam* is not, as Pauthier supposed, a contraction of *yi-mâ*, horse post-house (*yi-mâ* means post-horse, and Pauthier makes a mistake), but represents the Chinese character 站, pronounced at present *chán*, which means in fact a road station, a post. In Annamite, this character 站 is pronounced *tram*, and it means, according to Bonet's *Dict. Annamite-Français*: "Relais de poste, station de repos." See Bretschneider, *Med. Res.*, i, p. 187, note. Cf. *Marco Polo*, i, p. 437 *n.*]

Burnes was told of the continued existence of both post and fire beacons between Yarkund and Peking. The distance is more than five months' journey as usually travelled, but an express went in thirty-five days, and under very great emergency in fifteen.

The Chinese inns for the lodgment of public officers were, according to Martin, at eighty *li*, or a day's journey apart. According to Magalhaens there were 1145 of these royal inns, or as we should say in India "Government Dak bungalows."

[In my edition of Odoric, p. 419, I wrote that *chidiheo* = *ki-di-fu*, the innkeeper. Schlegel, *T'oung Pao*, Sept. 1891, p. 266, writes that it represents the post-office called *K'i-ti-p'u* (Despatch-office); there is one of these offices at every fifteen miles, and in each there are four messengers and a postmaster. Every messenger is provided with a portfolio, bells, a spear with fringes, three feet of oiled silk, a cover in soft silk for the post parcels, a cap and an overcoat for the rain, a secret red stick, and a return ticket. Cf. Schlegel's *Nederland-Chineesch Woordenboek*, iii, s.v. *Post*.

By the *kargú*, or signal towers, Shah-Rokh's ambassadors meant the Chinese *fung* or *sui* with which fire-signals were given from one tower to another.]

[1] [The FRENCH TEXT contains here the following story, which is not to be found in the other versions:

"Nous avons un nostre frère meneur évesque en l'ostel de l'empereur qui tousdis donne la beneiçon au grant Caan quant il doit chevauchier. Je frère Odric voulz aller avec pour veoir la guise et il m'y mena. Nous alames a procession contre l'empereur qui seoit en un char et portames devant nous une croix sur un hault baston affin que on la puist mieulx veoir et chantames ceste antene: *Veni, Sancte Spiritus*. Quant fusmes venu au char par le comandement

At some twenty[1] days' journey from Cambalech, there is a fine forest of eight[2] days' journey in compass; and in it are such multitudes and varieties of animals as are truly wonderful. All round this forest there be keepers posted on account of the Khan, to take diligent charge thereof; and every third or fourth year he goeth with his people to this forest. On such occasions they first surround the whole forest with beaters, and let slip the dogs[3] and the hawks trained to this sport, and then gradually closing in upon the game, they drive it to a certain fine open spot that there is in the middle of the wood. Here there becomes massed together an extraordinary multitude of wild beasts, such as lions, wild oxen, bears, stags, and a great variety of others[4], and all in a state of the greatest alarm. For there is such a prodigious noise and uproar raised by the birds and the dogs that have been let slip into the wood, that a person cannot hear what his neighbour says; and all the [unfortunate[5]] wild beasts quiver with terror at the disturbance[6]. And when they all have been driven together into that open

du seigneur, car autrement n'y osé nulz approchier comme dit est, li evesques lui donna la beneiçon et li empereur baisa la croix moult devotement; et pour ce que la guise y est telle que nulz n'y ose apparoir devant l'empereur que il ne lui doint aucune chose lui presentasmes un plat d'argent plein de pommes. Il le prist moult agreablement; si en menga lui et ses barons et puis nous fist dire que nous allissons hors de la voie pour la grant route des chevaulx qui le suivoit que nous ne fussions bleciez. Celle meismes guise teinsmes nous en benissant son ainsné filz et la royne et leur donnâmes de noz pommes."]

[1] [FRENCH 2810, XII.]

[2] [FARS., HAK., ARUND., VI.]

[3] MIN. RAM. "And lions and lionesses and other tamed beasts trained to this business."

[4] [B.N., "Sicut sunt leones, cervi, multaque alia tam varia quam diversa."—VEN., Ursi.—CIV., "Ibi ergo boves silvestres, leones, et cervi congregantur, et variarum bestiarum maxima multitudo."]

[5] MIN. RAM. [pouere].

[6] ID. "Like slender reeds shaken by the strong and raging Boreas or Aquilo, both because of what is passing before their eyes, and from their remembrance of being so entrapped before; and so they are near to die of fear."

glade, the Great Khan[1] comes up on three[2] elephants[3] and shoots five arrows at the game. As soon as he has shot, the whole of his retinue do likewise. And when all have shot their arrows (each man's arrows having a token by which they may be discerned), then the Great Emperor causeth to be called out "*Syo!*" which is to say as it were *Quarter*[4]*!* to the beasts (to wit) that have been driven from the wood. Then [the huntsmen sound the recall, and call in the dogs and hawks from the prey][5] the animals which have escaped with life are allowed to go back into the forest, and all the barons come forward to view the game that has been killed and to recover the arrows that they have shot (which they can well do by the marks on them); and every one has what his arrow has struck. And such is the order of the Khan's hunting[6].

[1] [RAM. B., "& allhora dislaccia i cani, e leoni, e leonesse, & altre bestie fatte domestiche, & accõcie a tal arte, e similmente varie sorti d' vccelli, e la gente si uiene stringendo a poco a poco, e 'l Signore sta nel mezzo della selua, la oue è un prato, che gira un miglio, con quattro huomini armati, & suoi fidati."]

[2] [FRENCH TEXT, II.]

[3] On some kind of litter carried by the elephants it may be supposed. Elephants are rather out of their latitude at Peking; and were not in use by the Mongols, as Polo tells, until Kúblái's capture of a number in the war with Mien or Ava. A few continued to be kept at the Chinese Court at Timkowski's visit in 1821; I know not if any are still maintained.

[4] [FRENCH TEXT, Syem miran Bibi.—Fr. 2810, siem miram bibi. —CIV., "Syo, id est misericordiam illis bestiis quae salvae remanserunt."]

May possibly be meant for *Pers.* Sheo, *Este! Desine!* (*Meninski*), or *Turkish* Sáo, *Siste!* (*Ib.*)

[My colleagues, the late Pavet de Courteille and M. Houdas suggest that the sentence might be read *Sitt Meryam Bibi.—Miriam* is the Arabic name of the Virgin Mary and *Bibi* means lady in oriental Turkish.]

[5] [RAM. B., "Alla cui voce i cacciatori suonano a raccolta, e chiamano i cani dalla preda, e gli vccelli."]

[6] Father Ripa's account of the Emperor Kang-hi's hunting in the xviiith century closely resembles this; and so does the historian Mirkhond's of the great hunts maintained by the Mongol sovereigns in accordance with the Yasa or Ordinances of Chinghiz. (*Not. et Extraits*, v, 212.)

42. Concerning the four great feasts that the Khan keepeth.

Every year that emperor keepeth four great feasts, to wit, the day of his birth, that of his circumcision[1], and so forth[2]. To these festivals he summons all his barons and all his players, and all his kinsfolk; and all these have their established places at the festival. But it is especially at the days of his birth and circumcision that he expects all to attend. And when summoned to such a festival all the barons come with their coronets on, whilst the emperor is seated on his throne as has been described above, and all the barons are ranged in order in their appointed places. Now these barons are arrayed in divers colours; for some, who are the first in order, wear green silk; the second are clothed in crimson: the third in yellow. And all these have coronets on their heads, and each holds in his hand a white ivory tablet[3] and wears a golden girdle of half a span in

[1] [The statement of the four feasts from MIN. RAM. is probably more correct. "The first is for his birthday; the second for the day of his coronation; the third for the day of his marriage when he took the Queen to wife; the fourth for the birthday of his first-born son." "Il Signore ogn' anno fa quattro feste. La prima è per il dí della sua natiuità; la seconda è dell' *incoronatione* sua: la terza è del matrimonio, quando menò per moglie la regina: la quarta, è della natiuità del suo primogenito figliuolo." This text is better; circumcision was not practised among the Mongols; coronation is no doubt the word; the last two feasts might be those of Heaven and Earth.] No Mongol Khan of Cathay ever professed Islam, though the Khans of the three Western Empires all adopted it in succession. Buddhism was the state religion of Kúblái and his house from about 1260, when he formally adopted it.

[2] [FRENCH TEXT, "& les II autres pour son ydole."]

[3] [FRENCH TEXT, tables de dens de oliphant.]

Rubruquis, speaking of certain envoys of the Longa nation whom he saw at the court of Karakorum, says: "The principal envoy had in his hand a tablet of polished ivory, about a cubit long by a palm broad, and whenever he addressed the Khan or any other great personage he kept his eyes fixed on this tablet, looking neither right nor left, as if he read there what he had to say" (p. 290). The use of this tablet, called *Kwei*, was a very ancient Chinese etiquette. It is mentioned in De Mailla's version of the Chinese Annals in connexion with Yu, one of the most notable worthies of ancient China, who is said to have flourished B.C. 2286.

[Rockhill writes, *Rubruck*, p. 154 *n.*: "These tablets are called *hu* in Chinese, and were used in China and Korea; in the latter country

breadth; and so they remain standing and silent. And round about them stand the players with their banners and ensigns. And in one corner of a certain great palace abide the philosophers, who keep watch for certain hours and conjunctions[1]; and when the hour and conjunction waited for by the philosophers arrives, one of them calls out with a loud voice, saying: "Prostrate yourselves before the emperor[2] our mighty lord!" And immediately all the barons touch the ground three times with their heads. Then he will call out again: "Rise all of you!" and immediately they get up again. And then they wait for another auspicious moment, and when it comes he will shout out again: "Put your fingers in your ears!" and so they do. And then: "Take them out": and they obey. And then they will abide awhile, and then he will say: "Bolt meal[3]!" and so they go on with a number of other such words of command, which they allege to have a deep import. And there be also many officers to look diligently that none of the barons or of the players are absent. For any one of them who should absent himself

down to quite recent times. They were made of jade, ivory, bamboo, etc., according to the rank of the owner, and were about three feet long. The *hu* was originally used to make memoranda on of the business to be submitted by the bearer to the Emperor, or to write the answers to questions he had had submitted to them."]

[1] [RAM. B., "In vn poggetto di marmo poi stanno tutti i philosophi & astrologi, e tutti, secõdo la loro professione, fanno proua di loro."]

[2] So the Dutch envoys in 1656 were "commanded by a herald to kneel three times, and bow their heads to the ground. After a short pause the herald spoke aloud in Chinese the following words: *Ka Shan*, i.e. 'God hath sent the Emperor!' *Que e*, 'Fall upon your knees'; *Ke e*, 'Stand up!' lastly, *Ko e*, 'Range yourselves on one side'!" The Chinese Kowtow had been fully adopted as the practice of the Mongol court. (*Astley*, iii, 425; 476; 574; *D'Ohsson*, ii, 217.) Odoric is here curiously corroborated by the official account of the Court Ceremonial of the Mongol Emperors, translated by Pauthier in his notes to Polo (p. 290 *seq.*).

[This evidently refers to the *kotow*, knock the head, viz. three kneelings, nine knockings. Pauthier has published the ceremonial of the Court of the Great Khan in the following brochure: *Cérémonial observé dans les fêtes et les grandes réceptions à la cour de Khoubilaï-Khaân, traduit du Chinois.* Paris, 1862, 8vo.]

[3] [FRENCH TEXT, *Buratate farinam.*]

would incur heavy penalties. And when the proper hour and moment for the players comes, then the philosophers say: "Make an entertainment for the lord!" and incontinently they all begin to play on their instruments of every kind, with such a clamour of music and song that 'tis enough to stun you. Then a voice is heard saying: "Silence all!" and they all cease. And after this all those of the famous princely families parade with white horses. And a voice is heard calling: "Such an one of such a family to present so many hundreds of white horses to the lord"; and then some of them come forward saying that they bring two hundred horses (say) to offer to the lord, which are ready before the palace. And 'tis something incredible the number of white horses which are presented to the lord on such an occasion[1]. And then come barons to offer presents of different kinds on behalf of the other barons of the empire; and all the superiors of the monasteries likewise come with presents to the Khan, and are in duty bound to give him their benison. And this also do we Minor Friars. And when all this ceremony has been gone through, then come certain singing men before him, and also certain singing women who sing so sweetly that it is quite delightful to listen to them [and this pleased me most of all[2]]. Then come mummers leading lions whom they cause to salute the lord with a reverence[3]. And jugglers cause cups of gold full of good wine to fly through the air and offer themselves to the lips of all who list to drink of it[4]. Such things and

[1] Polo says 100,000 white horses were presented to the Khan on new year's day. The Tartar chiefs continued, at least to the time of K'ang-hi, to present a tribute of white horses to the emperor. (*Huc and Gabet*, Eng. Tr., 239.)

[2] HAK. ["Tunc accedunt histrionatrices ante dominum dulciter modulantes, *quod mihi plus placuit.*"]

[3] The same is mentioned by Polo, i, 18.

[4] Says Marco: "When the monarch sits at table in his hall of state, and the cups are ten paces distant, full of wine, milk, and other beverages, they cause them by their magical spells to rise from the pavement, and place themselves before the prince, without anyone touching them;

many more are done in that lord's presence. And any account that one can give of the magnificence of that lord, and of the things that are done in his court must seem incredible to those who have not witnessed it.

But no one need wonder at his being able to maintain such an expenditure; for there is nothing spent as money in his whole kingdom but certain pieces of paper which are there current as money, whilst an infinite amount of treasure comes into his hands[1].

43. Concerning a certain melon that produceth a beast like a lamb.

Another passing marvellous thing may be related, which however I saw not myself, but heard from trustworthy persons. For 'tis said that in a certain great kingdom called CADELI[2] there be mountains called the CASPEAN Mountains[3], on which are said to grow certain very large melons[4]. And

this is done in the presence of 10,000 men: and the fact is real and true, without any lie" (i, 24; see also i, 7). This must have been a very ancient Eastern juggle. At the collation given by the Brachmans to the king of their country in presence of Apollonius of Tyana, the company were served by tripods which handed round the wines and dishes spontaneously. (*Philostratus*, Fr. tr. iii, c. 27.)

So Homer also tells of Vulcan's art: *Iliad*, xviii, 373 in Pope's version:

> "That day no common task his labour claimed;
> Full twenty tripods for his hall he framed,
> That placed on living wheels of massy gold
> (Wondrous to tell) instinct with spirit rolled
> From place to place around the blest abodes,
> Self-moved, obedient to the beck of gods."

[1] [FRENCH TEXT, "Car pour monnoie ne despent on riens en tout son royaume, fors une manière de brievez qui la vault en tout son païs monnoie."—On Chinese Paper Currency, see *Marco Polo*, i, pp. 426–30 and *Rubruck*, p. 201 *n*. Rubruck says (p. 201) that "the common money of Cathay is a paper of cotton, in length and breadth a palm, and on it they stamp lines like those on the seal of Mangu."]

[2] [VEN., Cadeli.—B.N., FARS., DOM., CIV., Caoli.—VIENNA, Caoly.—ARUND., Kaloy.—FRENCH TEXT, Cadili, alias Caloy.]

[3] [B.N., lat. 2584, VEN., DOM., Caspei.—CIV., Caspios.—RAM. A., Capasci.—FRENCH TEXT, "unes montaignes lesquelles ilz nomment crispées."]

[4] [VEN., mellones.—RAM. A., melloni.—DOM., poponi.—CIV., pepones.—HAK., "In vno regno istius Canis in quo sunt montes

when these be ripe, they burst, and a little beast is found inside like a small lamb[1], so that they have both melons and meat[2]! And though some, peradventure, may find that hard to believe, yet it may be quite true; just as it is true that there be in Ireland[3] trees which produce birds[4]. [And

Kapsei (& dicitur illud regnum Kalor) nascuntur pepones maximi." FRENCH TEXT, "Ilz dient que en ces montaignes croist pompons merveilleusement grans."]

[1] [CIV., "Intus invenitur bestiola ad modum unius agni, qui illic pro nobilissimo ferculo reputatur."]

[2] [VEN., "Illas carniculas que sunt ibi."—B.N., "Et illas carniculas quae sunt ibi."—FARS., "Et illae carunculae pro nobilissimo ferculo reputantur."—FRENCH TEXT, "Et mengue on ces pompons et ces bestelettes."]

[3] [B.N., lat. 2584, CIV., Hibernia.—DOM., in (Bernia).—RAM. A., Iberina.—B.N., "In hiberniâ sunt arbores aves facientes."—VEN., "In Ybernia sunt arbores facientes aves."—FARS., "Nam in Imberniâ sunt arbores super aquam quarum folia statim ut cadunt in ipsam aquam mutantur in aves."—CIV., "Quod in Hibernia sunt arbores super aquas, quarum folia statim ut in aquam cadunt in aviculas permutantur."—HAK., "Sicut audiui quòd in mari Hybernico stant arbores supra ripám maris & portant fructum sicut essent cucurbitae, quae certo tempore cadunt in aquam & fiunt aues vocatae Bernakles, & illud est verum."—ARUND., "Hoc cuilibet Hibernicam legenti historiam satis patet."—FRENCH TEXT, "Comme des oes qui en Yrlande croissent des arbres."]

[4] The myth of the barnacle geese to which Odoric here refers, and for which he was perhaps indebted to his travelling companion the Irish Friar James, came down to a comparatively recent period in full credit, and even Sir Thomas Brown only ventures to "awake considerations...whether the story be not too much enlarged." The curious history of its origin has been explained by Professor Max Müller in a lecture on mythology.

But the story of the Tartar lamb was also familiar in the seventeenth century, much as that of the sea serpent is now. A full account may be read in J. C. Scaliger. "It is found," he says, "in the lands of the noble Tartar horde called Zavolha. The seed is like that of a melon, but the plant, which is called *Borametz* or the Lamb, grows to the height of about three feet in the form of that animal, with feet, hoofs, ears, etc., complete, only having in lieu of horns two curly locks of hair. If wounded it bleeds; wolves are greedily fond of it; if well grown round with juicy herbage the plant thrives like a lamb in fat pastures; if the grass be cleared away it pines and dies," etc. [J. C. Scaligeri *Exotericarum Exercit. Liber quintus decimus de Subtilitate*..., Lut., 1557, f. 248 *v.*]

Sir T. Brown, after a description which seems to be derived from this of Scaliger's, adds: "And yet, if all this be no more than the shape of a lamb in the flower or seed upon the top of the stalk, as we meet with the forms of bees, flies, and dogs in some others; he hath seen nothing that shall much wonder at it."

The plant about which these fables have gathered seems now to be

nere I would make an end of speaking of the Great Khan, for I am certainly unable to tell the thousandth part of

referred to the fern genus *Cibotium*, formerly to *Aspidium*. The *Eng. Cyclopædia* says: "The Rhizoma of *Aspidium Baromez* presents a rude resemblance to an animal. It is covered with a silky down, and when cut into has a soft inside with a reddish, flesh-coloured appearance, sufficient to account for the origin of the fables with regard to its animal nature. It is not improbable that this fern dries up when the grass does, but of course the one has no dependence on the other." [According to the *Dict. des Sciences nat.*, iv, 1816, p. 85, it is the *polypodium barometz*, L.]

The word *baromez* is said to mean *lamb* in Russian [*barántchik* = Tartar Lamb]. The locality of the plant, according to the Cyclopædia, is "an elevated salt plain to the west of the Volga." The Zavolha country to which Scaliger refers it is defined by one of Ramusio's authorities as being between the Caspian, Black Sea, Caucasus, and Volga, whilst another places the tribe between the Volga and the Jaik.

These indications enable us to explain the locus assigned by Odoric to this marvellous plant-animal. The Caspian mountains are of course Caucasus, or some part of it, whilst the kingdom of *Cadeli* is the country on the Ethil, Adil, or Herdil, *i.e.* the Volga. The *c* is constantly substituted for an aspirate by the Italian travellers (*e.g.* Polo's Cormos for Hormuz), whilst the name Athil was sometimes applied to the country on the banks of the Volga, or to the chief city there before the Tartar conquest, at one time the seat of a Chaldean bishop (on this point, see *Le Quien, Oriens Christianus*, ii, 1301). The "Caspian Hills" and the Volga are at some little distance, but that distance does not subtend a great angle from China where Odoric heard the story!

The vegetable curiosity which is the subject of this note, is thus apostrophised by Dr. Darwin:—

> "Cradled in snow, and fanned by Arctic air,
> Shines, gentle BAROMETZ! thy golden hair;
> Rooted in earth each cloven hoof descends,
> And round and round her flexile neck she bends;
> Crops the gray coral-moss, and hoary thyme,
> Or laps with rosy tongue the melting rime.
> Eyes with mute tenderness her distant dam,
> Or seems to bleat, a *Vegetable Lamb*."

See *Loves of the Plants*, 1799, ii, 37-39, which has a plate. Erman, I see, thinks the whole story a mythical view of the cotton plant.

It may be noticed that the Chinese also have their barnacle stories in more than one shape, as related by Martini [*Thévenot*, II, p. 81] and Kircher [*China illustrata*, p. 178].

(*Vulgar Errors*, i, 377, 366; *Eng. Cyc. Nat. Hist.*, sub v. *Aspidium*; *Ramusio*, ii, 71, 76.)

[Cf. on the *Agnus Scythicus* our edition of Odoric;—*The vegetable lamb of Tartary; A curious Fable of the Cotton Plant. To which is added a Sketch of the history of cotton and the cotton trade....* By Henry Lee...Lond., 1887, 8vo.;—G. Schlegel: *The Shui-yang or "Water-sheep" in Chinese accounts from Western Asia and the Agnus Scythicus or Vegetable Lamb of the European Mediæval Travels.*

what I have seen. In any case I think it best to pass to other matters[1].]

(Cong. Int. Orient. Stockholm, 1889) :—F. Hirth : *Trübner's Record*, 3d s., I, No. 5. Mr. Lee writes, *l.c.*, p. 60 : "It seems to me to be clear and indubitable that the fruit which burst when ripe and disclosed within it 'a little lamb' was the cotton pod, and that the soft, white, delicate fleece of 'the Vegetable Lamb of Scythia' was that which we still call 'Cotton Wool.'"—With regard to the name of the mountains, Mr. Lee, here mistaken, says, *l.c.*, p. 11, that it is "probably an error of transcription for 'Caspius.' The mountain of Caspius (now Kasbin) is about eighty miles due south to the Caspian Sea, and in Persian territory, near Teheran."—Bretschneider, *Knowledge of the Ancient Chinese on the Arabs*, p. 24, mentions from Chinese sources "a stuff woven from the hair of sea-sheep and called *hai si pu* (stuff from the western sea)," and he adds : "This is, perhaps, the *Byssus*, a cloth stuff woven up to the present time by the inhabitants of the Mediterranean coast, especially in Southern Italy, from the thread-like excrescences of several sea-shells (especially *Pinna squamosa*)." The *Heu Han Shoo* says : "They have a light stuff which some say is made with the wool of the water-sheep, but which is really manufactured with wild silk-worm cocoons." With regard to this passage Prof. Chavannes has a long note. *T'oung Pao*, 1907, p. 183, in which, while dissociating the water-sheep from the *agnus scythicus*, he says that he does not mean that the *agnus scythicus* is unknown to the Chinese, and he quotes a passage of Chang Sheu-tsie : "Au nord de Ts'in, dans un petit pays qui en dépend, il y a des agneaux qui naissent spontanément dans le sol ; en attendant le moment où ils seront sur le point d'éclore, on construit un petit mur tout autour d'eux de peur qu'ils ne soient dévorés par les bêtes féroces. Leur cordon ombilical est rattaché au sol, et, si on le coupe, ils meurent ; on frappe donc sur des instruments pour les effrayer ; ils crient de peur et leur cordon ombilical se rompt ; alors ils se mettent à la recherche de l'eau et des pâturages et se forment en troupeaux." This testimonial, 8th cent. A.D., is the oldest we have of this animal.]

[RAM. A., "Similmente può essere possibile, & vero, che iui si trouassero li predetti melloni."]

[1] MIN. RAM. These words are the conclusion of that version. It makes Odoric say that he *saw* the Tartar lamb at the court of the Khan : "One day among other creatures, I saw a beast as big as a lamb, all white, whiter than snow, and with wool like the skin of a silk-worm when moulting," etc.

["Vn di fra gli altri viddi vna bestia grande come vn' agneilo, che era tutta bianca, piu che neue la cui lana rassembraua un bombace, la quale si pelaua. E domandando da i circostanti, che cosa fusse, fummi detto, che era stata donata dal Signore ad un barone, per una carne, che fusse la migliore, e piu utile al corpo humano d' ogn' altra, foggiungendomi che vi è un monte, che ha nome Capsijs, in cui nasconi certi peponi grandi, e quando si fan maturi, si aprono, e n' esce fuori questa bestia. E fummi anche soggionto che nel Reame di Scotia, e d' Inghilterra sono arbori, che producono pomi violati, e tondi alla guisa di una zucca, da quali, quando sono maturi, esce fuora vn' vccello : E questo credo piu, per hauerne hauuto raguaglio da persone d' importanza, e degne di fede, che se l' hauessi visto con i miei propri occhi.

44. The friar, passing from Cathay, describeth sundry lands as of Prester John and others.

Departing from that land of Cathay and travelling westward for fifty days[1] through many cities and towns, I arrived at the country of Prester John[2]: but as regards him not

Ma uoglio qui far fine di' dir delle cose del gran Cane, ch' io sarei certo di non poter dir la millesima parte di quanto ho uisto. Tuttauia stimo che sia meglio di passar altroue."]

The allusion to the Irish production is given more fully in HAK. and MUS., with the name *Bernakles*, and the latter MS. adds: "This is perfectly understood by those who have read the *History of Ireland*"; which reminds one of "the great Robinson Crusoe that we read of in history."

[1] [B.N., lat. 2584, L dietis.—ARUND., dietis pluribus.—B.N., lat. 3195, XV dietas.]

[2] [VEN., FARS., Pretezoan.—A.S., Pretesoan.—B.N., lat. 2584, Pretozoan.—CIV., Precezoan.—HAK., ARUND., Pretegoani.—DOM., Prete Gianni.—FRENCH TEXT, prestre Jehan.]

Deferring a notice of Prester John to a later part of this collection, it is here to be remarked that the Prester John's country of the text appears to be the Tenduc of Marco Polo, which he states to have been "the chief seat of Prester John when he ruled over the Tartars," and also the residence of his descendants in their reduced and subordinate position. Klaproth produced Chinese sources to show that *Thiante* or *Thiante-Kiun* was the name of a district or cluster of cities near the Yellow River lying to the north-east of the territory now called that of the Ortus [Ordos] in our maps. This entirely agrees with the indications of Polo, who describes Tenduc between the province of Tangut and Shang-tu, and who in another passage speaks of the Karamoran or Hwang-Ho in its lower course as "coming from the lands of Prester John." It is remarkable that the French version of Odoric by Long John of Ypres gives the land of Prester John the singular name of *Penthexoire*, which has been adopted by Mandeville in his pretended travels. I suspect this name may be genuine, and that it may represent *Tendek-Shahr*.

M. Pauthier, in a pamphlet published in 1862 as a specimen of an edition of Marco Polo, which he had then in the press (and has issued since this went to the printer), though assigning the same substantial position to the Tenduc of Polo, finds somewhat acrimonious fault with Klaproth's identification of the *name* Tenduc with Thiante, because the latter was a denomination belonging to an age long past, the city of Thiante having been destroyed in 960. He himself considers Tenduc to be a corruption of *Tathung*, which was the name of a circle of administration immediately east of that of Ning-hia, embracing a part of the present Ortu territory, and extending to the eastward of the great northern bight of the Hwang Ho. On this one may venture to remark that the more that sources of illustration have been opened, the more accurate Marco's nomenclature (with which such liberties used to be deemed lawful) has proved to be. And it would be hard to believe that he could find no nearer approximation to the sound *Tathung* than that of *Tenduc*. The original of the last may have been some

one hundredth part is true of what is told of him as if it were undeniable[1]. His principal city is called TOZAN[2], and

Tartar appellation not yet discovered. But it is at least conceivable that the old name of Thiante-Kiun, though it had disappeared three centuries before from Chinese official statistics, might have been retained among the Tartars, from whom rather than from the Chinese Marco takes his names of men and places; the city of Thiante when it still stood, having been, according to an authority quoted by Pauthier himself, "*the military post of Tathung.*" And the very passage cited by Klaproth *from a Chinese author of the Mongol era*, describes the Hwang Ho as *passing through the territory of the ancient Chinese city of Thianté.* I may add that Klaproth was quite aware of the denomination Tathung, for a map representing the geography of the Mongol time in his *Tableaux Historiques de l'Asie*, indicates Tathung as the name of a district covering a part of the Ortu country, and extending beyond the Yellow River to the north and north-east.

But neither Klaproth nor Pauthier have noticed Odoric, who here in TOZAN names this identical Tathung as the seat of the Presbytero-Joannides! Tathung, according to Pauthier, is still a department of the Province of Shan-si. Indeed, it appears in Stanford's new map of Asia.

The fifty days assigned by Odoric to his journey from Cambalu is too long if meant as a measure of the distance. This would be some 400 or 450 miles (152 leagues, according to the Imperial Geography cited by Pauthier), and is more fitly put by John Montecorvino at twenty days. The position thus assigned to Prester John's country entirely suits the next step in Odoric's itinerary. Both Gerbillon and Huc note numerous ruined cities in this region, and the Imperial Geography mentions the remains of forty such. (*Klaproth* in *Jour. As.*, i, sér. iv, 299–306; *Ritter*, ii, 248; *Polo*, i, 61, ii, 50; *Astley*, iv, 729, 737; *Huc* and *Gabet*; *Pauthier, Le Pays de Tanduc*, etc., *Paris*, 1862, pp. 13–23.)

[I have not altered Yule's note and I shall refer to what he says in *Marco Polo*, i, pp. 285-8 about Tenduc. In this work, *l.c.*, I have given evidence showing that we must look for the city of Tenduc to *Tou Ch'eng* or *Toto Ch'eng*, called *Togto* or *Tokto* by the Mongols. Mr. Rockhill (*Diary*, p. 18 *n.*) says that he cannot but think that Yule overlooked the existence of Togto when he identified Kwei-hwa Ch'eng with Tenduc.]

[VEN., "De hoc Cathay recedens & veniens versus occidens. L dietis per multas civitates & terras..."—HAK., "De isto imperio Katay recessi post tres annos, & transiui 50. dietas versus Occidente."—WOLFENB., 40, "De isto Cataio recedens per plures dietas veni versus occidentem quinquaginta dietas transeundo per multas civitates et terras versus terrā Pretcianis que vocatur *Pentexoria*."—FRENCH TEXT, "De ce royaume de Caloy [read Cathay], m'en alay vers occident maintes journées, passay maintes terres et citez. Si vins en la terre prestre Jehan et la nomme on l'isle Penthexoire."

FRENCH 2810, Pentexorie qui est.—WOLF., 40; BREMEN, Pentexoria.]

[1] [FRENCH TEXT, "Il n'en est mie la centisme part de ce que on dit comment que soit riche terre et noble pais."]

[2] [VEN., VIEN., Cosan.—WOLFENB., 40, Cosam.—PAL., WOLF., 41,

chief city though it is, Vicenza would be reckoned its superior[1]. He has, however, many other cities under him, and by a standing compact always receives to wife the Great Khan's daughter[2].

Travelling thence for many days I came unto a certain province which is called KANSAN[3], and that is the second

Casan.—HAK., Kosan.—DOM., B.N., lat. 3195, Chosan.—B.N., lat. 2584, Cozoan, Chosan, Casan.—A.S., Tozan.—WOLF., 41, Thozan.—CIV., Rosan.—FRENCH TEXT. "La principale et la maitresse cité a nom Cosan."]

[1] [A.S., "Tozan, quae sola de melioribus est in terrâ."—CIV., "Civitas Rosan vocatur, quae sola est de melioribus in terra."—VEN., "Qua tamen Vicencia melior diceretur. Licet ipsa sit sua civitas principalis."—FRENCH TEXT, "Elle est meilleure et plus grande que Vincensie, mais elle a moult de citez dessoubz lui."]

[2] [VEN., "Semper pro pacto accipit in uxorem filiam magni Chaam."—FRENCH TEXT, "Entre lui et le grant Caan de Cathay a telles convenances et aliances que Prestre Jehan a tousdis à femme la fille du grant Caan et ainsi leurs prédécesseurs a tousjours mais."]

Polo says the Khans often gave their female relations in marriage to the kings of this line (i, p. 239). And other intermarriages were frequent. *E.g.*, the Christian mother of Kuyuk Khan, and Dokuz-khatun the Christian queen of Húlakú, were both princesses of the Kerait royal family, *i.e.*, apparently of Prester John's. The mother of Húlakú was of the same family, and Chinghiz, as well as several of his sons, took wives from it.

[3] [B.N., DOM., Casan.—WOLF., 40, Cassan.—BERLIN, Camsan.—HAK., Kasan.—A.S., Kansan.—CIV., Cansan.—VEN., Chasan.—ARUND., Chosan.—FARS., Consan.—PAL., Chansi.—FRENCH TEXT, Cossam.]

This great and populous province, one of the twelve, abounding in chestnuts and in rhubarb, is undoubtedly the Quengianfu [or Kenjanfu] of Polo, governed in his time by Mangala, the son of Kúblái (i, 39). The Kansan of Odoric and Quengian of Marco represent the name Kenchán or Kenján, which was applied by the Mahomedans, as we gather from Rashid-eddin, to the city of Si-nganfu, and to the province under its government. Previously to 1285 this province embraced not only Shen-si and a large part of Kan-su but the whole of Sze-ch'wan. And I suspect it was of this greater province that Odoric had heard those great dimensions which he states. Sze-ch'wan is noted for its chestnuts (*Martini*, p. 87), and Shensi for rhubarb. (See *Klaproth* in *Jour. As.*, sér. 2, i, 102–3. Cf. *Marco Polo*, ii, pp. 25 seq.)

Odoric's expressions as to the populousness of this territory resemble those of Martini as to the empire in general:—"I have often thought that if the great wall surrounded the whole of China, this great country would be like one great city, full of houses and inhabitants; for you no sooner quit one place closely cultivated and densely peopled, than you find yourself entering another which is equally so" (p. 17).

best province in the world, and the best populated[1]. For where it is most narrow it hath a width of fifty days journey, and its length is more than sixty[2]. And everywhere it has such a population that when you go forth from the gate of one city you already see the gate of another[3]. And it hath also great store of victuals, but above all of chestnuts. Rhubarb[4] likewise grows in this province, and that in such abundance that you may load an ass with it for less than six groats. And this province is one of the twelve divisions of the empire of the Great Khan[5].

45. Concerning the realm of Tibet, where dwelleth the Pope of the Idolaters.

Quitting this province, I came to a certain great kingdom called TIBET[6], which is on the confines of India Proper[7], and

[1] [VEN., "Deinde per multas dietas perveni ad provinciam quamdam que Chasan dicitur, & est secunda melior provincia & melius habitabilis aliqua huius mundi."—HAK., "Perueni ad vnam provinciam vocatam Kasan; & haec est secunda melior provincia mundi."—ARUND., "Et spissius ut dicitur civitatibus ornata."—FRENCH TEXT, "C'est une des greigneurs et des meilleurs provinces du monde."]

[2] [FRENCH TEXT, "Et non pourquant est-elle très bien habitée, et espécialment Cassam la cité qui est merveilleusement grande."]

[3] [HAK., "Sicut egomet vidi de multis."]

[4] [B.N., CIV., WOLF., 41, Malus barbarus.—FRENCH TEXT, reobaberen.—FR. 2810, reobabereen.—VEN., reubarbarum.—WOLF., 40, reobarbarus.—DOM., reobarbaro.—HAK. does not mention rhubarb.]

[With regard to rhubarb, *Rheum palmatum*, see *Marco Polo*, i, p. 218 and French edition of Odoric, p. 446. Palladius, *Elucidations of Marco Polo's Travels in North-China*, p. 9, remarks from the *Su-chau chi* that the best rhubarb, with golden flowers in the breaking, is gathered in the province of Sukchur (Su-chau, Kan-Su), district of *Shan-tan*, and that it is equally beneficial to men and beasts, preserving them from the pernicious effects of the heat.]

[5] [DOM., "Questa provincia si è l'una delle sette parti del Gran Cane."]

[6] [WOLF., 41, A.S., PAL., Tibet.—BERLIN, CIV., Tybet.—HAK., Tibek.—ARUND., Tybek.—VEN., DOM., Tibet.—B.N., lat. 2584, Tybot.—WOLF., 40, BREMEN, Riboth.—Fr. 2810, Riboch.—LAT. 3195, Thibocht.—RAM. A., Tiboc.—VIENNA, Zybet.—PRAGUE, Thebet.]

[7] [FRENCH TEXT, "Riboth et marchist à Inde."—FR. 2810, "Riboch qui marchist en Inde."—CIV., A.S., "contiguum est."—B.N., lat. 2584, VEN., "quod ipsi Indie est confine."—RAM. A., "qual confina con essa India."]

[Rockhill, *Rubruck*, p. 151, writes: "The natives call Tibet *Bod*,

is subject to the Great Khan[1]. They have in it great plenty of bread and wine as anywhere in the world. The folk of that country dwell in tents made of black felt[2]. But the chief and royal city[3] is all built with walls of black and white, and all its streets are very well paved[4].

pronounced *Beu*, and Central or Upper Tibet was, and still is, called *Stod Bod*, pronounced *Teu-Beu*, whence the name *Tibet*, *Tebet*, *Tobbat*, and the other forms of the name."]

[1] ["To the Mongols Tibet was known in the Middle Ages under the name of *Tubot*. In the Mongol text of the *Yuen ch'ao pi shi* (Palladius' transl. 148), in one case, the valour and fierceness of the Mongols are compared with those qualities in the dogs of *Tubot*." (Cf. *Marco Polo*, ii, pp. 49–50.)

In the *Yuen shi* Tibet is mentioned under different names. Sometimes the Chinese history of the Mongols uses the ancient name *T'u-fan*. In the Annals, *s.a.* 1251, we read: "Mangu Khan entrusted *Ho-li-dan* with the command of the troops against *T'u-fan*." *Sub anno* 1254 it is stated that Kubilai (who at that time was still the heir-apparent), after subduing the tribes of Yün nan, entered *T'u-fan*, when *So-ho-to*, the ruler of the country, surrendered. Again, *s.a.* 1275: "The prince *A-lu-chi* (seventh son of Kubilai) led an expedition to *T'u-fan*." (Bretschneider, *Med. Research.*, ii, p. 23.)

Cf. *Marco Polo*, ii, p. 46, with regard to the Mongol Conquest.]

[2] [FRENCH TEXT, fuerre noir.—FR. 2810, feutre.—HAK., feltris nigris.—B.N., lat. 2584, "moratur in tentoriis quae ex feltris sunt facta nigris."—VEN., "Gentes ille manent in temptoriis factis ex nigro filtro."—CIV., A.S., "In tentoriis ex filtris magnis factis."]

[Mas'udi, i, p. 350, says that among the Tibetans, some are sedentary and inhabit towns, whilst others live *under the tent*. Huc, *Voy. dans le Tibet*, ii, p. 158, 5th ed., speaking of the Si-fan or Eastern Tibetans, say that they are nomadic, and do not live in *felt-covered yurts*. The large tents they build with black linen are generally hexagonal.]

[3] [FRENCH TEXT, "maistre cité."—WOLF. 40, "Tota sua civitas regalis et principalis ex lapidibus albis et nigris facta est."—ARUND., "Ex lapidibus albis et nigris ut scaccarium dispositis et curiose compositis pulcherrime est murata."—RAM. A., "Et la regale & principal città sua è fatta di mura bianche, & negre."]

[4] This no doubt was Lhásá. The only account of that city that I know is so unsatisfactory (Huc and Gabet's) that no picture of any distinctness can be formed from it. They say the chief streets are broad, well laid out, and tolerably clean, but do not specify if they are paved. I know not if it is worth while to refer to their account of a suburb in which the walls of the houses were inlaid with black and white horns of sheep and oxen, arranged in fantastic designs. I may observe, however, that the ordinary way of building lofty houses in the higher Himalaya, and probably in Tibet, is with large longitudinal timbers inserted at frequent and regular intervals. The stone-work is generally whitewashed, whilst the timber darkens with age, and some photographs of this style of building which I have lately seen give quite the impression of alternate bands of black and white material.

[Montgomerie, *l.c.*, p. 168, writes: "The city of Lhásá is circular,

In this city[1] no one shall dare to shed the blood of

with a circumference of 2½ miles. In the centre of the city stands a very large temple, called by three different names, viz., Máchindránáth, Jo, and Phokpochengrá. This temple is surrounded by bazars and shops, kept by Lhásá, Kashmiri, Ledáki, Azimabad, and Nepalese merchants, a number of whom are Mahommedans. Chinese tradesmen are numerous here also. The city stands in a tolerably level plain surrounded by mountains, the level or open ground extending about 6 miles on the east, 7 on the west, 4 on the south, and 3 on the north."]

A fatality has attended the accounts of Lhásá that *should* have been. Grueber and Dorville, who were there in 1661, give no account of the city. Father Desideri who travelled thither by Ladakh in 1715-16, a route not known to have been travelled by any second European in modern times, gives no detail of his journey beyond Ladakh, and says nothing of Lhásá [where he remained until 1729]. The journal of Samuel Van de Putte, a Dutchman who in the time of the Emperor Yung-Cheng reached Lhásá from India, acquired the language and the friendship of the Lamas, and accompanied a deputation of them to Pe-king, was never published, and appears to have perished. Nothing tangible is to be got out of the notices of Giorgi in the *Alphabetum Tibetanum*. Thomas Manning, an Englishman who reached Lhása from Calcutta in 1811, was arrested and sent back by the Chinese, and died without publishing any particulars of his journey. For nearly thirty years the spirit of geographical exploration has been at a sadly low ebb in India; may it revive before foreign nations snatch the honour from us of solving such problems as the true course of the great river of Tibet, and the latitude of Lhásá, the last uncertain to the extent of *more than a whole degree*. (*Kircher, Ch. Illust.; Lettres Edifiantes*, vol. xv; *Jour. As.*, 2de Sér., x, 322, and xiv, 191; *Prinsep's Tibet, Tartary and Mongolia*, 1851; C. R. Markham, *Mission of George Bogle to Tibet*, Lond., 1876.)

[FRENCH TEXT, "rues bien pavées."—HAK., "Principalis ciuitas sua murata est pulcherrime ex lapidibus albissimis & nigerrimis interescalariter dispositis & curiosè compositis, & *omnes viae eius optimè pauatae*."—B.N., lat. 2584, "Sunt optime scelatae."—VEN., "Omnesque eius vie optime sillixate."—CIV., "Omnes viae eius sunt optimae."—DOM., "Tutte le vie di quella sono tutte perfettamente mattonate."—RAM A., "Le vie di quella sono salizate."—Lieut.-Col. L. A. Waddell, in *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, Lond., 1905, writes, pp. 425–6: "As to Friar Odoric's alleged visit, as the first European to enter Lhasa, it seems to me very doubtful whether the city he visited in the fourteenth century A.D. could have been this one at all, as his description of the place is so different from Lhasa as we now find it.... Now none of the streets of Lhasa are paved, although plenty of stones are locally available for the purpose, and it seems unlikely that a city which was formerly 'very well paved' should have so entirely given up this practice and left no trace of it. The only parti-colouring of walls now in vogue is the transverse band of dull maroon along the line of beams on the eaves. I saw hereabouts none of those vertically banded houses with stripes of blue, red, and white that were so conspicuous in the Gyantsé and Ralung valleys."]

[1] [FRENCH TEXT, "Elle est appelee Gota."—J. DE ST DENYS.

any[1], whether man or beast, for the reverence they bear a certain idol which is there worshipped. In that city dwelleth the *Abassi*[2], i.e. in their tongue the Pope[3], who is the head of all the idolaters, and who has the disposal of all their benefices such as they are after their männer[4].

"Goutta."—The other texts do not give any name: there is no city called *Gota*; it may be for *Bod.*]

[1] [With regard to this sentence, the well-known missionary Desgodins writes to his brother from Yer-ka-lo, 27th August, 1878: "Il pouvait en être ainsi au XIV^e^ siècle; mais, depuis ce temps, le bouddhisme de L'Hassa s'est bien relâché de sa rigueur; car, non seulement on y tue assez d'animaux pour bâtir un quartier en cornes de moutons et de bœufs, mais on y tue les coupables et même les suspects. Trop souvent encore, les lamas se font la guerre entre eux, non à coup d'arguments théologiques, mais bien à coups de sabres et de fusils." (*Missions catholiques*, xi, 1879, p. 83.)]

[2] [HAK., BERLIN, ARUND., CIV., Abassi.—A.S., Abbassi.—VIENNA, abasi.—MUNICH, Batssi.—FR. 2810, le bassi.—FR. TEXT, l'obassy.—WOLF., 41, lo abissi.—WOLF., 40, lobessi.—B.N., lat. 2584, VEN., Lo abassi.—PAL., Atassi.—DOM., lo Abiffo.—RAM. A., Alfabi.—J. DE ST D., lobasse.]

[3] [HAK., "Papa eorum, qui est caput & princeps omnium Idolatrorum...sicut noster Papa Romanus est caput omnium Christianorum."—BERLIN, "In hac civitate morat *Abassi* quod sonat papa in illa lingua."—B.N., lat. 2584, "In istâ civitate moratur Lo Abassi, id est Papa in linguâ suâ. Iste est caput omnium ydolatrorum...."]

[4] The title *Lo Abassi*, which Odoric gives to [the chief priest, who of course is not the Dalaï Lama subsequent to the preachings of Tsongkhabá, † 1478 (Odoric was travelling during the Sakýa rule)], is a difficulty for a wonderful hotchpotch of misplaced erudition on the subject, see *Giorgi's Alphabetum Tibetanum*, p. 688.

Three possible solutions have suggested themselves to me. *First*: in the journey of Evesko Petlin, a Russian, in Tartary (1620), which is given by Bergeron, the Mongol Lamas are called *Lobacs*. This seems to suggest some mode of pronunciation not unlike *Lo abassi*. (*Berg.*, *Traité des Tartares*, p. 107.) *Secondly*: the term *Ubashi* is applied to *some* class of the Lamas among the Mongols. (*Renilly*, *Desc. du Thibet*, p. 36; *Huc and Gabet* in *Jour. As.* iv, sér. xi, 538.) *Lastly*: among the Persian and Arabic writers the name regularly applied to the members of the Buddhistic religious orders is *Bakshi*, supposed to be a corruption of the Sanskrit *Bhikshu*, "a mendicant," which is one of their orthodox appellations. This term is used by Polo (*Baksi*, see i, 24), and by Ricold of Montecroce, who calls them "*Baxitæ*, sc. quidam pontifices ydolorum," on which his editor can only observe in rather a helpless manner, "*Fortasse hoc vocabulum cohæret cum Russico* Bóg, *Deus*" (*Peregrinatores Quatuor*, Lips., 1864, p. 117). This last (*Bakshi*) is probably the word intended by Odoric.

Whatever be the origin of the name it is not improbable that it was brought into the precise form presented, by a lodgment in the head of Odoric or his scribes of the name of the *Abassi* Khaliffs, the Popes of the Saracens. Compare these two passages:

And the fashions of this kingdom are thus. The women have their hair plaited in more than one hundred tresses, and they have a couple of tusks as long as those of wild boars[1]. And another fashion they have in this country is

Odoric.	*Benjamin of Tudela* (p. 95).
"In this city dwelleth LO ABASSI, i.e. in their tongue the *Pope, the Head of all the Idolaters*, and who has the disposal of all their benefices," etc	"The Khalif Emir Al Mumenin AL ABASSI.....who is the chief of the Mohammedan religion, and holds the same dignity over them which *the Pope enjoys over the Christians.*"

[See note in French edition of Odoric: *olog bassi = ulug Bakhshy*, in Eastern turki and means simply *great lama*, the chief of one of the large convents visited by Odoric. *Bakhshy* is the name given by Arabs and Persians to the Chinese Ho-shang, buddhist priest, and to the Tibetan lama.]

[1] [FR. 2810, "Portent plus de dens que en autre pays, et ont deux grans dens comme de saingler."—HAK., "Foeminae in hoc regno portant plusquam centum tricas, & habent duos dentes in ore ita longos sicut apri."—B.N., lat. 2584, "Nam mulieres portant plusquam centum tricas seu dresas, habentes duos dentes ita longos sicut habent apri sive porci silvestres."—FARS., "Sicut habent porci."—VEN., "Mulieres enim plusquam C tricas portant, habentesque duos dentes in hore ut apri habent."—CIV., "Habent duos dentes in ore longos et prominentes."—RAM. A., "Nella bocca hanno dui denti cosi longhi, come Cignali."]

The plaits of hair covered with pieces of turquoise, etc., may be seen in most drawings of Tibetan women. The boar's tusks (if there be no misapprehension) must be a rash generalization; though the disfigurement of the women in other respects by certain fashions that they have adopted is noticed in strong terms by both old and recent travellers. There is a hideous figure of a goddess (*Prasrinmo*), which is represented with boar's tusks, and is very common in Tibet.

But I suspect that the statement is an error of the scribe's. For the women in Tibet do commonly use boar's tusks as ornaments, both attached to the head and hung round the neck. (*Giorgi, Alph. Tibet.*, p. 688; *Voyages de Tavernier* (small edition), iv, 179; *Journ. Asiat.*, Sér. 2, iv, p. 247.)

["All ranks of them are at great pains in adorning their heads; plaiting their hair neatly enough with coral and amber beads, bugles, or pearls; they wear also necklaces of them, where the pieces of amber are sometimes as large as a hen's egg. The quantity of the two first kinds of beads that is on the head, even of a peasant's wife or daughter, is amazing. The two last sorts fall to the share only of the ladies." (Bogle, in Markham's *Tibet*, p. 120.)

Les femmes tibétaines "divisent leurs cheveux en deux tresses, qu'elles laissent pendre sur leurs épaules. Les femmes de classe inférieure sont coiffées d'un petit bonnet jaune, assez semblable au bonnet de la liberté qu'on portait sous la République française. Les grandes dames ont pour tout ornement de tête, une élégante et gracieuse couronne, fabriquée avec des perles fines." (Huc, *Voy.*, ii, pp. 257-8.)

"The women [of Gyantsé, Tibet] generally resemble their sisters

this[1]. Suppose such an one's father to die, then the son will say, "I desire to pay respect to my father's memory";

of Phari, though somewhat less unclean, and wear the same head-dress (see p. 251), except a few perceptibly more addicted to washing, who come from Lhasa, who wear as a head-dress over their smoothly-brushed black locks, parted in the middle, a red cloth fillet like a tiara (*patuk*) studded with coral, turquoise, and amber." (Waddell, *Lhasa*, pp. 213–4.)

Sarat Chandra Das, *Journey to Lhasa*, Lond., 1902, gives, p. 157, the following explanation of the origin of the head-dress; when the famous reformer Tsomoling rose to the rank of a regent "one of the first acts of his administration was to expel all public women from Lhasa, and to compel all women to cover their faces with a coating of catechu, so as to hide their comeliness from the public view. Women were also made to wear a bangle cut out of a conch-shell on their right wrist, by which they could be held when arrested. From this time also dates the use by women of aprons (*pang-den*) and of the present style of head-dress, or *patug*. The old style of *patug* is now only worn by the wives (or Lhacham) of the Shape (ministers)."]

[1] Rubruquis says the people of Tibet used to eat their dead parents, but had left off the practice. "But they still make fine goblets from the heads of their parents, that, as they drink from these, in the midst of their jollity they may keep their kin in mind. This was told me by an eye-witness" (p. 289). Carpini heard of the same custom *pro certo* (p. 658). And Giorgi thus describes the Tibetan funeral rites: "The naked corpse, being doubled up like an unborn infant in the womb, is tied in a sack and carried outside the walls, followed by crowds of monks and neighbours, to an enclosed field in which dogs are kept. There the sextons, or I should rather say the butchers, tear all the flesh from the bones and fling it to the mastiffs to eat. They then either break the bones into small pieces, and give these also to the dogs, or they cast them entire into the river. The *top part of the skull*, or some other entire bones, well cleansed, are given to the family to take home and keep devoutly" (*Alph. Tib.* p. 444). To much the same effect is the account in Father Hyacinth's translation of the Chinese Description of Tibet (*Journ. As.*, u.s., p. 254). These practices appear to be less common now in Tibet, but not extinct.

Klaproth quotes passages showing a knowledge of this mode of disposing of the dead from Strabo, Cicero's Tusculan Disputations, and Justin. Strabo also ascribes to the Caspii the opinion that those whose bodies the birds appropriated were blessed. Herodotus and Mela ascribe such practices to the Issedonians and Scythians, "Corpora ipsa laniata, et cæsis pecorum visceribus immixta, epulando consumunt. Capita, ubi fabre expolivere, auro vincta pro poculis gerunt" (*Pomp. Mela*, ii, 1).

Whatever spice of exaggeration there may be in Odoric's narrative is easily accounted for. Tibetan Buddhists deal much in dead men's bones. A trumpet of human thighbone is a common appendage of their devotees; whilst the representations of some of their divinities show goblets or crowns of human skulls. Giorgi also mentions a symbolical performance, which consisted in dancing round the effigy of a boy. This in the course of the dance was cloven open by a leading performer, who seized the heart and devoured it; the others followed,

and so he calls together all the priests and monks and players in the country round, and likewise all the neighbours and kinsfolk. And they carry the body into the country with great rejoicings. And they have a great table in readiness, upon which the priests cut off the head, and then this is presented to the son. And the son and all the company raise a chant and make many prayers for the

tearing limb from limb and also devouring. This, even if it were not a cannibal tradition, might easily provoke the charge of cannibalism. (*Journ. Asiat.*, u.s.; *Schlagintweit's Buddhism in Tibet*, 269, 216; *Alph. Tib.*, 462). [Cf. Rockhill, *Rubruck*, p. 152.]

[Marco Polo, i, p. 301, speaking of the sorcerers called Tebet and Kesimur, which are the names of two nations of idolaters, says: "This people also have a custom which I must tell you. If a man is condemned to death and executed by the lawful authority, they take his body and cook and eat it. But if anyone die a natural death they will not eat the body." See note in *Marco Polo*, i, pp. 311–314, and note in French edition of Odoric.

Sarat Chandra Das relates, *Journey to Lhasa*, p. 163, that the *ragyabas*, or scavengers of Lhásá who form a guild, "besides begging, cut up the corpses which are brought to the two cemeteries of Lhasa, near which they live, and feed them to vultures and dogs." Later on, p. 169, he says: "Further on we came to a place where the corpses of the townspeople are fed to pigs, whose flesh, by the way, is said to be delicious."

Speaking of the neighbourhood of Gyantsè, Waddell, *Lhasa*, p. 233, narrates: "On a hill-top below the above hermitage was the local Golgotha, the place where the dead bodies are thrown to be devoured by dogs, vultures, crows and other carrion feeders. This revolting mode of disposing of the dead is doubtless owing in part, as Bogle says, to the scarcity of wood for cremation, and to the difficulty of digging the frozen soil for graves. Only the bodies of Lamas and of those dying from small-pox and other infectious disease are burned." Later, Waddell writes, p. 422, that, in his rambles round Lhásá, "near the foot of the hill might occasionally be seen the gruesome way in which the Tibetans dispose of their dead. A man carries the dead body doubled up in a sitting posture and tied in a piece of a tent or blanket, deposits it on the recognised place on a rock, and then he and the attendant Lama proceed to cut off the flesh in pieces, so that the vultures and ravens can devour it. As Manning quaintly puts it, when protesting against their close game laws: 'They eat no birds, but, on the contrary, let the birds eat them.'"

There are other cases of disposing of the dead by giving their flesh to be devoured by the birds of prey. Cf. "*Reference to a model of a tower of Silence (with explanatory Notes relating to the mode of the Disposal of Dead Bodies of the Parsees).*" Bombay, 1885, 8vo.

"The food of the inhabitants consists chiefly of salted butter, tea, mutton, beef, pork, and fowls. Rice is not much eaten, owing to its high price, and because it is considered a fruitful source of disease. Other edibles, such as wheat, barley, and kitchen-produce, &c., are

dead. Then the priests cut the whole of the body to pieces, and when they have done so they go up again to the city with the whole company, praying for him as they go. After this the eagles and vultures come down from the mountains and every one takes his morsel and carries it away. Then all the company shout aloud, saying, "Behold! the man is a saint! For the angels of God come and carry him to Paradise." And in this way the son deems himself to be honoured in no small degree, seeing that his father is borne off in this creditable manner by the angels. And so he takes his father's head, and straightway cooks it and eats it; and of the skull he maketh a goblet[1], from which he and all of the family always drink devoutly to the memory of the deceased father. And they say that by acting in this way they show their great respect for their father[2]. And many other preposterous and abominable customs have they[3].

46. Of a rich man in Manzi, and how he was fed by fifty maidens[4].

When I was still in the province of Manzi, I passed by the foot of the palace wall of a certain burgess[5] whose manner of life is thus. He hath fifty damsels, virgins, who

cheap." (Montgomerie's *Report of a Route Survey from Nepal to Lhasa, Journ. Roy. Geog. Soc.*, Lond., xxxviii, 1868, p. 175.)]

[1] [FRENCH TEXT, hanap.—HAK., "De testa eius faciens ciphum."—VEN., "De osse uno capitis fieri facit cyphum."—CIV., "De testa vero vel cerebello facit sibi fieri unum scyphum."]

[2] [HAK., "Bibunt cum solemnitate & laetitia in memoriam patris comesti."—VEN., "Semper cum devocione bibunt in memoriam defuncti patris."]

[3] [HAK., "Et multa vilia & abominabilia facit gens illa quae non scribo, quia non valent, nec homines crederent nisi viderent."—VEN., "Et multa alia inconsueta, & dissoluta fiunt ibi ab istis."—CIV., "Multae sunt aliae consuetudines vanae et inutiles in hac terra."]

[4] [The title of this anecdote varies according to the texts: FRENCH 2810, *De celui qui se fait paistre aux pucelles.*—VENNI, *De provincia Manzi.*—CIV., *De homine delicato.*—PAL., *D' un ricco popolano di Manzi.*]

[5] [HAK., WOLF. 40, VEN., CIV., B.N., lat. 2584, Hominis popularis.—DOM., grande popolano.—RAM. A., huomo popolare.—PAL., uomo popolano.]

wait on him continually[1]; and when he goeth to dinner and taketh his seat at table the dishes are brought to him by fives[2] and fives, those virgins carrying them in with singing of songs and the music of many kinds of instruments. And they also feed him as if he were a pet sparrow[3], putting the food into his mouth, singing before him continually until those dishes be disposed of. Then other five dishes are brought by other five maidens, with other songs and kinds of music, whilst the first maidens retire. And thus he leadeth his life daily until he shall have lived it out[4]. Now this man hath a revenue of XXX *tuman* of *tagars*[5] of rice. And each *tuman* is ten thousand, and each *tagar* is the amount of a heavy ass-load[6]. The court of the palace in which he dwells hath an extent of two miles; and the pavement thereof hath one tile of gold and another of silver

[1] [HAK., "Continue ministrantes, in omnibus pascentes eum sicut auis auiculas, & habet semper 5. fercula triplicata."—VEN., "Sibi continuo servientes, & dum ad comedendum staret ad mensam omnia fercula quinterna sibi portantur ab ipsis cum diversis cantibus...."—CIV., "Nam habet quinquaginta virgines sibi continue servientes, et cum in mensa sederit ad comedendum, omnia fercula sibi quina et quina ab iis virginibus deferuntur."]

[2] [FRENCH TEXT, IIII doubles ou V.]

[3] [VEN., "Ac si esset avicula quedam."—CIV., "Sicut pullus ab avicula pasceretur."—RAM. A., "A modo d' vccello pascendolo."]

[4] There are some things in this quaint story which Odoric heard in Mangi, resembling what Marco tells of the splendid effeminacy of the dethroned king of that country. The idea of being served only by a company of musical maidens was set forth not long ago in a novel by Mr. Peacock as realized in an English country house. The description of the demesne, and reference to hills of gold, etc., reminds us of the accounts of the island called *Kin-shan* or Golden Hill in the Yang tze Kiang.

[Mandeville has made use of this story, since the episode of a chapter of the *Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, Pt. II, chap. vi.]

[5] [FR. 2810, XXX tuman tosgas.—CIV., "Hic triginta chuma tagaris risi habet in censu."—The passage relating to the income of this wealthy man is not in RAM. A.]

[6] *Taghár* (*Turk.* and *Pers.*), "a large sack, of which horsemen carry a pair slung over the horse, to contain provender" (*Meninski*). The *taghar*, according to Timkowsky, contains about four *poods*, or one hundred and forty pounds, of flour. Revenues continued to be estimated in China in sacks of rice until lately, if they are not so still. In Burma they are always estimated in baskets of rice.

in turn. And in the said court there is a hill made of gold and silver, upon which are erected monasteries and bell-towers, and the like [in miniature] such as men make for their amusement[1]. And 'tis said that there be four men such as he in the realm of Manzi.

Moreover 'tis the mark of gentility[2] in that country to have the nails long; and some let their thumb-nails grow to such an extent that they grow right round the hand. And with the women the great beauty[3] is to have little feet; and for this reason mothers are accustomed, as soon as girls are born to them, to swathe their feet tightly so that they can never grow in the least[4].

[HAK., "Iuxta ambitum istius palatii est vnus monticulus artificialis de auro & argento, super quo stant Monasteria, & campanilia, & alia delectabilia pro solatio illius popularis."—VEN., "In cortivo pallacii huius factus est monticulus unus, de auro & argento, super quo facta sunt monasteria & campanilia ut homines fieri faciunt pro delectationibus suis."—CIV., "In medio huius pallacii factus est unus elevatus monticulus de argento et auro, in quo pulchra ciboria et campanilia facta sunt, sicut in monasteriis fieri solet."—RAM. A., "Il cortile del palazzo di questo tiene di grandezza dui miglia, & il solaro di quello, vn lato d' oro, l' altro d' argento è coperto: Sopra del qual sono li monasterij, & campanili, a modo che molti per lor piacere far sogliono."—FRENCH TEXT, "Le pavement du palais a un carel d'or et l'autre d'argent. Et en ces carreaulx a entaillié chastellez, petiz monstiers et clochiers et autres choses que on fait pour sa délectacion."—WOLF. 40 and FR. 2810 do not contain this passage.]

[2] [HAK., "Nobilitas virorum."—WOLF. 40, "Nobilitas istius est habere longas vngulas."—VEN., "Nobilitas vero ipsius est habere longas ungues."]

[3] [HAK., "Nobilitas autem & pulchritudo mulierum."—CIV., "Pulchritudo autem mulierum est parvos habere pedes. Unde quando foemella nascitur, ligant illi pedes, ab infancia, et eos crescere non permittunt."]

[4] It is remarkable that neither of these well-known Chinese fashions is mentioned by Polo. That of the men letting their nails grow long appears to have been becoming obsolete in Du Halde's time; and I am not aware of any recent notice of it.

[This custom is still in use not only in China but in An-nam; see note in French ed. of Odoric; also on the small feet of the Chinese ladies.—Cf. E. T. Hamy, *Sur les ongles chinois, annamites et siamois*, *Bul. Soc. Anth.*, 2e sér., xi, 1876, pp. 80–5, and *La Nature*, 26 fév 1876, pp. 199–202.]

47. Of the Old Man of the Mountain, and his end.

After I had left the lands of Prester John and was travelling towards the west[1], I came to a certain country which is called Millestorte[2], a fair and very fertile region. In this country used to dwell a certain one who was called the Old Man of the Mountain[3]. Between two of the

[1] [B.N., lat. 2584, WOLF. 40, versus occidentem.—VEN., versus occidens.—PAL., verso Ponente.—BERLIN, versus Orientem.]

[2] [WOLF. 40, "Millestorte. Hec est multu, pulchra et fertilis."—B.N., lat. 2584, DOM., Millestorte.—VIENNA, CIV., Milestorte.—RAM. A., Melistorte.—VEN., Ministorte.—PAL., Mileser.—HAK., Milestorite.—B.N., lat. 3195, Melensorte, et Melestorte.—B.N., FR. 2810 and FRENCH TEXT, Mellestoire.]

[3] This account of the Old Man of the Mountain (*Shaikh-ul-Jibal*) and his Paradise, is almost exactly the same as that given by Marco Polo. But it would be a mistake to suppose that it is therefore copied. Both related the story in the popular form in which it spread over the East. The Mussulman account in De Guignes is substantially the same; so, according to Zurla, is another Arabic account translated in the *Mines de l'Orient*. And an extract from a Chinese history, given by Klaproth, tells the same story. (*Polo*, ii, 18 and 19; *De Guignes*, i, 341; *Zurla, Dissert.*, etc., i, 276; *Klap. Mém. Rel. à l'Asie*, i, 171.)

The sect in its original form was a branch of the Shíyas, which was called Ismaelian, from Ismail the eldest son of the fifth Imám, whom they recognised as his father's successor in opposition to the mass of the Shíyas. Their doctrine took the form of a sort of gnosticism, giving a non-natural sense to all revelation, from which they had the name also of *Bathenians*, from a word signifying "esoteric." Hassan Sabah, son of an Arab at Rai, one of their converts in Persia, put himself at the head of the sect in that country, and about 1090 made himself master of the mountainous part of Irak Ajami immediately south of the Caspian. This region included many strong castles, and at one time the power of his successors extended to the gates of Ispahan. From its character the country was called by the Arabs *Ballád-ul-Jibal*, "the Hill Country," and hence the chief's title. This was also applied to the head of a branch society which had its seat in Syria and became well known to the Crusaders. The name of Assassin is now, I believe, generally allowed to be derived from *hashísh*, the drug under the influence of which the emissaries of the society acted. (*D'Ohsson*, book iv, ch. iv.)

The Old Man of the Mountain seems to have made his way into respectable political society, for it is mentioned that the Emperor Frederic II took occasion on the "Saracen Easter" (*i.e.* the termination of their fast) to give a grand dinner to the ambassadors of the Sultan and of the *Vetulus de Montanis*, at which many bishops and lords were present. Probably this, however, was the Syrian Old Man. (*Hist. Diplom. Frid.* II, iv, 370.)

The Chinese author quoted by Klaproth calls the country of the

mountains of that region he had built a wall, and this he carried right round one of the mountains[1]. And inside this wall were the most delightful fountains of water, and beside them were set the most charming virgins on the face of the earth[2], as well as splendid horses and everything else that could be thought of for the gratification of man's senses. Wine and milk also were made to flow there by certain conduits; and the place had the name of Paradise[3]. And when

Shaikh *Mulahi*; Rubruquis, Polo, Benjamin of Tudela, and the Armenians call it *Mulhet* or *Mulehet*. These terms are from (*Arab.*) *Mulâhidah*, "atheists or impious persons," one of the names applied to the sect by the orthodox. The name given by Odoric, *Melistorte*, evidently contains the same element. If the termination does not arise from some error, it may represent some such form as *Malhadistán*, "The Land of the Heretics." Wadding indeed mentions, after Bartholomew of Pisa, that the Franciscans had several houses "in Great Tartary near Millescorte," which might be quoted to show that there was a region so called. But, in fact, Bartholomew is here only building on Odoric's own narrative and misunderstanding it. (*Wadding*, vii, 258.) The occurrence of the name *Malasscorti* (for *Malasjird*) in the Catalan Map, suggests that the title given to the Assassins' Country may have been in some way confounded with that name.

[Cf. notes in *Marco Polo*, i, pp. 140–142, and note in French edition of *Odoric*, pp. 476–483. See also Rockhill's *Rubruck*, p. 118. The stronghold of Alamūt, north-east of Qazvin in the Rūdbār mountains, was destroyed by Hūlakú in 1256, Dec. 20: Alamut means "Eagle's nest"; it was built in 860 by a prince of Dilem, on an inaccessible rock in the Elburs Mountains; and in 1090 Hassan captured this castle. Cf. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Res.*, ii, p. 109.—See also *La Forteresse d'Alamūt*, par M. Cl. Huart, *Mém. Soc. Linguist. Paris*, xv, pp. 130–132.]

[1] [WOLF. 40, "In hac erat qui vocabatur senex de monte qui inter duos montes fecerat unum murum qui circumdabat montem."—B.N., "Qui inter duos montes contratae hujus unum fecerat murum, qui istum circumdabat montem."]

[2] ["Hic intus pulcerimi erant fontes apud quos erant posite pulcerime virgines. Equi pulcerimi omneque illud quod pro humana delectatione poterat inveniri, & hunc locum dicebat paradixium, per quosdam vero conductus illic faciebat vinum & lac." (VEN., p. 79.)]

[3] ["Hunc autem locum paradisum nominabat. Ubicunque autem vidit juvenes alicuius pulchritudinis et valoris, eos rapiebat, et in paradisum poni faciebat. Nec fuit in curia qui veritatem huius delusionis intelligeret, exceptis suis secretariis valde paucis. Accipiebat enim homo iste iuvenes fortes corpore, et ipsos in fetidis equorum stabulis reposuit, et ibidem miserrime nutriebat, atque despecto habitu induit, nec eos de istis stabulis exire sinebat, ita quod omnino nesciebant quid essent blandiciae vel solacia huius mundi. Sic autem afflictos tandem eos per quandam pocionem fortissime soporabat, et in amoenitate paradisi sui inter illas puellas transportabat. Illuc

he found any youth of promise he caused him to be admitted to his Paradise[1]. And then when he desired to cause any king or baron to be *assassinated*[2], or poignarded, he called on the officer who was set over that paradise to select some one who was most fitted for the business, and who most delighted in the life led in that paradise of his. To this young man a certain potion was given which immediately set him fast asleep, and so in his sleep he was carried forth from that paradise And when he awoke again, and found himself no longer in paradise, he went into such a madness of grief that he knew not what he did. And when he importuned that Old One of the Mountain to let him back again into paradise, the reply was: "Thither thou canst not return until thou shalt have slain such a king or baron. And then, whether thou live or die, I will bring thee back into paradise again." And so through the youth's great lust to get back into his paradise, he got murdered by his hand whomsoever he list. And thus the fear of this Old One was upon all the kings of the east, and they paid him heavy tribute. But when the Tartars had conquered nearly the whole of the east, they came also to the land of that Old Man, and at last took his dominion from him[3]. And when they had done

eciam per quosdam conductus vinum et iac descendere faciebat. Et cum volebat interimere aliquem regem vel Baronem, iussit, illum, qui huic paradiso praeerat, caute investigare...." (CIVEZZA, p. 777).]

[1] [FRENCH TEXT, "Quant il trouvoit aucun bel homme et vigoureux, il le mettoit en ce Paradis entre toutes ces choses délectables et lui monstroit tellement que cilz jouvenceaulx cuidoit estre en Paradis, car par soutilz engins et conduis, il y faisoit venir et plovoir vin, et faisoit à ces jounes hommes toutes les délices que corps d'homme pouvoit demander."]

[2] [B.N., lat. 2584, "Volebat iacere sicari, id est assaxinari."—VEN., "Volebat aliquem baronem vel regem siccari facere idest assassinari."—WOLF. 40, assassinare.—RAM. A., "Fare arrobar & assassinare."]

[3] ["Cum autem Tartari quasi totum cepissent mundum, venerunt ad istum senem; cui finaliter dominium acceperunt. Quod cum ei sic fuisset acceptum multos de istis hiis sicariis emissit de paradiso per quos sicari et interfici faciebat multos Tartarorum. Hoc videntes ipsi Tartari ad illam civitatem, in quâ senex iste erat, venerunt et eam obsederunt; cum ab eâ non discesserint donec illam et ipsum senem

this, he sent forth many of his assassins from his paradise, and by their hands caused many Tartars to be assassinated and slain. And when the Tartars saw this, they came to the city wherein the Old Man dwelt, and besieged it, and quitted it not until they took it and the Old Man also. Him they bound in chains, and caused to suffer a miserable death.

18. How the friars deal with devils in Tartary[1].

In those regions God Almighty[2] hath bestowed such grace[3] upon the Minor Friars that in Great Tartary they think it a mere nothing to expel devils from the possessed, no more indeed than to drive a dog out of the house. For there be many in those parts possessed of the devil, both men and women[4], and these they bind and bring to our

finaliter habuerunt. Et cum eum ceperunt vinculis eum vinxerunt et malam mortem illum sustinere fecerunt." (B.N., lat. 2584.)

"Cum autem Tartari omnes regiones illas occupassent, venerunt ad hunc senem, et eius dominium invaserunt. Ille autem multos sicarios de paradiso emisit, per quos de Tartaris plurimos interfecit. Quo comperto, Tartari civitatem in qua senex erat obsederunt, nec ab ea discesserunt, donec eam per omnia subiugarent. Et hunc captum senem vinculis arctissimis constrinxerunt, et ipsum morte turpissima damnaverunt." (CIVEZZA, p. 777.)

"Cum autem tartari quasi iam totum cepissent oriens venerunt ad hunc senem, cui finaliter dominium acceperunt. Quod cum eis sic foret acceptum multum de istis siccariis emissit de huius paradiso per quos siccari & interfici faciebat multos horum tartarorum. Hoc videntes tartari ad civitatem in qua manebat pervenerunt & eam obscederunt, nec ab ea discesserunt donec & ipsam & senem habuerunt, quem vinculis iunxerunt, & malam mortem substinere fecerunt." (VEN., pp. 79-80.)—The A.S. do not give this chapter.]

[1] [The title of this chapter varies greatly according to the versions: B.N., 2810 FR. *Comment les freres meneurs par la grace de Dieu guérissent les enragiés.*—FRENCH TEXT, *Des Esragiez.*—B.N., lat. 2584, *De demonibus a fratribus Minoribus expulsis.*—CIV., *De eieccione Demonum.*—VEN., *Miraculum quod fratres minores fecerunt.* WOLF. 40, *De obsessis.*—DOM., *Del Discacciamento dei Demoni.*—PAL., *Della grazia ch'anno i Frati Minori nella Tartaria.*]

[2] [B.N., lat. 2584, CIV., VEN., Omnipotens Deus.—DOM., l' onnipotente Dio.—RAM. A., l' omnipotente Iddio.]

[3] [A.S., CIV., "Contra immundos spiritus magnam contulit potestatem."]

[4] [B.N., lat. 2584, "Unde multi homines et mulieres...."—CIV.,

friars from as far as ten days' journey off. The friars bid the demons depart forth instantly from the bodies of the possessed in the name of Jesus Christ[1], and they do depart immediately in obedience to this command. Then those who have been delivered from the demon straightway cause themselves to be baptised; and the friars take their idols, which are made of felt[2], and carry them to the fire, whilst all the people of the country round assemble to see their neighbour's gods burnt. The friars, accordingly, cast the idols into the fire, but they leap out again[3]. And so the friars take holy water and sprinkle it upon the fire, and that straightway drives away the demon from the fire; and so the friars again casting the idols into the fire, they are consumed. And then the devil in the air raises a shout, saying:—"See then, see then, how I am expelled from my

"Ideo multi."—VEN., "Tam homines tam mulieres."—DOM., "Molti huomini e femine."—RAM. A., "Molti huomini, e donne."]

[1] [B.N., lat. 2584, "Ipsi ex parte et nomine Jhesu Christi."—VEN., "In Christi Yhesu nomine."—PAL., Dalla parte di Jesu.—DOM., Signore Iesu Cristo.—RAM. A., Iesu Christo.—FRENCH TEXT, "Ilz leur ostent les deables du corps ou nom du Père et du Filz et du Saint-Esperit."]

[2] [CIV., Idola de filtro facto.—B.N., lat. 2584, ydola de feltro.—VEN., ydola illa sua de filtro.—PAL., idoli di feltro.—DOM., idole, le quali sono di feltro.—RAM. A., di feltro fatti.

Carpini writes, *Rockhill's* ed., p. 59: "They have certain idols made of felt in the image of a man, and these they place on either side of the door of their dwelling; and above these they place things made of felt in the shape of tits, and these they believe to be the guardians of their flocks, and that they insure them increase of milk and colts."

Rubruquis has, *l.c.*, p. 58: "And over the head of the master is always an image of felt, like a doll or statuette, which they call the brother of the master; another similar one is above the head of the mistress, which they call the brother of the mistress, and they are attached to the wall; and higher up between the two of them is a little lank one (*macilenta*), who is, as it were, the guardian of the whole dwelling."

Marco Polo, speaking of the god of the Tartars, i, p. 257, says: "They have a certain god of theirs called *Natigay*, and they say he is the god of the Earth, who watches over their children, cattle, and crops. They show him great worship and honour, and every man hath a figure of him in his house, made of felt and cloth." See notes, *Marco Polo*, i, pp. 257-9, and *Rubruck*, pp. 59-60.]

[3] [A.S., CIV., "Frequenter, agente diabolo, prosiliunt extra ignem."]

dwelling-place[1]." And in this way our friars baptise great numbers in that country[2].

49. The Friar telleth of a certain valley wherein he saw terrible things[3].

Another great and terrible thing I saw[4]. For, as I went through a certain valley[5] which lieth by the River of

[1] [CIV., and A.S. (with slight changes): "Indignatus ergo Satanas cum suis, quod vasa diu possessa amiserit, in aere vociferat dicens: 'Videte qualiter de meo habitaculo cum iniuria sum expulsus.'"]

[2] Wadding, in his account of Odoric, ascribes these performances to our traveller himself, which must have been from careless reading.

[3] [VEN., *De valle quadam in qua terribillia vidi.*—CIV., *De Valle infernali.*—PAL., *Della Valle terribile.*—DOM., *Della Valle infernale.*—FRENCH TEXT, *Une grande merveille.*—FR. 2810, *Une grande merveille de la Valée d'enfer et perilleuse.*]

[4] [B.N., lat. 2584, "Aliud terribile magnum ego vidi."—VEN., "Aliud terribille magnum vidi."—A.S., CIV., "Aliud quoque stupendum et terribile ego vidi."—DOM., "Un' altra terribile et gran cosa vidi."—RAM. A., "Vn' altra cosa mirabile, & di terror piena ho uista."—PAL., "Un' altra terribil cosa viddi andando per una valle posta sopra il fiume delle delizie."—FRENCH TEXT, "moult hydeuse."]

[5] The account of the terrible-valley is one of the most striking bits of narrative in Odoric's story. Whether its exaggeration be wilful, or the unconscious work of an excited imagination, it seems based on some real experience or combination of experiences.

The account of the sandy hill, on which he heard the sound of invisible *nakkaras* or drums, strikingly recalls the phenomenon of the *Khwája Regruwán*, forty miles north of Kabul, near the foot of the Indian Caucasus. Burnes describes the sounds heard there as loud and hollow, *very like those of a large drum*, whilst Sultan Baber speaks of *the sounds of drums and nagarets*, the very instruments specified by Odoric. A still more apt comparison is afforded by Captain Newbold's fuller account of the like phenomenon in the Sinai desert, at the sand hill known as *Jibal Nákús*, "the Hill of the Bell." Dr. Wallin also was told, in crossing a Wadi of the Sinai desert called Hamade, near Wadi Araba, that sometimes very strange sounds, like those of kettle drums (*nakkaras* again) were heard to rise from the earth, without any discoverable cause.

To the examples of this noted here I may add at least two more, making six in all. One is communicated by my friend Mr. C. R. Markham, who says:—"The musical sounds caused by moving sand, which astonished Odoric, are heard also in the deserts of the west coast of Peru. Mrs. Markham and I heard them when we halted amidst the *medanos* or hills of light sand in the Arequipa Desert." Another case was discovered by the late Hugh Miller in the Island of Eigg (see *Cruise of the Betsy*, quoted in *Petermann's Mittheilungen*, 1858, p. 405). See also Mr. Bollaert's notice of the *Bramador* or Rumbling Mountain of Tarapaca, which appears to be an instance distinct from Mr. Markham's (*J.R.G.S.*, xxi, 104).

The awful and gigantic face in the cliff by the valley side might perhaps have been suggested by the great figures at Bamian in the same region as the Regruwan, or some like image. Burnes gives a formidable description of the valley north of Bamian; the precipitous sides of the defile rising to two thousand and three thousand feet, and so closely as in some places to exclude the midday sun. It is not unlikely that Odoric crossed Hindu Kush on his journey from Tibet, of which we have no particulars. It was through Badakshan that the Persian merchants used to go into Tibet (*D'Ohsson*, i, 272), and Badakshan would probably be entered and left by one of the passes of the Hindu Kush. It is just about this quarter that Fra Mauro's map places the "*Valle dita* Fausta, *ne la quale se vede e aldesse spiriti e altre cose monstruose*," etc. If we could trace what Odoric means by the *Flumen Deliciarum*, it might enable us to fix the locality better. The name may be either a translation, or (more probably) a misapprehension of the amanuensis. Suppose that Odoric in dictating called it (as Ramusio does in his Italian version) *Fiume di Piaceri*, we might perhaps recognize in this the river PANCHSHIR, which the Reg Rawán immediately adjoins. And Wood tells us that the valley of Koh-Daman, into which the Panchshir debouches, is full of places to which superstitious legends attach. Moreover Baber tells us that the Pass of Panchshir was that by which were constantly made the inroads of the robbers of Kafiristan, *who used to slay great numbers of the people* in the neighbourhood.

The belief that wildernesses are haunted places is a very old and general one. Our blessed Lord himself in a very solemn passage adopts the Jewish phraseology as to this matter (Luke xi, 24). Pliny says that in the deserts of Africa phantoms in human shape appear to travellers and immediately vanish again (vii, 2). But the belief is especially prevalent among the nations of Central Asia. By them "deserts...and the like, where nature shows herself in vast forms, and in all the terrors of her influences, are held to be the especial headquarters and rendezvous of malignant spirits...hence the wildernesses of Turan, and particularly the great sand-waste of Gobi, have from hoar antiquity had an evil fame" (*Schmidt*, p. 352). The Turks have a saying that evil spirits play at ball in desert places; both Fa hian and Marco Polo allude to the evil genii of the deserts of Central Asia, and Rubruquis tells of a frightful defile, where the demons were said to snatch travellers off their horses. The Afghans believe each of the numerous solitudes in the mountains and deserts of their country to be inhabited by a lonely demon, whom they call the *Ghoolee Beaban*, or Spirit of the Waste; a gigantic and frightful spectre which devours passengers.

In an interesting little book, *The Romance of Travel*, which has a chapter upon Odoric, the story of the dreadful valley is alleged to be still part of the staple of the professed story-teller in Turkey. The author also refers to gigantic rock-sculptures as one of the elements at the base of the story, and describes the awe which certain such images in the defiles of Asia Minor were calculated to impress.

One would almost think that John Bunyan had been reading this bit of Odoric in Hakluyt's version when he wrote his account of Christian's passage through the Valley of the Shadow of Death. E.g., "This frightful sight was seen, and those dreadful noises were heard by him for several days together; and coming to a place where he thought he heard a company of fiends coming to meet him, he stopt

Delights[1], I saw therein many dead corpses lying. And I heard also therein sundry kinds of music, but chiefly nakers[2], which were marvellously played upon. And so great was the noise thereof that very great fear came upon me. Now, this valley is seven or eight miles long[3]; and if any unbeliever[4] enter therein he quitteth it never again, but perisheth incontinently. Yet I hesitated not to go in that I might see once for all what the matter was. And when I had gone in I saw there, as I have said, such numbers of corpses as no one without seeing it could deem credible. And at one side of the valley, in the very rock, I beheld as it were the face of a man very great and terrible[5],

and began to muse what he had best do...but when they were come even almost at him he cried out with a most vehement voice, '*I will walk in the strength of the Lord God*'; so they gave back and came no further," etc. (*Journ. R. A. S.*, vii, pp. 78–83; *Burnes*, ii, 174; *Wood's Journey to the Oxus*, pp. 180–182; *Foe Koue Ki*, p. 2; *Rubruquis*, p. 295; *Polo*, ii, 34; *Macfarlane's Rom. of Travel*, 1846, ii, 22 and 70; *Elphinstone's Caubul*, 1839, i, 291; *Erskine's Babar*, p. 145, 146.)

[Speaking of the great Desert of Lop, Polo says, ii, p. 197: "And sometimes you shall hear the sound of a variety of musical instruments, and still more commonly the sound of drums." See long note, i, pp. 201–3.—On *Nakkáras*, see *l.c.*, i, pp. 339–341.]

[1] [B.N., lat. 2584, A.S., CIV., "Super flumen deliciarum."—VEN., "Supra flumen deliciarum."—MUN., "Juxta unum flumen q. egredit de loco deliciárum i. de Paradyso."—RAM. A., "Sopra del fiume, qual si domanda fiume di piacéri, vscendo quello dal paradiso Terrestre."—J. DE ST DENYS, "selon les fleuves de Paradis."]

[2] [B.N., lat. 2584, Maxime autem Achara.—VEN., maxime autem Nachara.—CIV., maxime autem cytharam.—A.S., maximè autem citharae.—HAK., maximè de cytharis, undè multum timui.—FARS., Nachara.—RAM. A., Nachari.—DOM., Specialmente Nacheri.—FRENCH TEXT, "instrumens de musique et espéciaument harpes."]

[3] [CIV., fere octo milliaribus.—A.S., scilicet octo milliarium terrae.—PAL., lunga da otto miglia.—RAM. A., 708 miglia!!—FRENCH TEXT, VII ou VIII miles de long.]

[4] [B.N., lat. 2584, VEN., Si aliquis infidelium.—DOM., alcuno infedele.—FRENCH TEXT, se aucuns.]

[5] [B.N., lat. 2584, unam faciem hominis valde terribilem [the word *mirabilem* has been erased from the MS.] ego vidi.—VEN., faciem hominis maximam & terribillem.—A.S., CIV., faciem hominis, quae sic aspectu erat terribilis.—RAM. A., vna faccia di huomo, talmente terribile.—J. DE V., une forme d' ome moult espouventable.—FRENCH TEXT., "un visage humain très horrible et très hydeux."]

so very terrible indeed that for my exceeding great fear my spirit seemed to die in me. Wherefore I made the sign of the cross[1], and began continually to repeat **Verbum caro factum**[2], but I dared not at all to come nigh that face, but kept at seven or eight[3] paces from it. And so I came at length to the other end of the valley, and there I ascended a hill of sand and looked around me. But nothing could I descry[4], only I still heard those nakers to play which were played so marvellously. And when I got to the top of that hill I found there a great quantity of silver heaped up as it had been fishes' scales, and some of this I put into my bosom. But as I cared nought for it, and was at the same time in fear lest it should be a snare to hinder my escape, I cast it all down again to the ground[5]. And so by God's grace I came forth scathless. Then all the Saracens, when they heard of this, showed me great worship, saying that I was a baptised

[1] [VEN., cum signo crucis.—RAM. A., continuamente meco dicendo orationi.—J. DE V., et auoie en ma bouche.—FRENCH TEXT, "Il estoit si horrible que je cuiday bien morir de paour et disoie ces moz."]

[2] [PAL., *Verbo caro factum est.*—John, i, 14, *Et verbum caro factum est.*—Rubruquis relates, Rockhill's ed., p. 161 : "On the second Sunday in Advent (13th December) in the evening, while we were passing through a certain place amidst most terrible rocks, our guide sent me word begging me to say some prayers (*bona verba*), by which the devils could be put to flight, for in this gorge devils were wont suddenly to bear men off, and no one could tell what they might do. Sometimes they seized the horse, and left the rider ; sometimes they tore out the man's bowels and left the body on the horse, and many such things happened there frequently. So we chanted in a loud voice '*Credo in unum Deum*,' when by the mercy of God the whole of our company passed through." See Rockhill's note, pp. 161-2.].

[3] [RAM. A., piu di sei, o vero otto passi.—B.N., lat. 2584, CIV., VII vel VIII passibus.—FRENCH TEXT, VIII andains.]

[4] [B.N., lat. 2584, "Nichil videbam, preter illa achara quae pulsari mirabiliter audiebam."—VEN., "Nichil videbam nisi quod audiebam Nachara illa pulsare."—HAK., "Nihil vidi nisi cytharas illas...."—FRENCH TEXT, "mais je n'y vi ne oy nullui."]

[5] [HAK., "Pro mirabili ostendendo, sed ductus conscientiâ, in terram proieci, nihil mecum reseruans...." B.N., lat. 2584, "Et quia de ipso non curabam illud totaliter in terram projeci. Et sic dante Deo inde illaesus exivi."—VEN., "Et timens etiam ne tali illuxione forte michi denegare exitus illud totaliter in terra proieci. Et sic Deo dante inde illexus exivi."—FRENCH TEXT, "J'en pris en mon giron mais riens n'en portay et ainsi m'en alay."]

and holy man. But those who had perished in that valley they said belonged to the devil[1].

50. Friar Odoric attesteth the truth of his story.

I, Friar Odoric the Bohemian of Friuli[2], from a certain town called Pordenone, of the Order of Minorites and the Province of St. Anthony, do solemnly declare and attest to my reverend father the Friar Guidotto, the Minister of the Province aforesaid of St. Anthony in the March of Treviso, in accordance with my vow of obedience and the injunction which he hath laid upon me, that all these things hereinbefore written I either beheld with mine own eyes or heard from men worthy of credit. And as for such things as I saw not myself, the common talk of those countries beareth

[1] [B.N., lat. 2584, qui erant mortui in illa valle, dicebant esse homines demonis infernales.—VEN., qui in illa valle mortui erant. — PAL., erano morti in questa valle.—FRENCH TEXT, "Les Sarrazins...dirent que j'estoye baptiziez et sains homs mais cilz qui la estoient demourez estoient tous deables d'enfer." — CIV., "Illos autem mortuos nescio qua delusione vel fantastica imaginacione decepti, dicebant esse homines demonum infernalium."—WOLF. 40, demones infernales.—PAL., nomini del diavolo de lo 'nferne.—DOM., demonio d' inferno.—RAM. A., spiriti infernali.—HAK., "Daemonum infernalium qui pulsant cytharas vt homines alliciant intrare, & interficiant. Haec de visis certitudinalitèr ego Frater Odoricus hîc inscripsi; & multa mirabilia omisi ponere, quia homines non credidissent nisi vidissent."

Here ends French Text 1380 fr. with *Explicit* after the words "tous deables d'enfer"; this text does not give the last lines concerning Jehan le Long to be found in French 2810 (fol. 115 recto and verso): "*Explicet le yteneraire Odric de Foro Julij de lordre des freres meneurs qui fist cest liure en lan de grace mil trois cens et trente. Et puis la mort dieux a fait par lui maint miracle. Et fu cilz liures translatez par frere iehan le lonc ne dyppre et moisne de saint bertin en saint aumer. En l'an de grace mil. iij^c lj. acomplis.*"—This translation of John of Ypres does not contain some important additions included in the Latin MSS. and even in the French translation of J. de Vignay.—The printed edition of J. de Saint Denys ends f. lxvi recto with the "vallée périlleuse," *diables d'enfer.*

Here also ends the story of the PALATINE MS.: "*Finita la diceria di frate Oderigo. Deo grazias!*" But to it is added the *Attestazione del Fr. Odorico.*]

[2] I have here placed this attestation as it is in the FARSETTI and BOLLANDIST versions. No one MS. has the whole of the matter from this to the end arranged exactly as here, but it is, I believe, the original arrangement, and the only one admitting of the introduction of the postscripts of *both* William of Solagna and Marchesino of Bassano.

witness to their truth. And many things I have left out and have not caused to be written lest they should be deemed too hard for belief by such as have not seen them with their own eyes. But, as for me, from day to day I prepare myself to return to those countries in which I am content to die, if so it pleaseth Him from whom all good things do come.

Now, all the things hereinbefore contained were faithfully taken down in writing by Friar William of Solagna[1], just as the aforenamed Friar Odoric the Bohemian uttered them, in the year of the Lord M.CCC.XXX, in the month of May, and at the house of St. Anthony in Padua. Nor did he trouble himself to adorn the matter with difficult Latin and conceits of style, but just as the other told his story so Friar William wrote it, so that all may understand the more easily what is told herein[2].

[1] The position of the name-place of this friar appears to have caused some considerable amount of writing to the Italian critics. It seems to be settled that Solagna is a village on the Brenta, near Bassano. (*Nuova Raccolta d'Opuscoli*, etc., Venezia, 1794, vol. xxv, art. 9.)

[2] [The Latin text of the attestation which I give from M. da Civezza is with some variants which I note really the end of the version of Odoric:

"Ego frater Odericus de Foro Julii testificor coram Deo et Christo Jesu[a], quod quae hic scripsi[b], aut propriis oculis vidi, aut a maiori parte a fide dignis hominibus[c] haec audivi. Multa alia vidi quae non scripsi, quia hominibus terrarum nostrarum impossibilia viderentur, nisi qui ea[d] in terris infidelium sicut ego personaliter inspexissent[e]."

This attestation differs of course according to the versions, especially of the version of Henry of Glatz. Generally it includes the addition relating to William of Solagna.. However, here are the chief variants of the texts:

A. *Venni.*

"Ego frater odoricus de foro julii" de portu naonis "de ordine minorum testificor & testimonium perhibeo Reverendo patri fratri guidoto[f] ministro provincie sancti antoni" in "marchia tarvissina"

[a] A.S., Iesu Christo. [b] A.S., quòd omnia haec, quae hic scripsi.
[c] A.S., dignorum hominum. [d] A.S., eas.
[e] A.S., sicut ego pectator, adspexissent.
[f] WOLF., 40, "Perhibeo reuerendo fratri et domino meo fratri Guidoto prouinciali Sancti Anthonii in marcha treuisina."

cum ab eo fuerim per obedienciam requisitus. quod hec omnia supra-scripta, aut propriis occulis vidi. aut audivi ab hominibus fide dignis. que etiam omnes illarum parcium communiter testabantur. multa tamen dimissi que scribi non feci. quia quasi incredibillia apud plurimos viderentur nisi ea propriis occulis conspexissent. predicta autem fideliter...frater gullielmus de solagna in scriptis redegit sicut ipse frater odoricus ore proprio exprimebat. anno. domini. 1330°. mense maij padue. in loco sancti antonii. supradictus vero frater odoricus postea ex hoc seculo transsivit ad dominum. in conventu Utini. anno domini. 1331°. die 14. Januariy qui post modicum multis, & magnis corruscat miraculis.

B. *Bibliothèque Nationale*, lat. 2584.

"Ego frater Odoricus *Boemus* de Foro Julii provinciae Sancti Antonii de quâdam terrâ quae dicitur Portus Naonis[a], de ordine fratrum minorum, testificor et testimonium perhibeo Reverendo Patri fratri Guidoto ministro antedictae provinciae Sancti Antonii in Marchia Trevissina, cum ab eo fuerim per obedientiam requisitus quod haec omnia quae superius scripta sunt, aut propriis oculis vidi aut ab hominibus fide dignis audivi; communis etiam locutio illarum contratarum illa quae non vidi testatur esse vera. Multa etiam alia ego dimisi quae scribi non feci, cum ipsa quasi incredibilia apud aliquos viderentur nisi illa propriis oculis conspexissent. Ego autem de die in diem me preparo ad illas contratas accedere, in quibus dispono me mori ut illi placebit a quo cuncta bona procedunt. Praedicta autem fideliter frater Guillelmus de Solagna in scriptis redegit sicut praedictus frater Odoricus *Boemus* ore proprio exprimebat, anno Domini M.CCC.XXX mense Maii Paduae in loco Sancti Antonii. Nec curavit de latino difficili et curioso ac ornato, sed sicut ille narrabat sic iste scribebat; ad hoc ut omnes facilius intelligerent quae dicuntur, et cetera[b]."

C. *Ramusio A.*

"Io fra Odorico di Friuoli dell' ordine de' frati minori: Al Reuerendo Padre fra Guidotto, Ministro della Prouincia di Santo Antonio, Confesso, che essendo io da quello per obedientia richiesto, che le sopradette cose, si quelle, che con li proprij occhi ho viste, come quelle, che da huomini degni di fede ho intese gli volesse dire, & far scriuere: quelle ho dette. È ben vero, che molte cose ho fatte scriuere, quali non ho viste, ma quelli, che sono di quella contrada, fanno testimonio essere vere: Et molte altre cose ho lasciate, quale se prima con li proprij occhi non fossero viste, non sono credibile."

"Le predette cose io fra Guglielmo di Solona, nell' Anno 133 nel mese di Maggio, a Padoua nel loco di S. Antonio, ho scritte, in quel modo, che il predetto fra Odorico con la propria bocca gli riferiua: non curandomi d' vn alto, & ornato modo di parlare scriuerli: ma con vn domestico, & mezo modo di dire: acciochè da dotti, & ignoranti siano

[a] The Latin MS. 2584, f. 126 verso has *Naonis*, not *Muonis* as Yule printed it.

[b] After the Anecdote of the Great Khan, related further on, the Lat. MS. 2584, continues in red ink in the margin: *Explicit descripcio Orientalium partium Fratris Odorici Boemi Foro-Julii provinciae Sancti Antonij*; then comes this attestation also in red ink which ends the narrative.

quelle intese. Il predetto fra Odorico passò dalla presente vita del Signor Nell' Anno 1331. alli 4. [*sic*] di Gennaio, & dopò la sua morte di molti miracoli risplendette."

D. *Domenichelli*[a].

"Et io Frate Odorico di Friuli (d' una terra ch è chiamata Porto di Naone), dello Ordine de' Frati Minori, reñdo testimonianza al venerevole Frate Guidotto, Ministro della Provincia di Santo Antonio della Marca (Trivisana); concio sia cosa che per obedientia io fosse domandato da lui di tutte queste cose che sono scritte di sopra, overo ch' io le viddi con gli miei occhi, o io le udi da huomini degni di fe. Et il comunale ragionamento di quelle contrade testimonia ch' egli è vero quello ch' io non viddi. Molte altre cose io ho lasciate, le quali io non feci scrivere, perch' elle parebbono incredibile appresso alcuna persona che no le vedesse con gli suoi occhi. Et io de dì in dì m' apparecchio d' andare in quelle contrade, ne le quale io oe diliberato di vivere et dimorare si come piacerà a Colui dal quale tutti e beni procedono."

E. *Palatine.*

"Io frate Oderigo da Frigolli, d' una terra che si chiama porto maoni, dell' ordine de frati minori testifico, e rispondo al mio monistero per vera ubidizione che tutte queste cose iscritte in questo memoriale o io le vidi o io l' udi dire a uomini degni di fede e dal cummune parlare delle contrade. Onde quelle che non vidi sapiate che vere sono. Altre molte cose lascio, e no le iscrivo che chi non le vedese non le crederebbe. E di dì in dì m' apparecchio di tornare in quelle contrade, e mi dispongo di finire mia vita. Deo grazias, Amen, amen, amen[b]."

F. *Hakluyt.*

"Haec predicta frater Guilelmus de Solangna in scriptis redegit, sicut praedictus frater Odoricus ore tenus exprimebat. Anno Domini 1330. mense Maij in loco Sancti Antonij de Padua; Nec curavit de latino difficili, & stilo ornato; Sed sicut ipse narrabat ad hoc ut homines facilius intelligerent quae dicuntur. Ego frater Odoricus de Foro Iulij de quadam terra quae dicitur Portus Vahonis de ordine minorum testificor, & testimonium perhibeo reuerendo frati Guidoto ministro prouinciae Sancti Antonij in Marchia Triuisana, cum ab eo fuerim per obedientiam requisitus, quòd haec omnia quae superiùs scripta sunt, aut proprijs oculis ego vidi, aut a fide dignis audivi: Communis etiam loquutio illarum terrarum illa quae nec vidi testatur esse; Multa etiam alia ego dimisissem, nisi illa proprijs oculis conspexissem. Ego autem de die in diem me propono contratas seu terras accedere, in quibus mori, & viuere me dispono, si placuerit Deo meo[c]."]

[a] Dom. gives the Infernal Valley, the Anecdote of the Great Khan, and then the Attestation.

[b] See full text of the Palatine MS. in Appendix II.

[c] Hakluyt gives this passage (followed by *De Morte fratris Odorici* printed further on) after the chapters of the Old Man of the Mountain, the perilous Valley, and the Anecdote of the Great Khan (which ends with the word *munus*).

51. Friar Marchesino of Bassano addeth his say; and telleth a pretty passage that he heard of Odoric.

I, Friar Marchesino of Bassano[1], of the Order of Minorites, desire to say that I heard the preceding relations from the aforesaid Friar Odoric when he was still living; and I heard a good deal more which he has not set down. Among other stories which he told, this was one:—He related that once upon a time, when the Great Khan was on his journey from Sandu to Cambalech, he (Friar Odoric), with four other Minor Friars, was sitting under the shade of a tree by the side of the road along which the Khan was about to pass. And one of the brethren was a bishop[2]. So when the Khan began to draw near, the bishop put on his episcopal robes and took a cross and fastened it to the end of a staff, so as to raise it aloft; and then those four began to chaunt with loud voices the hymn, **Veni Creator Spíritus!** And then the Great Khan hearing the sound thereof, asked what it meant? And those four barons who go beside him replied that it was four of the Frank Rabbans (*i.e.*, of the Christian monks). So the Khan called them to him, and the bishop thereupon taking the cross from the staff presented it to the Khan to kiss. Now at the time he was lying down, but as soon as he saw the cross he sat up, and doffing the cap that he wore, kissed the cross in the most reverent and humble manner. Now, the rule and custom of that court is that no one shall venture to come into the Khan's presence empty-handed. So Friar Odoric, having with him a small dish full of apples, presented that as their offering to the Great Khan. And he took two of the apples, and ate a piece of

[1] I take this from FAR. and BOLL. The story as told by Marchesino in their versions is more simple and genuine than as related in the other manuscripts.

[2] This may have been the venerable John of Monte Corvino, or one of his suffragans appointed in 1312. The Khan was almost certainly Yisun Timur, called by the Chinese Tai-Ting, a great-grandson of Kúblái, who reigned from 1323 to 1328.

one of them whilst he kept the other in his hand, and so he went his way.

Now, it is clear enough from this that the Khan himself had some savour of our Catholic faith, as he well might through the Minor Friars who dwell at his court continually. And as for that cap which he doffed so reverently before the cross, I have heard Friar Odoric say that it was a mass of pearls and gems, and was worth more than the whole March of Treviso[1].

[1] FAR. here has the following nonsense, which is so great a falling off from the preceding pretty anecdote that I will not introduce it into the text: "Also I heard another thing from him. For he said that once every year the Great Khan sends one of his Tartars to the Soldan of Babylon, who receives him with great fear. And on an appointed day, the Soldan takes his place on one bank of a small stream, whilst the Tartar takes his on the other bank, with a bow bent in his hand, and a strongly poisoned arrow fixed therein. The Soldan takes his place with his knees bent and his hands clasped; he hath nought on his head, and nought on his back but a shirt. And the Tartar after giving him a great deal of harsh language calleth on him three times, saying: 'Confess then that thou hast thy life at the hand of the Great Khan, and that thou art his slave!' And the Soldan in great fear answereth that it is even so. And if he did not the other would incontinently slay him. Now this the Khan causeth to be done in token of his power; and I think it ought not to be let pass into oblivion."

[The *Acta Sanctorum* have made an Appendix following the Attestation of what is due to William of Solagna and to Henry of Glatz and in this they are right I believe. See French edition, pages 501 et seq. Here we give the various texts of the anecdote of the Great Khan:

A. *Jean de Vignay.*

Et encore raconterai-je une chose du grant Caan [chien] laquele je vi. Quer il ont de coustume en cele partie que se le devant dit seigneur trespasse par aucune contrée de sa terre. les homes alumeront le feu devant leur maisons et mettent dedens des espices très odorans et une maniere de confection qui est apelée aromate et font grant fumée pour donner bonne oudeur à leur seigneur quant il passe par là. et moult d'omes li vont alencontre. Et si comme il venoit une fois à Cambalec et l'en oi certainment de sa venue. Nostre evesque et aucuns de nos freres meneurs et moi alames alencontre de li par 11 journees et quant nous aprochames de li, je mis la crois sus un faist signe été pover estre vene comunement de tous et si tenoie en ma main un encensier; et donc nous commençâmes à chanter a haute vois: *Veni Creator*, etc.[a], et si comme nous chantions ainsi celi grant Caan[b] oi et entendi nos vois et nous fist appeler et aler a li. Et come

[a] Veni, Creator Spiritus, Mentes tuorum visita. Imple supernâ gratiâ Quae ut creasti pectora.

[b] Chien.

je vous ai dit devant, nul n'ose aprochier a son char d'un jeit d'une pierre se il nest appelé. fore ceulz qui le gardent. et si come nous alames ali la crois levée. il osta tantost son chapel de son chief, qui estoit de si grant value que nul ne le peust estimer la value du chapel et fist reverence a la crois, et je mis tantost encens en l'encensier et nostre evesque le prist et encensa ce seigneur. Et coustume est quant ceulz que ceulz qui vont a ce seigneur portent tousjours aucune chose ali offrir et gardent l'auctorité de l'ancienne loi qui dit: *Tu ne vendras pas vuide devant moi*, et pour ce nous portames pommes et l'en offrimes moult honorablement sus un trechŏuer et il prist de ces pommes et en menja comme un petit, et après ce nostre evesque li donne sa beneiçon, et quant ce fut fait il nous monstra que nous nous depçisson. si que les chevaus et la multitude des gens qui venoient apres li ne nous grevassent en aucune chose, et tantost nous nous departimes de li et alames a aucuns de ces barons qui estoient convertis a la foi Jhu Crist par nos frères et estoient en cele compaignie et leur offrimes des pommes et ils les reçurent a grant joie et en furent aussi liés comme se ce fust un grant don.

B. *Civezza.*

Adjunctio fratris Marchisini de Baxido.

"Ego frater Marchisinus de Baxido[a] fratrum Ordinis Minorum, protestor quod a fratre Oderico praedicto, dum adhuc viveret, audivi plurima quae non scripsit. Dum enim quadam vice semel Can magnus Imperator Tartarorum iret de Cambalech Sandu, ipse frater Odericus erat cum fratribus Minoribus sub umbra unius arboris iuxta viam, ubi ipse Can erat transiturus. Et cum appropinquare caepisset unus fratrum illorum, qui erat Episcopus indutus pontificali ornatu, accepit crucem, et impositam baculo in altum erexit. Tunc ii quatuor caeperunt altis vocibus hymnum: *Veni, Creator Spiritus*, decantare. Quo audito, ipse Can quaesivit a vicinioribus sibi, quid hoc esset. Cui responderunt: Illos esse quatuor rabant franci, idest religiosi christiani. Et eos ad se *vocavit*, et visa cruce, erexit se in curru, et deposito galerio capitis sui, crucem humiliter deosculabatur. Et quia statutum est, quod nullus audeat appropinquare currui suo manibus vacuis, idcirco frater Odericus parvum calathum plenum pomis pulchris obtulit ei pro xenio. At ille duo poma sustulit et de uno comedit, alterum vero gestans in manibus inde recessit. Ex quo luculenter apparet, quod ipse Cam aliquid sapit de fide catholica, et hoc per inductionem fratrum nostrorum, qui in curia sua continue commorantur. Istud autem galerium quod ob reverenciam crucis deposuit, prout audivi a fratre Oderico ex gemmis et perlis praeciosis factum est, et plus valet quam tota Marchia Tervisana. Insuper audivi a fratre Oderico, quod iste magnus Can semel in anno mittit unum de Tartaris suis, honorifice cum comitatu, ad Soldanum Babiloniae, quem Soldanus recipit cum honore.

De potencia imperatoris.

Et die pro hoc constituta iste Tartarus super unam ripam parvi rivuli stat, ponendo in manu arcum tensum cum sagittis venenatis. Soldanus vero in alia ripa manet genibus flexis et manibus complexis, indutus veste communi, in capite nihil habens. Tartarus autem eum grandi voce alloquitur, et ter interrogans dicit: Confiteris quod vitam

[a] A.S., Baiadon.

habeas per magnum Can, et es servus eius? Soldanus autem dicit cum reverencia, quod sic: Et nisi sic humiliter responderet, Tartarus eum interficeret cum sagittis. Hoc autem facit ipse Can, ut signum suae magnificenciae et potenciae manifestet."

C. *Bib. Nat.*, lat. 2584.

"Unum referam de magno Cane quod vidi. Consuetudo est in illis partibus quod quando praedictus dominus per aliquam contratam transit, homines omnes ante hospicia suorum domorum igne accedunt et aromata apponunt ac faciunt fumum, ut domino. suo transeunti odorem emittant. Et multi homines obviam sibi vadunt. Dum autem semel veniret in Cambalec et de adventu suo certitudinaliter diceretur, unus noster episcopus et aliqui nostri fratres minores et ego ivimus sibi obviam bene per duas dietas. Et dum appropinquavimus ad eum posui crucem super lignum, ita quod publice videri poterat. Ego vero habebam in manu thuribulum quod mecum detuleram. Et incepimus cantare alta voce, dicentes VENI CREATOR SPIRITUS, etc. Et dum sic cantaremus audivit voces nostras nosque vocari fecit et ad eum accedere nos jussit. Cum superius alias dictum sit, nullus audet currui suo appropinquare ad jactum lapidis nisi vocatus exceptis custodientibus eum. Et dum ivissemus ad eum cruce elevatâ, deposuit statim galerium suum sive capellum inestimabilis quasi valoris, et fecit reverentiam ipsi cruci. Statimque in thuribulum quod habebam incensum reposui, et episcopus noster de manu meâ accepit, eumque thurificavit. Accedentes ad predictum dominum semper aliquid ad offerendum secum deferunt, observantes illam legem antiquam, 'NON APPAREBIS IN CONSPECTU MEO VACUUS. Idcirco portavimus nobiscum aliqua poma [et ea] sibi super unum incisorium reverenter obtulimus. Et ipse duo accepit de ipsis pomis, et de uno aliquantulum comedit. Et deinde predictus episcopus noster ei benedictionem suam impendit. Et hoc facto nobis innuit ut recederemus ne equi post ipsum venientes et multitudo in aliquo nos offenderent. Statim vero ab eo discessimus et divertimus, et ad aliquos barones suos per fratres nostri ordinis ad fidem conversos ivimus, qui in exercitu ejus erant. Et obtulimus eis de predictis pomis. Qui cum maximo gaudio ipsa recipientes, ita videbantur laetari, ac si illis prebuissemus familiariter magnum munus."

D. *Venni.*

Quomodo presentavit Cahuam.

"Unum reffere volo de magno Chaam, quod vidi consuetudo est illis, quod quando predictus dominus per aliquam contractam transsit. homines ante hostia suarum domorum ignem accendunt. & imponunt aromata. & faciunt fumum odoris domino transseunti & multi homines ei oviam vadunt. dum autem quadam vice veniret in cambalec & de adventu suo certitudinaliter diceretur quidam noster episcopus & aliqui nostri fratres & ego ivimus sibi oviam bene per duas dietas. & cum appropinquaremus ad eum possuimus crucem super lignum ita quod publice videri poterat. ego vero habebam in manu turibulum. & incepimus cantare alta voce dicentes. veni creator spiritus, etc. & dum audisset voces nostras nos clamari fecit. & ad eum accedere iussit. nam ut supra dictum est. nullus audet currui suo appropinquare ad iactum lapidis nisi vocatur exceptis custodibus. & dum ivissemus ad

ipsum cum cruce ellevata. repossuit statim galerium suum inextimabilis quasi valoris. & fecit reverentiam ipsi cruci, statimque in turibulum quod habebam incenssum repossui & episcopus noster de manu mea accepit eumque turrificavit. accedentes vero ad ipsum dominum. semper aliquid offerendum secum ferrunt, observantes legem illam antiquam. non apparebis in conspectu meo vacuus. idcirco nobiscum tullimus aliqua poma. & ea sibi supra unum incissorium reverenter obtulimus. accepit autem duo. & de uno aliquantulum comedit. deinde episcopus noster ei benedicionem suam impendit. hoc facto inuit nobis, ut recederemus ne equi post ipsum venientes & multitudo in aliquo nos offenderet. statimque discessimus. & ad aliquos barones suos per fratres nostri ordinis ad fidem conversos ivimus qui in exercitu eius erant. & obtulimus eis de predictis pomis. qui cum maximo gaudio receperunt. & ita lactari videbantur. ac si eis maximum portavissemus munus."

E. *Ram. A.*

"Vna cosa hò a dire del gran Cane, qual ho vista ; che passando il predetto per quella contrada, tutti gli huomini auanti l' vscio di sua casa, fanna fuoco : & in quello pongono profumi, accioche quello passando gli inspirino odore, & venendo molti huomini, lo vanno ad incontrare : il qual hauendo vna volta a venir in Cabalec, & sapendosi certo della sua venuta : vn nostro Vescouo & alcuni nostri frati & io con essi in compagnia andassimo per due giornate ad incontrarlo : & essendoci a quello appropinquati, ponessimo la Croce sopra vn legno tal che si potea manifestamente da ciascuno vedere. Io haueua in mani l' incensero, qual meco haueua portato, & incominciassimo ad alta voce cantare, dicendo, Veni creator Spiritus. Qual canti hauendo il detto vdito, ne fece chiamare : & comandò, che ce gli accostassimo : che altramente non si haueressimo appropinquati : (essendo che habbiamo detto,) che nissuno, per meza archata possa, se non chiamato, appropinquarseli. Cosi a quello, auicinati, deponendo il suo capello, qual era di inestimabil valore, fe reuerentia alla nostra Croce, & subito il Vescouo, pigliando l' incensero da mano, qual io haueua, quello con il fumo dell' incenso suffumigo : & perche tutti quelli, che al detto Signore vanno seco, portano alcuna cosa ad offerirgli, seruando quella legge antica, qual dice : Non apparebis in conspectu meo vacuus : per questo noi certi frutti portassimo, quali in vn piatto gli offerissimo : de li quali ne prendette due : dell' vno delli quali ne mangiò vn poco, & a quello il predetto Vescouo dopo questo gli diede la sua benedittione. Il che fatto, comandò, che di li partissimo, acciò dalla moltitudine de' Caualli non fossimo offesi. Per il che, di la partiti, andassimo ad alcuni suoi baroni, quali certi frati del nostro medesimo ordine alla fede conuertirono, quali erano nell' essercito di costui : alli quali offerimmo del resto di quelli pomi, quali non con minor allegrezza, furno da quelli accettati, come se gli hauessimo donati grandissimi presenti."

F. *Domenichelli.*

Feste all' Imperatore.

"Una cosa io voglio contare del Gran Cane. Usanza è in quella parte che quando el ditto Signore passa per alcuna contrada, gli huomini dinanti alle lor case appigliano e fuochi et mettono in questi fuochi molte spetie, et fanno fumo per mandare l' odore al suo Signore.

52. The blessed end of Friar Odoric.

Now, the blessed man Odoric[1], after he had come back from foreign parts to his own province, to wit, the March of Treviso, became desirous of visiting the Supreme Pontiff, in order to obtain leave from him to take away with him again a body of fifty friars, no matter from what province, provided they had the will to go. So he departed from Friuli, the district of his birth. But when he got to Pisa he was seized with a sore illness which forced him to return to his own province. And so it was that in Udine, a city of Friuli, in the year of the Lord's Incarnation M.CCC.XXXI, and the day before the Ides of January, he passed triumphantly from this world to the glories of the blessed. And his virtues and miraculous powers have been there most brilliantly displayed. For through his means the blind, the

et molta gente il vanno (retro). Una fiata venendo egli in (Cambalec), et sapiendosi certamente la sua venuta, uno nostro Vescovo con alquanti Frati Minori, et io con loro insieme, gli andammo incontrò (ben più giornate); et appressandoci a lui, ponemmo la croce in su l' asta pubblicamente, sì che ogni huomo la potea vedere; et iò avea in mano uno teribolo, ch' io m' avea portato, et cominciamo a cantare ad alta boce: *Veni, creator Spiritus*, etc.: et cantando noi così, egli udi le nostre boci, et fece chiamare et fare el comandamento, che noi andassimo a lui; et così come io ho ditto di sopra, neuno s' osava appressarii a lui al carro suo a una gittata di mano, se non era chiamato, altri che quegli che guardavano lui; et quando noi andamo da lui con la croce levata, incontenente egli si levò el capello di valore inestimabile, et fece riverentia a la croce, et incontenente io misi de l' incenso nel teribolo, et diedilo in mano al Vescovo, et egli gli diede de l' incenso. Et tutti quanti che vanno a lui, sempre portano seco alcuna cosa da donargli, osservando quella legge antica che dice: *Non appropinquabis in conspectu meo vacuus*. Imperò portamo con noi alquante pome, et quelle in su uno taglieri gli presentamo con grande riverentia. Et egli ne tolse due et mangione un poco dell' una. Et poscia il Vescovo nostro gli diè la sua beneditione; et fatto questo, egli ci fece segno che ci partissomo, acciochè e cavalli et la moltitudine della giente che venia di dietro a lui, non ci offendesse. Et incontenente da lui ci partimo et venimo ad alquanti de' suoi baroni, e quali sono convertiti a la fe nostra per quegli nostri Frati, e quali erano nello stato del Gran Cane, et presentamogli di quelle pome, et eglino con grande alegrezza ricevendole, così si pareano alegrare come se noi gli avessimo fatto un grande dono."]

[1] This is from FAR., comparing BOLL.

lame, the dumb, the deaf, are, by the Lord's permission, made perfectly whole. Glory to God, Amen[1]!

[1] [We give the various versions of the text of the death of Odoric:

"Beatus autem vir Odericus[a] frater, cum anno Domini MCCCXXX de partibus infidelium ad suam provinciam remeasset, scilicet Marchiam Tervisinam, Provinciam Summi Pontificis, vedelicet domini Ioannis Vigesimi secundi, adire disposuit, ut ab eo licentiam peteret, quòd quinquaginta Fratres de quibusdam provinciis collecti, qui voluntarii essent ad eundum, secum duceret ad seminandam fidem in partibus transmarinis, Cum autem recederet de Foro Iulii unde natus erat, et venisset Pisas[b], gravi infirmitate correptus est. Eapropter ad locum suum redire compulsus est. Et veniens in Utinum, quae est civitas de Foro Iulii[c], Anno Dominicae Incarnacionis MCCCXXXI pridie Idus Ianuarii, de huius mundi naufragio transiit ad gloriam Beatorum. Sed in terris, [d]virtutibus et multis miraculis modo coruscat. Nam ad tumulum eius cœci, claudi, surdi et muti, et alii diversis morbis praegravati, per merita ipsius accipiunt graciam sanitatis[e], a Domino Iesu Christo. Hoc testificatus[f] est litteris suis in Curia Papae Patriarcha Aquilejensis, in cuius dioecesi haec fiunt. Et protestatur Styria et Karintia et multi de Italia, et regiones plurimae circumquaque."

Hakluyt.

De Morte fratris Odorici.

"Anno igitur Domini 1331. disponente se praedicto fratre Odorico ad perficiendum iter suae peregrinationis, prout mente conceperat, & etiam vt via & labor esset sibi magis ad meritum, decreuit primò praesentiam adire Domini & patris omnium summi Pontificis Domini Ioannis Papae 22. cuius benedictione obedientiàque recepta cum societate fratrum secum ire volentium ad partes infidelium se transferret: Cùmque sic eundo versus summum Pontificem, non multum distaret à ciuitate Pisana, in quadam via occurit sibi quidam senex in habitu peregrini eum salutans ex nomine, Aue (inquiens) frater Odorice: Et cùm frater quaereret quo modo ipsius haberet noticiam? Respondit, Dum eras in India noui te, tuùmque noui sanctum propositum; sed et tu modò ad conuentum vndè venisti reuertere, quia die sequenti decimo ex hoc mundo migrabis. Verbis igitur senis attonitus & stupefactus, praesertim cùm Senex ille statim post dictum ab eius aspectu disparuit; reuerti decreuit; Et reuersus est in bona prosperitate nullam sentiens grauedinem corporis, seu aliquam infirmitatem. Cúmque esset in conuentu suo Vtinensi. N. in prouincia Paduana decimo die, prout facta sibi reuelatio, accepta communione, ipsoque ad Deum disponente, etiam corpore existens incolumis in Domino feliciter requieuit: Cuius sacer obitus Domino summo Pontifici praefato sub manu Notarij publici transmittitur; qui sic scribit.

"Anno Domini 1331. decima quarta die mensis Ianuarij obijt in Christo Beatus Odoricus ordinis fratrum Minorum, cuius precibus omnipotens Deus multa, & varia miracula demonstrauit; quae ego

[a] A.S., Odoricus. [b] A.S., Pisis. [c] A.S., postridie.
[d] A.S., "Sed innumeris virtutibus & multis miraculis nunc corruscat."
[e] A.S., sanitatum. [f] A.S., testatus.

Guetelus notarius communis Vtini, filius domini Damiani de portu Gruario, de mandato & voluntate nobilis viri Domini Conradi de Buardigio Castaldionis, & consilij Vtini, scripsi, sicut potui, bona fide, & fratribus Minoribus exemplum dedi ; sed non de omnibus, quià sunt innumerabilia, & mihi difficilia ad scribendum."

We now add the

Declaration of Henry of Glatz.

"Et ego Frater Henricus, dictus de Glatz[g], qui praedicta omnia transcripsi, existens Avinioni[h] in Curia Domini Papae Anno Domini supradicto, si ibidem intellexissem[i] de felice fratre Oderico[k] a[l] sociis suis qui secum fuerant, tot perfectiones et sanctitatis[m] opera ; vix aliquibus hic per eum descriptis credere potuissem. Sed cogit[n] me vitae suae veritas, dictis eius fidem credulam adhibere. Scripsi autem haec Anno Domini MCCCXL in Pragâ, circa festum omnium Sanctorum, et copiosius ea audieram in Avinione[o p]."]

[g] Civ., Glars. [h] A.S., Avenione.
[i] A.S., "Si non intellexissem ibidem." [k] A.S., Odorico.
[l] A.S., et. [m] A.S., ejus. [n] A.S., coëgit. [o] A.S., Avenione.
[p] The Text of Father da Civezza revised with the A.S.

APPENDIX I.

LATIN TEXT OF ODORIC, FROM A MS. IN THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE.

DESCRIPTIO ORIENTALIUM PARTIUM FRATRIS ODORICI BOEMI DE FORO JULII PROVINCIÆ SANCTI ANTONII.

1. *De Trapesondâ et Armeniâ Majori*[1].

Licet alia multa et varia de ritibus et conditionibus hujus mundi a multis enarrentur, tamen est sciendum quod ego frater Odoricus de Foro Julio[2], volens transfretare et ad partes infidelium volens ire ut fructus aliquos lucri facerem animarum[3], multa magna et mirabilia audivi[4] atque vidi quæ possum veracitèr enarrare[5]. Nam primo[6] transiens Mare Majus, me[7] transtuli Trapesondam, quæ Pontus antiquitus vocabatur. Hæc terra valde est bene situata; ipsa enim est scala[8] quædam, videlicet Persarum, Medorum et omnium eorum que sunt ultra mare. In hac enim terra vidi quoddam quod michi placuit valde[9]. Nam vidi hominem quemdam secum ducentem plures quam quatuor milia perdicum. Iste homo per terram veniebat, perdices non[10] per aerem volabant; has perdices ipse ducebat ad quoddam castrum quod vocatur Canega[11], distans a Trapesonda tribus dietis. Hæc perdices hujus erant conditionis et proprietatis. Nam cum ille homo vellet quiescere vel dormire, omnes se aptabant circa eum, more pullorum gallinarum; et sic isto modo eas ducebat Trapesondam, usque

[1] These headings have been interpolated by the editor as before stated. (See Biogr. and Introd. Notices.)

[2] *Hak.* de portu Vahonis; *Mus.* de portu Nahomonis.

[3] *Bol.* Et hoc de licentiâ prælatorum meorum qui hoc concedere possunt secundum regulæ nostræ instituta.

ad palatium imperatoris. Quæ cum sic essent ante eum de eis tot accipiebat quot ipse volebat. Alias autem predictus homo ad locum de quo prius illas acceperat perducebat. In hac civitate positum est corpus Athanasii super ipsius portam civitatis[12]. Hinc recedens ivi in Armeniam Majorem, ad quamdam civitatem que vocatur Aritiron[13]; hæc civitas multum erat bona et opulenta multo tempore jam transacto, et adhuc esset nisi fuissent Tartari et Sarraceni, qui eam multum[14] destruxerunt. Nam ipsa multum inundat pane carne et aliis victualibus multis præterquam[15] vino et fructibus. Ista civitas[16] multum est frigida. De ipsa enim dicunt gentes quod altior est terra, quæ hodie habitetur in mundo[17]. Hæc autem multum habet bonas aquas, cujus ratio est hæc ut videtur. Nam venæ harum aquarum oriri videntur et scaturire a flumine Eufrate quod per unam dietam distans ab ista civitate labitur inde. Hæc autem civitas est via media, eundi Thauris. De hac recedens ivi ad quemdam montem qui vocatur Sovisacalo[18].

[4] *Bol.* a fide dignis.

[5] *Far. then has:* Præsens itaque opusculum in capitula dividens de multis gestis quæ vidi et audivi in oriente septentrione et meridie, intendo aliqua sub brevi compendio enarrare, nec intendo de singulis reddere rationem, multa nihilominus primitus mittens quæ apud multos incredibilia viderentur. Neque enim ego illa crederem nisi propriis auribus audivissem aut hæc talia respexissem. Quatuordecim annis cum dimidio in habitu almi confessoris Christi Francisci in hujusmodi partibus sum moratus. Ad petitionem reverendi fratris Guidoti tunc præsens provincialis ministri provinciæ sancti Antonii hoc breve opusculum in Paduâ compilavi. Siquid igitur studioso lectori in hoc opusculo visum fuerit divinæ bonitati et non meæ imperitiæ imputetur. Siquid autem nimis incredibile vel a veritate devium fuerit visum diligentis lectoris caritas, non mordax insultus aut latrans dente canino, corrigat et emendet.

[6] *Far.* Primo itaque de Venetiis cum galeis recedens.

[7] *Hak.* et *Mus.* de Pera juxta Constantinopolim.

[8] *Bol.* schola (!).

[9] *Ven.* . *Ut.* quoddam valde pulchrum.

[10] Miscopied probably for *vero* as in most others. *Ven. has* hominem... perdices...sequebantur.

[11] *Ven.* Zanega; *Ut.* Zanga; *Far.* Tanegar; *Hak.* Zauena; *Bol.* Tegana; *Ram.* Zanga. *The true reading doubtless* Zegana.

[12] *Ven.* Is enim est qui fecit symbolum quod incipit Quicunque vult salvus esse ante omnia opus est ut teneat catholicam fidem, etc.

[13] *Ven.* Arziron; *Ut.* Aceron; *Far.* Arzirai; *Hak.* Azaron; *Mus.* Arciron; *Bol.* Caricon; *Ram.* Acron.

[14] *Hak.* pro magnâ parte. *Far. omits* multum.

[15] *Far.* primitus *instead of* præterquam.

[16] *Ven.* regio. [17] Sit altior civitas totius universi.

[18] *Ven.* Sobissacelo; *Ut.* Sollisaculo; *Far.* Bobis (?Sobis) Sachalo; *Hak.* as in Ven ; *Mus.* ditto; *Bol.* Sarbi-Sarbolo; *Ram.* Sollisaculo; *Marr.* Sobissacallo.

In hac contrata est mons ille[1] in quo est archa Noæ. In quem libenter ascendissem si mea societas me præstolari voluisset; et quem quum ascendere voluerim tamen gens illius contratæ dicebat quod nullus unquam poterat ascendere illum montem. Nam hoc videtur et dicitur Deo altissimo non placere.

2. *De civitatibus Thauris et Soldoniâ.*

De ista contrata recedens me transtuli Thauris, civitatem magnam et regalem que Susis[2] antiquitus dicebatur. In ista ut dicitur est Arbor Sicca, in una moscheta et[3] in una ecclesia Sarracenorum: hæc civitas nobilior est et melior pro mercimoniis quam alia aliqua civitas que hodie sit in mundo. Nam non reperitur hodie aliquid in mundo quod sit comestibile[4] vel quod sit alicujus mercimonii, cujus illic magna copia non habeatur. In tantum autem est nobilis civitas illa, quod est quasi incredibile de hiis quæ illic habentur, hæc enim multum bene est posita atque sita. Nam quasi totus mundus pro mercimoniis illi correspondet civitati[5]. De hac volunt dicere Christiani quod ex ista civitate plura recipit imperator ille quam rex Franciæ habeat de toto suo regno. Penes hanc civitatem est unus mons salinus magnam copiam salis toti exhibens civitati. De hoc sale unusquisque accipit tantum quantum vult et petit et nichil alicui solvendo. In hac civitate multi Christiani cujuslibet generationis[6] commorantur, quibus ipsi Sarraceni in omnibus dominantur, multa autem alia sunt in ista civitate quæ nimis longum foret aliis enarrare. Ab hac civitate Thauris recedens ivi per decem[7] dietas ad quamdam civitatem que vocatur Soldonia[8]. In hac civitate tempore estivo moratur imperator Persarum. In yeme autem vadit ad quamdam contratam[9] que est super mare quod vocatur mare Bachuc[10]. Hæc civitas magna terra est et frigida, in

[1] *Ram.* il monte Gordico.

[2] *Bol.* Suors. *Ram.* Suci,..qual fu sotto il dominio di Assuero Re. So *Ven.*

[3] Et in *should be* id est, *as in Ven., Mus.* and *Far., Hak.* and *Bol. omit about the* Arbor secco *altogether.*

[4] *Bol. here inserts* nihil alicujus utilitatis, necessitatis, aut mercimonii.

[5] *Hak.* and *Mus. instead of the last three words* confluere potest.

[6] *Mus. has* de omni natione. [7] *Far.* has 14.

[8] *Ut., Hak.* Soldania; *Far.* Solonia; *Bol.* Soldoli.. *Marc.* Soldonia.

[9] *Bol. alone has* quæ vocatur Axam.

[10] *Ven.* Bachac; *Ut.* and *Ram.* Bacud; *Far.* Abachuc; *Hak.* and *Mus.* Bakuc; *Bol.* Abacut, *and applies the next sentence to the city on that sea;* hæc magna est et *calida*; *Marc.* Bacuch.

se habens bonas aquas, ad quam civitatem portantur multa et magna mercimonia, quæ illic venduntur.

3. *De Civitate Magorum; De Mari Arenoso, et Terrâ Huz.*

De hac civitate recedens cum caravanis et[1] cum quadam societate ivi versus Indiam Superiorem, ad quam dum sic irem per multas dietas applicui ad unam civitatem trium magorum que vocatur Cassan[2], civitatem regalem et magni honoris; verumptamen Tartari eam multum destruxerunt, hec civitas multum habundat pane et vino et multis aliis bonis. Ab hac civitate usque Iherusalem quo magi iverunt non virtute humana sed virtute divina et miraculose cum sic cito iverint, sunt bene quinquaginta dietæ. Multa autem alia sunt in hac civitate quæ non multum expedit enarrare[3]. Inde recedens ivi ad quamdam civitatem nomine Gest[4] a qua distat mare arenosum per unam dietam, quod mare est valde periculosum et mirabile. In hac civitate Gest est copia maxima victualium et omnium aliorum bonorum quæ jam dici possent: potissime autem ficuum illic copia maxima reperitur; uvæ autem siccæ et virides ut herba, et multum minutæ illic reperiuntur uberius et abundantius quam in aliqua parte mundi. Hæc est tertia melior[5] civitas quam Persarum imperator possideat in toto suo regno. De hac dicunt Sarraceni quod in ea nullus Christianus ultra annum vivere umquam valet[6]. Multa autem alia illic habentur. Ab hac recedens et transiens per multas civitates et terras ivi ad quamdam civitatem nomine Conium[7], quæ antiquitus civitas magna fuit; hæc maximum dampnum intulit Romæ tempore jam transacto: ejus autem muri bene quinquaginta miliarum sunt capaces. In ea sunt palacia integra adhuc inhabitabilia[8], tamen multis victualibus ipsa habundat. Ex hac recedens et veniens per multas terras et civitates

[1] *Should be* id est *as in Ven., who has* haravanis. *Hak.* cum quadam societate caravanorum; *Bol.* quadam soc. Tartarorum.

[2] *Ven.* Cassam; *Far.* Casim; *Hak., Mus.* Cassan; *Bol.* Casan.

[3] *Bol.* quæ scribere non curavi. *Hak.* multa mirabilia quæ pertranseo.

[4] *Far.* Iese, *perhaps* Iesd; *Ven., Hak., Mus.* and *Bol.* Gest.

[5] *Bol.* de melioribus *simply.* [6] *Far. omits* ultra annum.

[7] Sic in *Ven.*; in *Hak.* and *Ut.* Comum; in *Mus.* Comam; in *Far.* Comerum; in *Bol.* Coprum. *Marc.* Conio; *Ram.* Como; *Wadding's Annals,* Karum. Mandeville has *Cornaa.*

[8] This is also the sense in *Far. Hak. has* non habitata; *Mus.* minime tamen inhabitata; *Ven.* inhabitata tamen.

perrexi ad terram Job[1] quæ est cunctorum victualium multum pulcher situs[2]. Penes hanc terram sunt montes in quibus sunt pulcherrima pascua pro animalibus habundanter. Illic etiam melius manna et in majori copia reperitur, quam in terra aliqua quæ hodie sit in mundo. In ipsa etiam habentur quatuor bonæ perdices minores[3] quam uno grosso veneto. In ea sunt pulcherrimi senes, ubi homines nent et filant, mulieres vero non. Hæc terra correspondet a capite Caldeæ versus tramontanam[4].

4. *De Moribus Caldeorum; de Indiâ infra terram et Ormes.*

Exinde exiens ivi in Caldeam que est regnum magnum, ad quam dum sic irem ivi per juxta turrim Babel quæ per quatuor dietas forte distat ab ea[5]. In hac Caldea est sua lingua propria[6]; in quâ sunt pulchri homines, mulieres vero turpes. Illi homines compti vadunt et ornati, ut hic nostræ incedunt mulieres. Qui homines super capita sua sunt portantes fasciola aurea et de perlis, mulieres autem sunt ferentes solum unam vilem interulam[7] attingentem usque ad genua, habentemque manicas largas et longas quod usque ad terram ipsæ attingunt: hæc autem mulieres ambulant discalciatæ portantes sarabulas[8] usque ad terram. Hæc tricas et diezas (?) non portant sed earum capilli undique disparguntur. Hic autem sicut homines post ipsas vadunt mulieres, ita illic prius homines mulieres incedunt[9]. Alia autem multa in hac civitate sunt que non multum expedit enarrare. Hinc ego recedens veni in Indiam quæ est infrà terram quam ipsi Tartari multum destruxerunt. In ea sunt homines ut plurimum[10] tantum datulos comedentes, quorum xlii libræ[11] minori uno grosso illic habentur.

[1] *Ven.* nomine Hus, sic in *Far.*, *Hak.*, *Mus.* *Bol. has* Ur; *Marc. has only* città la quale ha nome Hus. *The introduction of Job's name is probably interpolated.*

[2] *Hak.* and *Mus.* omnium victualium plenissima est, et pulcherrime situata. *Bol.* has nearly the same.

[3] *Should be* minoris *or* pro minori *as in the other manuscripts.*

[4] *Hak.* correspondet Chaldeæ versus transmontana.

[5] *Hak.* omits the distance.

[6] *Ram.* Nella ditta Caldea è il vero idioma Caldeo qual noi chiamamo lingua Caldea.

[7] *Hak.* and *Mus.* camisiam; *Bol.* tunicellam.

[8] *Sic Ven.* et *Mus.*; *Ut.* cerabulas; *Hak.* Serablans; *Bol.* scrobullas.

[9] *Par.* 2 *has* hæc etiam mulieres vadunt post viros sicut apud nos viri post mulieres. Et alia multa.

[10] *Bol. instead of* ut plurimum *has* pulchri.

[11] *Mus. has* quatuor libræ, et pro minori quarteria uno grosso. *Ram.* 40 libre.

Sic etiam de aliis multis. Ex hac India recedens et transiens per multas contratas ad mare occeanum ego veni: prima autem terra quam inveni vocatur Ormes, que est terra multum et bene murata, terra multorum ac magnorum mercimoniorum. In ea tantus et ita immensus calor est quod pilia[1] et testiculi homini exeunt coram et descendunt usque ad dimidium tibiarum. Ideo que gens illius contratæ si vivere volunt sibi faciunt unam unctionem qua illa ungunt. Nam aliter homines penitus morerentur, et dum sic sunt uncta in quibusdam sacculis illa ponunt circumcirca se cingentes.

5. *De Navigio ferrum nullum habente, in quo se transtulit Fr. Odoricus Tanam Indiæ.*

In hac contrata homines utuntur navigio quod vocatur Iasse siccum solem spago[2]. In unum istorum navigiorum ego ascendi in quo nullum ferrum potui in aliquo[3] reperire. In quod dum sic ascendissem in xxviii[4] dietis me transtuli usque ad Tanam[5] in qua pro fide Christi gloriosum martirium passi fuerunt quatuor nostri fratres minores: hæc terra multum bene est situata. In ea magna copia panis et vini et arborum reperitur. Hæc terra antiquitus fuit valde magna. Nam ipsa fuit terra regis Pori[6], qui cum rege Alexandro prælium maximum commisit[7]: hujus terræ populus ydolatrat. Nam adorant ignem, serpentem et arbores. Hanc terram regunt Sarraceni qui eam ceperunt violenter, nunc subjacentes Daldili[8]. In hac reperiuntur diversa genera bestiarum. In qua potissime sunt leones nigri in maxima quantitate. Sunt autem symiæ et gattimaymones[9], et noctuæ[10] ita magnæ sicut habentur hic columbæ. Hi etiam mures sunt ita magni sicut hic

[1] *Ven.* and *Far.* parilia *for* virilia *as in Hak.* and *Mus.*

[2] *Should be* sutum solo spago *as in Mus. Hak. has* sutum sparto; *Ven.* sutum solum spegio; *Bol. has* navigio quod vocatur Iassefutum, *an obvious misreading. Marc. has* vase *for the name of the shipping.*

[3] *Should be* aliqua parte *as in Mus. Bol. has* in quo nullum Fratrum potui reperire, *an absurd misreading.*

[4] *Ram.* vinti giorni.

[5] *This is* Cavam *in the transcript made for me; probably a misreading. Ven. has* Tanam, *the others* Thanam *or* Thana, *except Bol. which has* Chanaam; *Marc.* Tana, *Ram.* Thana.

[6] *Bol. has* Ponti vel Parti.

[7] *Mus.* sicut in vitâ ejusdem Alexandri plenius invenitur.

[8] *Hak. has* regis Daldilo: *all have this name nearly the same.*

[9] *The Italian Marc. has* cocoveggie, 'screech owls,' *but bats are meant.*

[10] *Bol.* cathi magni.

sunt canes scherpi[1]. Ideoque illic canes capiunt mures (quia) muriligæ seu katti ad hoc nihil valent[2]. In hac contrata quilibet homo ante domum suam habet unum pedem faxiolorum[3] ita magnum sicut hic una esset columpna; hic pes faxiolorum minime desiccatur dum modo sibi exhibeatur aqua, et multæ aliæ novitates sunt illic quas multum pulchrum esset audire. In hac contrata quæ Tana nuncupatur, ut jam dictum est, passi sunt gloriosum martirium quatuor fratres minores pro fide Christi quod per hunc modum habetur.

6. *Martyrium iv. Fratrum in civitate Tanæ.*

Dum predicti fratres essent in Ormes, passi[4] fuerunt cum una navi ut irent Polumbum[5]; in qua dum essent portati fuerunt malo suo velle[6], usque ad Tanaim ubi sunt xv domus Christianorum, scilicet Nestorinorum, qui sunt scismatici et heretici. Et dum sic essent istic sibi invenerunt hospicium, et hospitati sunt in domo cujusdam illorum. Dum autem sic manerent illic, orta fuit quædam lis inter virum illius domus et ejus uxorem quam ille sero ipse fortiter verberavit. Dum vero sic esset verberata et quæsta fuit coram lo cadi[7] uno episcopo in lingua sua. Quam mulierem ipse cadi interrogavit si probare posset quæ dicebat. Tunc autem ipsa respondit dicens se bene probare posse. Nam quatuor Raban Franchi scilicet quatuor viri religiosi in lingua nostra, illic erant in domo cum michi hoc fecit: hos interrogate, qui vobis dicent veritatem. Ipsa autem muliere sic loquente, unus de Alexandria ibi præsens rogavit Cadi ut mitteret pro eis quos dicebat homines maxime scientiæ et scripturas bene scire. Ideoque dicebat bonum esse de fide disputare cum eis. Quod audiens sic ipse Cadi misit pro eis, qui dum sic ante eum adducti fuissent isti quatuor fratres, scilicet frater Thomas de Tolentino de Marchia Anchonitana, frater Jacobus de Padua, frater

[1] *Far. only has* porci parvi; *Ven. has* sarpi sive canes; *Hak.* sicut sunt hinc scepi; *Mus.* scolpi id est canes tales; *Bol.* sicut in terris nostris canes qui dicuntur Depi. *Marc. also has* scherpi.

[2] *Far. omits* quia...valent.

[3] *Ven.* plantam unam fasiolorum; *Hak.* fasciculorum; *Mus.* fasciolorum; *Far.* omits the sentence entirely.

[4] For *pacti* as in *Ven.*, etc.

[5] *Mus.* Polumbrum.

[6] *Hak. has* violenter deportati sunt; *Mus.* vellent nollent.

[7] *Ut. also has* Locadi; *the others* Cadi *or* Kadi, id est episcopo. *Ven.* mane conquesta est cadi, etc.

Demetrius[1] qui erat frater laycus sciens linguas, et frater Petrus de Senis domi ut res custodiret[2], ad ipsum Cadi perrexerunt. Dum sic essent coram lo Cadi[3], ipse cum ipsis disputare cœpit de fide nostra. Cum autem illi infideles sic disputarent cum istis, dicebant Christum solum purum hominem et non Deum. Quod cum sic dixissent, ille frater Thomas Christum esse unum Deum et hominem probavit rationibus, et exemplis in tantum eos confudit Sarracenos quod penitus ipsi contrarium dicere non volebant[4].

7. *Idem.*

Tunc videns ille Cadi se sic esse confusum ab eis, coram toto populo clamare cœpit voce magna dicens: Et tu quid dicis de Machometo? Quid dicis de Machometo Nunc autem istam consuetudinem habent Sarraceni, qui si se verbis defendere non possunt se ensibus tuentur et pugnis. Dum autem eum interrogasset sic Cadi[5], responderunt fratres dicentes, si tibi probavimus rationibus et exemplis Christum verum Deum et hominem esse qui legem dedit in terra, et Machometus exinde venit qui legem contrariam isti fuit; si sapiens es, quid sit de Deo tu optime scire potes. Tunc ille cadi et alii Sarraceni alta voce dicentes clamabant: Tu quid in tantum[6] dicis de Machometo? Tunc frater Thomas respondit: Vos tantum dicere poteritis de eo quid dico, quod tacere hoc nimium verecundabor unum ex quo me vultis respondere vobis[7]. Respondeo vobis et dico quod Machometus filius perditionis est, et est cum dyabulo patre ejus positus in inferno; non solum ipse sed et omnes qui hanc legem tenent et observant. Cum ipsa sit pestifera nequam et falsa totaque contra domini[8] et animarum salutem. Hoc audientes Sarraceni omnes alta voce unanimiter clamare cœperunt[9]; Malum dixerunt de propheta! et tunc ceperunt fratres et eos in sole vinxerunt ut

[1] *Bol.* Zorzanus.

[2] *This should be as is noted in the margin,* dimisso fratre Petro domi, etc. It is thus in *Far.*, *Hak.* and *Mus.* *Ven. has* ut rex custodiret, *a slip.*

[3] Better with these last words omitted from *ad ipsum* as in *Ven.*

[4] *Hak. omits from* nunc autem. [5] *Should be* de eo, *as in the other MSS.*

[6] *Ven.* and *the others have* iterum.

[7] *Mus. has* Tu inscius quid dico de eo videre potes? tamen ex quo vultis quod plane vobis respondeo, dico, etc. *Hak.* Vos omnes videre potestis quod dico de eo, etc. The others have nearly the same as above.

[8] Dominum. *Ven.* Deum.

[9] *Ven.* Moriatur! Moriatur! quod malum, etc.

virtute caloris intensi duram[1] paterentur mortem. Cum illic tantus sit calor ut si quis per spatium unius missæ perseveraret in sole, ipse penitus moreretur. Et tum illic in sole fuerunt laudantes et glorificantes Deum, a tertia usque ad nonam semper, ylares et sani. Sic hoc videntes Sarraceni inter se consilium habuerunt et ad fratres venerunt dicentes: Volumus accendere magnum et copiosum ignem in quem vos projiciemus; et si ut dicitis[2] ita sit vera, ignis vos non comburet; si autem falsa sit et mala, penitus vos comburemini ab igne[3]. Tunc fratres responderunt eis dicentes: Parati sumus intrare ignem et carcerem, et quidquid nos, cadi, poteris facere pro fide nostra, semper invenies nos paratos, verum tamen unum facere debes[4], quod si ignis nos comburet, non hoc credas ex fide nostra procedere, sed solum ex peccatis nostris, cum propter peccata nostra nos bene comburi permitteret ipse Deus, hoc semper salvo, quod fides nostra ita perfecta est et bona sicut in mundo umquam esse posset. Nam ab hac non est in mundo alia fides, nec esse potest quæ salvum faciat aliquem nisi ista.

8. *Idem.*

Dum autem sic ordinatum esset quod isti fratres conburi deberent vox evolavit et fama corruit per totam illam terram[5]. Itaque tunc omnes de dicta terra tam parvi[6] quam magni tam homines quam mulieres ad hoc finaliter intuendum penitus occurrerunt. Ipsi autem fratres ducti fuerunt super medanum[7], scilicet super plateam civitatis, ubi accensus erat ignis valde copiosus. Qui dum sic accensus esset, frater Thomas ibat ad projiciendum se in ignem. Et dum vellet se in ignem se projicere quidam Sarracenus eum per capucium cepit dicens: Non vadas tu illuc cum sis senex. Nam super te aliquod experimentum[8] habere possis, propter quod ignis te comburere non posset. Sed alium ire permittas. Tunc statim quatuor Sarraceni fratrem Jacobum de Padua violenter ceperunt, eum in ignem projicere

[1] *Ven.* diram; *Mus.* durissimam.

[2] *Ven.* ut ducitis.

[3] *Hak.* si autem vos combusserit patebit quod fides vestra nulla sit; *and Mus.* nearly the same. *The others nearly as here.*

[4] *Ven.* sciatis.

[5] *Ven.* Vox et fama per totam civitatem intonuit. *Far.* Vox evolavit et fama insonuit.

[6] *Ven.* pueri.

[7] *Hak. omits* medanum.

[8] *Hak.* carmen aliquid vel experimentum.

satagentes, quibus ipse dixit: Me permittatis quia libens in hunc ignem projiciam memet ipsum[1]. Ipsi autem ad sua verba non attendentes statim in ignem[2] projecerunt. Dum autem sic eum in ignem projecissent, et ipse sic in igne permaneret, ignis tam altus et tam magnus ipse erat quod nullus eum unquam poterat intueri; ejus tamen vocem audiebant invocantis semper nomen Virginis gloriosæ. Tunc igne totaliter consumpto ipse frater Jacobus stabat super prunas lætus et gaudens, cum manibus in modum crucis in cœlum levatis, mente integra et puro corde dominum semper laudando. Et quamquam ignis fulcit ita magnus et copiosus, nichil tamen de eo[3] læsum vel combustum breviter fuit inventum. Hoc videns populus cœpit unanimiter exclamare, dicens: Isti sunt sancti, isti sunt sancti! Nephas est offendere eos. Nam merito videmus quod fides sua sancta est et bona! Hoc dicto frater ille Jacobus vocatus fuit de igne, et sic sanus exivit et illæsus. Tunc hoc videns, lo cadi[4] voce magna cœpit clamare dicens: Sanctus non est, sanctus non est! sed ideo non comburitur quod tunica quam habet in dorso est tela terræ Abrahæ. Ideo nudus expolietur et in ignem sic mittatur. Ut autem finaliter hoc compleretur venerunt pessimi Sarraceni et in duplo plus quam prius ignem accenderunt. Et tunc fratrem Jacobum exuerunt, cujus corpus insuper abluerunt, et ipsum optime oleo perunxerunt, et ut ignis major esset et fortius ageret et arderet, et ad hoc ut ipse frater citius comburi posset, oleum in struem lignorum in copiam maximam dejecerunt, et ipsum fratrem Jacobum in ignem cum impetu impulerunt. Frater autem Thomas et frater Demetrius de foris stabant genibus flexis in orationibus magnis et devotionibus persistentes, et sic frater Jacobus ignem iterum exivit illæsus sicut et prius fecit.

9. *Idem.*

Hoc videns populus unanimiter clamabat dicens: Peccatum est, peccatum est offendere eos quoniam sancti sunt! Et sic in populo rumor maximus habebatur. Hoc secundum miraculum videns Lomelic, scilicet Potestas, ad se fratrem Jacobum vocavit et eum se suis fecit indui vestimentis. Et dixit: Vadete fratres,

[1] *Mus.* pro fide meâ libenter ignem intrabo. So in *Hak.* also.
[2] *Mus.* turpiter. *Hak.* violenter.
[3] *Hak.* nec pannus nec capillus læsus per ignem inventus.
[4] *The others have not the* lo.

ite cum gratia Dei, quia nullum malum patiemini vos a nobis. Nam bene videmus vos esse bonos et sanctos, et fidem vestram esse veram et sanctam et bonam finaliter nos videmus. Sed ut vobis securius consulamus vos hanc terram exite quam citius potestis, quia ipse Cadi pro posse nititur et laborat vobis auferre vitam. Dum hoc sic diceret, completorium quasi erat, et tunc totus populus ydolatræ omnesque alii, stupefacti et exterriti, dicentes permanebant: Tot et tanta magna mirabilia vidimus nos ab istis, quod nescimus quid nos tenere debeamus et observare! Dum sic dixissent tunc Lomelic[1] accipi fecit illos tres fratres quos ipse portari fecit ultra quoddam brachium maris per aliquantulum spacium ab illa terra, ubi burgum unum erat, ad quod ille in cujus jam domo fuerant hospitati illos sociavit[2], et sic in domo unius ydolatræ sibi hospicium invenerunt. Dum sic autem illic manerent perrexit cadi ad Lomelic dicens ei; Quid facimus? lex Machometi destructa est, nec[3] aliud fiat, nam isti Raban Franchi (scilicet viri religiosi), nunc ibunt predicando per totam contratam istam, et cum tot et tanta fecerunt ipsi in hac contrata, quæ totus populus jam vidit, omnes convertentur ad eos, et sic lex Machometi aliquid ulterius non valebit. Verumptamen ut ipsa totaliter non sit destructa, tu unum scire debes, quod Machometus precepit in Alchoran (scilicet in lege sua) quod si aliquis unum interficeret Christianum tantum meritum ipse haberet ut si iret ad Mecham. (Unum scire vos debetis quod Alchoran lex Sarracenorum est sicut Christianorum est lex evangelium. Mecha est locus ubi jacet Machometus, ad quam Mecham vel locum sic vadunt Sarraceni sicut Christiani pergunt ad Sepulchrum[4].) Tum Lomelic respondit Cadi dicens; Vade et facias sicut tu vis.

10. *Idem.*

Hoc dicto, statim ille Cadi accepit quatuor homines armatos ut irent ad interficiendum istos fratres, qui dum sic transissent quamdam aquam facta est nox. Et sic illo sero illos non potuerunt invenire. Statimque Lomelic capi fecit omnes illos

[1] *Hak.* Melich. *Mus.* Melik.

[2] The immediately preceding words are wanting in *Mus.*

[3] *Ven.* nisi; *Far.* ni, *one of which is required.*

[4] The whole of this is expressed in *Mus.* in quite different and more diffused language; but, as the meaning is the same, the variations are not worth specifying.

Christianos qui erant in terra, et eos carceri mancipavit. Cum autem perventum esset ad dimidium noctis, tunc fratres ut dicerent matutinum surrexerunt, et tunc homines illi qui missi fuerant ad eos illos invenerunt, et illos extra terram sub arbore quadam adduxerunt. Dum autem sic illi adduxissent ipsos eis dicebant, Vos scire debetis quod mandatum habemus ab ipso Cadi et Lomelic, ut vos interficere debeamus, quod tamen adinplemus nos invite, cum sitis vita bona homines et sancti. Sed tamen nos aliter facere non valemus. Nam si suæ non obediremus jussioni, nos cum liberis nostris et uxoribus penitus morereniur. Hiis isti fratres responderunt sic dicentes: Vos qui huc venistis ut per mortem temporalem vitam æternam valeamus adipisci, quod vobis est preceptum facite. Nam pro fide nostra et amore Domini nostri Jhesu Christi[1], quæ nobis adhibetis nos tormenta parati sumus viriliter sustinere. Unde sic istis audacter respondentibus et constantius, Christianus ille qui eos associaverat, et illi quatuor homines mali, multum ad invicem altercabant[2]. Nam eis respondebat Christianus et dicebat: Si gladium aliquem ego haberem aut quod vultis non fieret aut me cum ipsis neci finaliter daretis. Tunc illi fecerunt fratres expoliari. Statimque frater Thomas junctis manibus simul in modum crucis capitis abscisionem suscepit. Sed fratrem Jacobum unus percussit in capite et eum usque ad oculos scidit, statimque caput abscidit. Frater autem Demetrius uno gladio in mamilla fortissime fuit percussus. Exinde sibi caput fuit abscisum. Dum autem sic ex martirio suo animas Deo dedissent, statim aer ita lucidus et ita clarus est effectus, quod cuncti fortissime mirabantur; similiter, et luna maximam ostendit claritatem et splendorem. Statim autem post hoc tot et tanta tonitrua et fulmina atque choruscationes evenerunt, quod pene omnes mori finaliter se credebant. Navis etiam illa quæ debebat eos portare Polumbum et portati fuerunt usque ad Canam[3] contra velle suum, taliter fuit submersa, quod de ea et omnibus qui erant in illa nichil unquam breviter scitum fuit.

[1] *Hak.* et *Mus.* qui pro nobis crucifigi et mori dignatus est.

[2] *Mus.* multum audacter et constanter cum illis quatuor armatis altercatus est.

[3] *For* Tanam.

11. *Idem.*

Mane autem facto misit Cádi acceptum res illorum fratrum et tunc inventus fuit frater Petrus de Senis, trium aliorum fratrum socius. Quum eum sic reperissent ipsum ceperunt et eum duxerunt ad Cadi; quem ipse Cadi et alii Sarraceni alloquentes sibi maxima promittebant, si fidem suam vellet abnegare et illam Machometi integraliter confiteri. Ipsi autem dum sic sibi loquerentur, ipse de eis trufabatur et eos mirabiliter deridebat. Eo autem sic ipsos deridente, ipsum tormentare cœperunt a mane usque ad meridiem, diversis generibus tormentorum. Quod quamquam sic ei inferrent semper tamen in fide immobilis permanebat et constanter, illorum falsam ostendendo et eam viriliter destruendo. Cum autem videntes Sarraceni a sua non velle discedere voluntate, illum super quemdam arborem suspenderunt, in quam a nona usque ad noctem ipse permansit. Cum autem ad noctem fuit perventum, de arbore ipsum acceperunt sine aliqua læsione de mundo. Hoc illi videntes[1] ipsum per medium diviserunt, et mane facto nichil de eo breviter fuit inventum. Verumtamen uni personæ fide dignæ fuit revelatum quod Deus occultaverat ejus corpus usque ad certum tempus, in quo tamen sibi placuerit ipse illud manifestabit. Ut autem Deus opem ostenderet quod eorum animæ jam regna celestia obtinebant[2], illa die qua beatissimi fratres gloriosi martires sunt effecti, ille Lomelic dormitioni se dedit; qui dum sic in lecto dormiret ecce sibi apparuerunt isti martires gloriosi lucidi, ut sol ac splendidi, singulos enses in suis manibus retinentes, et super Lomelic taliter eos vibrantes ac si dividere voluerunt ipsum totum. Quod videns ipse Lomelic voce sic alta cepit clamare. Quid ad ejus clamorem tota ipsius familia occurrit festinanter petens ab eo quid ipse haberet atque vellet. Ipsum autem dum sic interrogassent ipse respondit dicens: Illi Raban Franchi quos interfici feci huc ad me venerunt suis ensibus, quos habebant, occidere me volentes. Ideoque ipse Lomelic misit pro Cadi cui totum, quod sibi acciderat enarravit, consulens ipsum quid de hoc esset finaliter peragendum, cum se crederet ab eis penitus interire. Tunc Cadi sibi consuluit ut pro eis magnam elemosinam exhiberet, si vellet

[1] *Hak.* videntes illum lætum vivum et illæsum.

[2] *Hak.* ostenderet animas suorum martyrum jam in cœlis consistere et congaudere cum Deo et angelis et aliis sanctis ejus. *Mus. nearly the same. Ven. omits.*

evadere de istorum manibus interfectorum. Tunc statim misit pro illis Christianis quos ipse in carcere detinebat, qui cum venissent ad eum, ipse indulgentiam ab eis de eo quod sibi fieri fecerat humiliter postulavit, faciens se socium eorum et fratrem. Hoc autem facto tunc precepit ut si quis unquam offenderet aliquem Christianum ipse penitus moreretur; et sic omnes illæsos abire permisit. Post hoc autem ipse Lomelic eis quatuor moschetas, scilicet iiii eclesias fecit edificari, in quarum qualibet quosdam sacerdotes Sarracenos fecit morari.

12. *Idem.*

Audiens ipse imperator Doldali[1] istos fratres talem subiisse sententiam, misit et ordinavit ut ipse Lomelic penitus caperetur, et ipse ad eum vinctis manibus duceretur. Qui cum ante eum sic fuisset adductus, eum interrogabat quare mori fecerat tam crudeliter istos fratres. Cum autem interrogatus sic fuisset, respondit ei: Istos fratres sic mori permisi quia ipsi subvertere volebant legem nostram, et malum etiam dixerunt de propheta. Tunc sibi dixit imperator: Tu, crudelissime canis, cum vidisti quod Deus bis liberavit eos ab igne, quo modo fuisti sic ausus ut eis talem mortem inferres. Hæc cum dixisset, eum cum tota familia sua per medium scindi fecit. Et quia talem mortem istos fratres[2] in suum meritum fecit sustinere, hoc ipse passus fuit tantum in detrimentum[3]. In hac autem contrata consuetudo quædam observatur. Nam nunquam corpus aliquod sepelitur, sed ipsa corpora solum in campaneis dimittuntur, et ex nimio calore cito destruuntur et consumuntur. Verum corpora horum fratrum bene quatuordecim diebus illic fuerunt in sole, et ita recentia et integra sunt inventa sicut erant illa die qua passi fuerunt suum martirium gloriosum. Sic autem videntes qui in illa terra aderant Christiani, sua corpora acceperunt, quæ postea sepulturæ tradiderunt[4].

[1] *Ven.* Dodoli; *Far.* Dodili; *Mus.* Dodili; *Hak.* Dodsi; *Marc.* dol Dali.

[2] *Mus.* Petro de Senis. *Hak.* fratri.....inflixerat.

[3] *Far.* Cadi autem hoc audiens de terra illa atque de imperatoris dominio clam fugit. *Hak. also ending* et sic evasit. *Mus.* et evasit.

[4] *Here Far. alone has* "Passi autem fuerunt hi beati martyres pro fide Christi martyrium gloriosum anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Jhesu Christi MIII.....".

13. *Fr. Odoricus colligit ossa fratrum; miracula per illa operata.*

Tunc ego frater Odoricus de suo sciens martirio glorioso illuc ivi,—et sua corpora ego accepi quæ jam fuerunt tradita sepulturæ[1]. Quia per sanctos suos Deus ipse multa et magna mirabilia operatur, per istos voluit potissime operari. Nam ego frater Odoricus cum ossa istorum fratrum sic accepissem et pulchris toaleis[2] alligassem, ipsa in Indiam Superiorem ad unum locum nostrorum fratrum cum uno socio et famulo deferebam[3]. Dum autem ea sic portarem, ibi domo cujusdam habui hospitari[4], et ipsa ossa, imo potius reliquiæ sanctæ dici debent, supposui capiti meo et me dedi dormitioni. Et dum sic dormirem ipsa domus a Sarracenis subito fuit accensa, ut me facerent mori[5]. Alta voce populi universi [sic]. Nam hoc est imperatoris preceptum ut cujus domus accenditur[6] ipse penitus moriatur. Ipsa domo sic accensa socius meus cum famulo exivit domum, me in ea cum ossibus remanente, qui dum sic essem in domo jam ardente, ossa horum fratrum ego accepi et[7] in uno angulo ipsius me aptavi[8]. Sic autem igne domum comburente, tres anguli ipsius domus fuerunt combusti, illo solo in quo eram remanente: me autem sic in illo angulo residente, ignis desuper me aderat non me lædens nec ipsius domus angulum comburens; quamdiu autem in domo cum istis ossibus permanebam, ignis nunquam descendebat sed ad modum æris[9] ipse desuper residebat. Cum autem domum egressus fuissem, tunc ipsa totaliter fuit combusta, non solum ipsa sed et multæ aliæ quæ illi contiguæ videbantur, et sic inde illæsus exivi.

[1] *Bol.* et apertis sepulchris suscepi ossa eorum humiliter et devote.

[2] Toaleis, *towels*. *Ven. has* manutergiis; *Mus.* tuallis.

[3] *Here Bol. has* omnipotens quoque Deus qui per prophetam mirabilis in sanctis suis dicitur, etiam per istos sanctos sua voluit mirabilia demonstrare.

[4] *Bol.* et cum cum socio pergerem ad quiescendum.

[5] *Mus.* tanquam reus (reum) illius ignis accensi.

[6] *Mus.* ut si quis reus incendii domus esset. *These two last variations seem to be glosses.*

[7] *Bol.* et invocato Dei auxilio.

[8] *Bol.* Mira Dei clementia qui se pie clamantibus non elongat:

[9] *Ut. has* ad modum crucis extensus, *which seems an arbitrary embellishment of the copyist.*

14. *Idem.*

Aliud quoque insuper evenit quod michi accidit in eundo Nam dum sic per mare cum istis ossibus ego irem ad unam civitatem quæ vocatur Polumpum[1], ubi piper nascitur habundanter, nobis defecit totaliter ipse[2] ventus. Quapropter venerunt ydolatræ suos deos adorantes ut eis ventum prosperum exhiberent, quem illis tamen dare minime potuerunt. Deinde venerunt Sarraceni, et ut etiam ventum haberent multum laboraverunt, et tum illum suis supplicacionibus nunquam habere potuerunt. Deinde michi et socio meo preceptum fuit ut orationes ad Deum nostrum fundere deberemus[3]; quatenus nobis finaliter exhiberet. Qui si haberi posset nobis honorem maximum exhiberent, et ut alii hoc intelligere non possent, ille rector navis Armorice[4] [*sic*] fuit locutus dicens: Si ventus haberi non posset hæc ossa nos projiciemus in mare. Tunc ego hæc et socius audientes orationes, fecimus ipsi Deo; qui videntes ventum haberi non posse, ad honorem Virginis gloriosæ multas missas promisimus celebrare si ventum possemus nos in aliquo tunc habere. Cum autem ventum nos habere minime poteramus[5], tunc accipiens ex ossibus istis unum, ipsum dedi famulo nostro ut iens ad caput[6] navis ipsum in mare projiceret festinanter. Tunc ipso osse in mari sic projecto, statim ventus ita nobis effectus est prosper, quod nunquam nobis defecit donec accessimus nos ad portum, ad quem meritis istorum fratrum devenimus cum salute.

15. *Idem.*

Cum autem illic in Polumbo fuimus nos ad portum, aliam navim nomine Lonclum[7] nos ascendimus ut jam dictum est. In

[1] *Should be* Polumbum, *as in Ven.*, *Far.*, *Mus.*; *Hak. has* Polumbrum; *Marc.* Polumbo et Polombo.

[2] *Bol.* necessarius nobis.

[3] *Boll.* Posthæc mihi et socio meo mandarunt cuncti qui erant in navi dicentes: Vos surgentes adorate Dominum Deum vestrum; si vestris orationibus salutem consequamur honorem vobis maxime impendemus; sin autem, vos cum ossibus istis in pelago submergemus.

[4] *For* Armenice *as in Ven.* and all the others.

[5] *Boll.* ego clamavi ad Dominum Jesum Christum ut per merita istorum Fratrum dignaretur nostrum desiderium exaudire

[6] *Far. has* apodium navis.

[7] *Ven.* Zuncum; *Ut.* Zocum; *Far.* Cocum; *Mus.* Conchum; *Hak.* has omitted the term; as also *Boll.*, *Marc.* Zochi.

Indiam Superiorem nos venimus ad quamdam civitatem Zaiton[1], in qua sunt duo loca nostrorum fratrum, ut ibi istas reliquias sanctas poneremus. Nunc autem in ista navi erant bene septingenti[2], inter alios homines et mercatores[3]. Nunc ydolatræ isti hanc consuetudinem in se habent. Nam antequam ipsi applicent ad portum, per totam inquirunt navim ut videant quid esset in ea, maxime si sibi essent ossa mortuorum, quæ si reperirent[4], illa in mare projicerent ipsi statim, et habentibus illa mortis periculum maximum immineret[5]. Cum autem sic requirerent, sed[6] in magna fuerint quantitate, nunquam tum illa invenire in aliquo potuerunt[7]. Sic autem dante Deo illa ad locum nostrorum fratrum tulimus diligenter, ubi cum honore et reverentia maxima fuerunt posita condecenter[8]. Et sic multa alia operatur omnipotens Deus per istos sanctos fratres, cum adhuc hoc habeatur apud ydolatras et Sarracenos. Nam cum ipsi morbo aliquo detinentur, vadunt et accipiunt de terra illa in qua fuerunt imperfecti[9], illam abluentes. Quæ cum sit ipsa lota, eam bibunt, statimque ab infirmitatibus suis totaliter liberantur[10].

16. *Quomodo habeatur Piper; De regno Minibar.*

Ut autem sciamus quomodo habeatur piper, sciendum est quod in imperio[11] quodam ad quod applicui nomine Mimbar[12] nascitur ipsum piper; et non in aliqua parte mundi nascitur nisi ibi[13]. Nemus enim in quo nascitur ipsum piper continet bene in

[1] *Ven.* Caytam; *Ut.* Zaytum; *Far.* Caitam; *Mus.* Caychan; *Hak.* Carchan; *Boll.* Sandon; *Ram.* Zailo.

[2] *Mus. absurdly has* in illa autem navicula erant bene LXX Christiani.

[3] *Ven.* inter naûtas et mercatores.

[4] *Ven.* quod si mortuorum ossa reperta essent, statim, etc.

[5] *Ven. has* dicentes habentibus...imminere. *Hak.* Et per hoc bonum portum attingere et mortis periculum evadere crederent

[6] *Ven. has* licet.

[7] *Mus. embellishes,* licet...illa frequenter tangerent, semper tamen eorum oculi sic miraculose delusi fuerunt, quod illa minimę perpenderunt; *Hak. has nearly the same; Boll.* Domino Deo qui absconderat animas eorum in abscondito faciei suæ, ossa eorum ab infidelibus occultante.

[8] *Hak.* Ubi in pace requiescunt. [9] *For* interfecti.

[10] *Boll.* præstante Domino nostro Jesu Christo.

[11] *Far. has absurdly* in pipere.

[12] *Ven.* Minibar; *Hak.* Do; *Far.* Minibarum; *Mus.* Mimbar; *Boll.* Ezaminibar; *Ram.* Muubar.

[13] *Ven.* Nusquam alibi; *Hak.* in nulla parte mundi tantum quantum ibi; *Far.* non...nisi ibi.

se xviii dietas. Et in ipso nemore sunt duæ civitates, una nomine Flandrina[1], altera vero Zinglin[2]. In ista Flandrina habitancium aliqui sunt Judæi, aliqui vero Christiani. Inter has duas civitates[3] bellum intestinum semper habetur, ita tamen quod Christiani semper superant et vincunt Judæos. In hac contrata habetur piper per hunc modum. Nam primo nascitur in foliis quasi heleræe[4], quæ folia juxta magnas arbores plantantur sicut hic nostræ ponuntur vites; hæc folia producunt fructum ut uvarum racemi producuntur. In tanta autem producunt quantitate quod quasi videntur frangi. Cum autem ipsum erit maturum viridis est coloris. Et sic vindemiatur ut hic vindemiantur uvæ, ponendo[5] illud in solem ut desiccetur, quod cum desiccatum est ipsum in vasis collocatur[6]. In hōc etiam nemore sunt flumina in quibus sunt multæ malæ cocoldrigæ[7] (scilicet multi mali serpentes)[8]. A capite nemoris istius versus meridiem civitas quædam habetur nomine Polumbum[9] in qua nascitur melius zinziber quod nascatur in mundo. Tot et tanta sunt mercimonia in ista civitate quod multis incredible videtur.

17. *De moribus Indorum de Polumbo.*

Omnes in hac contrata adorant bovem pro deo suo, ipsum dicentes esse quasi sanctum, quem sex annis faciunt laborare et in septimo positus est in communi[10]. Hunc autem ritum in se continent et observant, qui est abhominabile[11]. Nam quolibet mane accipiunt duo bacilia de auro vel argento, quæ, quum dimittunt bovem ipsum de stabulo, ponunt sub illo. In uno quorum accipiunt urinam in altero vero immundiciam aliam[12].

[1] *Ram.* Alandrina.

[2] *Hal.* Cyncilim; *Far.* Flandriam...Canglin; *Mus.* Zingelyn; *Marc.* Gingilin; *Ram.* Ziniglin.

[3] *Better Hak.* inter quos.

[4] *Ven.* ederæ; *Far.* oleri.

[5] *Mus.* et grana ponuntur ad.

[6] Et sic piper nascitur et custoditur.

[7] *Ven.* flumina habentia...cochodrillos; *Hak. and Far.* crocodili; *Mus.* cocodrilli.

[8] *Mus.* Et sunt etiam in isto nemore multi alii serpentes quos homines per stupam et paleas comburunt, et sic ad colligendum piper secure accedunt. *Hak.* has the like.

[9] *Hak.* et *Mus.* Polumbrum, *and the former says nothing of the ginger.*

[10] *Mus.* ab omni opere ipsum faciunt quiescere in loco solempni et communi ipsum ponentes et dicentes hunc ipsum animal esse sanctum. So *Hak.*

[11] *Ven. simply* talem autem consuetudinem et modum observant.

[12] *Ven.* stercus

De urina lavant facies suas, de altera vero immunditia ponunt primo in medio visus in uno loco; deinde super ambabus summitatibus genarum, et postea in medio pectore; ita quod in quatuor locis ipsi ponunt; quæ cum sic fecerunt dicunt se fore sanctificatos[1]. Et sicut facit populus sic et rex et regina. Hii similiter aliud ydolum adorant quod est per dimidium homo et per dimidium bos: hoc ydolum per os respondet quod multotiens sanguinem xl[2] virginum petit et requirit huic ydolo; ita homines et mulieres vovent suos filios[3] et suas [filias] ante ydolum istud, ut sibi eorum sanguis ymmolatur[4]. Unde multi moriuntur isto modo. Sic autem multa alia facit populus iste[5] quæ scribere et audire abhominatio esset quædam. In hac etiam insula multa alia habentur et nascuntur quæ non expedit scribere multum. Aliam autem consuetudinem pessimam habent ydolatræ hujus regni. Nam quando homo aliquis moritur, ipsum comburunt mortuum, et si uxorem habet ipsam comburunt vivam, cum dicant eam ire ad manendum[6] cum marito suo in alio mundo. Si autem mulier filios habet ex marito suo, cum eis manere potest[7] si vult. Si autem mulier moriatur, lex aliqua non inponitur viro, cum possit si vult aliam accipere in uxorem. Alia autem consuetudo illic habetur, nam mulieres vinum bibunt, homines vero non; mulieres etiam faciunt sibi radi visum et barbam, homines vero non[8]; et sic de multis aliis mirabilibus et bestialibus que illic fiunt quæ etiam scribere non expedit multum.

[1] *Hak.* pro tota die illa.

[2] *Far.* has iiiior virgines; *Hak.* aliquotiens pro stipendio petit sanguinem xl, etc.

[3] *Par.* 2. Et filias dare sicut hic alicui religioni, et sic per istum modum homines interficiunt filios suos et filias; *Ven.* to the same effect; also *Far.*, *Hak.*, et *Mus.* sicut Christiani aliqui alicui religioni vel sancto in cœlo. So also *Ram.*

[4] *Ram.* secondo che il profeta dice.

[5] *Hak.* bestialis. Immo, etc.

[6] *Hak.* in aratura et cultura cum viro suo in alio mundo.

[7] *Ven.* nec ei ad verecundiam imputatur; *Mus.* sine verecundia et im proprio; *Hak* improperio. Communiter tamen omnes, præeligunt comburi cum marito.

[8] *Mus.* faciunt sibi radi cilia supercilia et barbam, et homines non, et sic est de aliis multis vilitatibus utriusque sexus. In *Hak.* *it is* cilia et supercilia et barbam, *also*...et sic de multis aliis vilibus contra naturam sexus eorum.

18. *De regno Mobar ubi est corpus B. Thomæ Apostoli, et de conditionibus ydololatrarum.*

Ab hoc regno sunt decem dietæ usque ad unum aliud regnum, nomine Mobar[1], quod est multum magnum regnum, habens sub se multas civitates et terras. In hoc autem regno positum est corpus beati Thomæ apostoli, ecclesia cujus plena est ydolis multis. Penes etiam quam sunt forte xv domus Nestorinorum et Christianorum qui nequissimi et pessimi sunt heretici[2]. Similiter in regno isto est ydolum mirabile valde quod omnes contratæ Indiæ multum reverentur. Nam ipsum est magnum quantus sanctus Christoforus communiter depingitur a pictoribus, et est totum de auro[3], positum super unam magnam cathedram, quæ etiam est de auro. Et habent ad collum unam cordam de lapidibus[4] preciosis. Quæ autem corda precium multum et maximum valet[5]. Ejus ecclesia tota est de auro puro. Nam tectum totum est de auro; similiter et pavimentum[6]. Ad hoc ydolum orandum occurrunt gentes de longinquo sic christiani de longe vadunt[7] ad Sanctum Petrum. Ipsorum autem ad ydolum venientium alii cum corda ad collum pergunt[8]; alii cum manibus super unam tabulam ad collum ligatam; alii cum cultello in brachio[9] fixo et non removent usque quo pervenerunt ad ydolum, ita quod totum brachium postea habent marcidum[10]. Alii etiam sunt aliter facientes. Nam exeuntes domum suam faciunt tres passus; in quarto autem faciunt unam[11] veniam ita longam super terram sicut unus illorum esset. Accipiunt insuper unum thuribulum cum incenso etiam

1 *Far. has* Bobarum; *Ram.* Mebor.

2 *Hak.* et in circuitu ecclesiæ simul Canonici vivunt in 15 domibus Nestoriani, i.e., mali Christiani et Schismatici. *From Mus.* simul *should be* sicut; also...Christiani pessimi cismatici et nequissimi heretici. *Far. has* xvi domus.

3 *Hak.* et *Mus.* purissimo et splendidissimo.

4 *Hak.* et *Mus.* Chordulam sericam cum lapidibus.

5 *Hak.* cum lapidibus pretiosissimis quorum aliquis valet plusquam unum regnum.

6 *Hak.* et *Mus.* et superficies parietum interius et exterius.

7 *Ven.* peregre: *Far. has* vadunt Romam; *Mus.* sicut ad Stum. Jacobum aut Stum. Petrum.

8 Alii cum manibus retro ligatis.

9 Vel tibia.

10 *Ven. has* corruptum; *Hak.* et *Mus. add* Illum reputant sanctum et bene cum deo suo.

11 *Ven.* unam unciam veniam, *which I do not understand*; *Mus. has* unam venam sive lineam, *a mistaken gloss*; *Marc.* una invenia; *Ram.* una cava.

igne adolentes desuper illam longitudinem veniæ[1] ipsius. Sic enim faciendo usque ad ydolum ipsi vadunt unde bene magno tempore aliquando differunt ire ad ydolum ipsum cum sic ut dictum est semper faciendo vadunt. Cum autem sic vadunt, volentes aliquid facere signum unum[2] faciunt illic ubi faciunt hoc, ut sciant quantum processerunt. Hoc autem sic ipsi continuant donec ad ipsum ydolum devenerunt[3].

19. *De aliis consuetudinibus ydololatrarum.*

Apud autem ecclesiam ydoli hujus est unus lacus manu factus[4] ad quem accedentes peregrini[5] projiciunt in ipsum aurum vel argentum vel aliquos lapides preciosos. Et hoc faciunt ipsi in honorem ydoli hujus et ecclesie edificationem, unde multum aurum et argentum lapidesque preciosi habentur in isto lacu. Ideoque cum in ecclesia ejus aliquid facere fieri volunt[6], inquirunt per lacum istum et inveniunt omnia hæc que in ipso sunt projecta. Die autem[7] illo quo hoc ydolum sanctum[8] fuit, accedunt[9] illi de contrata accipientes ipsum de ecclesia, et illud ponentes super uno pulchro[10] curru. Deinde rex et regina omnesque peregrini ad hoc cum populo toto, hii omnes similiter congregati ipsum educunt de ecclesia cum cantibus magnis et omni genere musicorum. Hoc autem ydolum cum sit eductus de ecclesia ejus, multæ virgines binæ et [binæ] ipsum[11] antecedunt euntes canendo mirabiliter ante ipsum[12]. Deinde accedunt etiam peregrini qui evenerunt ad hoc festum, et ponunt se sub isto curru, facientes eum super se transire cum dicunt se velle mori pro Deo suo. Et sic currus

[1] *Ut. has* unciæ (?); *Far. instead of* veniæ ipsius *has* nomine albius *which seems nonsense*—perhaps misread by my copyist; *Mus.* lineæ sive venæ ipsius.

[2] *Far. has* signum unum abbie, *probably a misreading for* illic.

[3] *The whole of this passage about the* veniæ *is omitted in Hak. though retained in Mus., and this is, I think, the first material difference between these MSS.*

[4] *Hak.* et manifestus.

[5] *Mus.* in honorem ydoli et ad edificationem templi.

[6] *Hak.* quando aliquid debet ornari vel reparari.

[7] *Ven.* Annuatim autem die illo, etc.

[8] *Ven.* factum; *Hak.* et *Mus.* die autem annuo constructionis.

[9] *Mus.* Rex et regina illius terræ cum toto populo et omnibus peregrinis accedunt.

[10] *Hak.* pretiosissimo.

[11] *Ven. instead of* binæ et *has* hinc et hinc; *Far.* binæ et binæ; also *Hak.* et *Mus.*

[12] *Hak.* processionaliter combinate modulantes; *Mus.* nearly the same.

transiens super illos qui sunt sub eo, cunctos illos frangit per medium et scindit, unde statim moriuntur[1]. Sic autem faciendo ydolum ipsum ducunt usque ad unum locum deputatum, ad quem locum cum ipsum adduxerunt illum ad locum pristinum reducunt cum cantibus magnis et instrumentis sicut prius. Et sic non est annus in mundo in quo plures quingentis hominibus non moriantur isto modo. Horum autem corpora ipsi accipiunt et comburunt[2], dicentes ea esse sancta cum se mori promiserint pro deo suo[3]. Aliud quoque fit ab istis, nam venit aliquis dicens, Volo me interficere pro deo meo, unde veniunt amici parentes et omnes hystriones de contrata ad faciendum illi festum, qui voluit pro deo suo mori. Unde appendunt ad collum ejus quinque cultellos acutissimos et ipsum[4] ducunt ante ydolum, tunc ille accipit unum ex cultellis illis acutissimis, et alta voce clamat dicens, Pro deo meo michi incido de carne mea. Cum autem inciderit de carne sua, de loco illo in quo voluit, eam projicit in faciem ydoli dicens; Me mori permitto[5] pro deo meo; et sic ibi tandem se interficit pro deo suo. Statimque ipso mortuo corpus ejus comburitur cum illud credatur ab illis esse sanctum quia pro deo suo se ipsum peremit. Sic autem multa alia magna et mirabilia fiunt ab istis quæ minime sunt scribenda. Rex autem insulæ vel provinciæ[6] hujus multum est dives, videlicet auri argenti lapidum preciosorum. In hac autem insula tot bonæ perlæ inveniuntur sicut in aliqua parte mundi, et sic de multis aliis quæ in ista insula reperiuntur. Quæ etiam nimis longum esset scribere.

20. *De Contrata Lamori quæ non videt tramontanam, et de Sumoltra.*

De hac contrata recedens et iens versus meridiem veni per mare oceanum quinquaginta dietis[7] ad unam contratam que vocatur Lamori[8], in qua incepi amittere tramontanam cum terra michi acceperit eam. In ea autem ita inmensus est calor quod omnes illi [tam] homines quam mulieres vadunt nudi[9], nullo se

[1] *Hak.* et per hoc reputant se mori pro deo suo sancte et secure.
[2] *Hak.* et cineres sicut reliquiæ custodiuntur.
[3] *This about the burning, etc., omitted in Mus.*
[4] *Ven.* cum magnis cantibus.
[5] *Ven.* dicens mori promitto.
[6] *Mus.* illius regionis.
[7] *Far.* has xv dietis.
[8] *Hak.* Lammori; *Mus. has* vocatam Sustabor (?) sive Lamory.
[9] *Far. has only* mulieres...nudæ.

cooperientes. Hii de me multum truffabantur[1], qui dicebant Deum Adam fecisse nudum, et ego me malo suo velle vestire volebam[2]. Nam in ista contrata omnes mulieres sunt positæ in communi. Itaque nemo est qui dicere posset veraciter hæc est uxor mea, hic est maritus meus. Cum autem mulier filium vel filiam parit, ipsum vel ipsam dat uni illorum cui vult, cum quibus ipsa jam jacuit eumque vocat patrem suum. Tota terra posita est in communi, itaque nullus cum veritate dicere potest hæc vel illa pars terræ mea est. Domos tamen habent in speciali[3]. Ista gens pestifera est et nequam; ista gens comedit homines sicut nos boves, nam carnem humanam ita comedunt illic sicut hic carnes manzinæ[4] comeduntur, hæc tamen de se bona terra est. [5]Nam magnam copiam carnium bladi et risi [habent], magnaque copia habetur illic de auro[5], de lignis aloe, [de] ganfara[6], de multisque aliis quæ ibi nascuntur[7]. Ad hanc insulam accedunt mercatores de longinquo portantes secum homines[8] vendentesque illos[9] infidelibus ipsis, quos cum emerent eos interficiunt[10] et comedunt, et sic de multis aliis et bonis et malis quæ non scribuntur. In hac eadem insula versus meridiem habetur aliud regnum nomine Sumolchra[11] in quo est una generatio gentis singularis signantis se ferro calido parvo bene in duodecim locis in facie. Et hoc faciunt tam homines quam mulieres. Hii semper gerunt bellum cum hiis qui vadunt nudi. In hac contrata est magna copia rerum. Penes quam est unum aliud regnum nomine Rotemgo[12] versus meridiem. Multa quæ non scribo nascuntur in illo regno.

[1] *Ven.* et tu vis ultra ejus velle vestiri.

[2] *Hak.* and *Mus.* qui videntes me vestitum deridebant me, dicentes Deum Adam et Evam fecisse nudos; *Boll.* Deus Adam nudum fecit, cur tu vestitus ambulas contra naturam? *Malo suo velle* = Malgré lui.

[3] *Ven.* Domos tamen proprias habent; *Hak.* and *Mus.* speciales.

[4] *Far.* Porcinæ. [5] *Boll.* amaraco *instead of the preceding words.*

[6] *Mus.* Ganfar.

[7] Here *Mus. inserts* Tamen gens pestifera est, etc., omitted before.

[8] *Ven.* infantes; *Hak.* homines pingues.

[9] *Ven.* more bestiarum; *Hak.* and *Mus.* sicut nos vendimus porcos.

[10] *Ven.* in macello; *Boll.* has this much shorter.

[11] *Ven.* and *Ram.* Sumoltra; *Far.* Simultam *or* Simultra; *Hak.* Sumolera; *Mus.* Simoltra sive Sumolara; *Boll.* Zumptloc (probably misread); *Marc.* Sumoltra.

[12] *Ven.* Bothonigo; *Far.* Betonigo; *Mus.* Boteingo et juxta illud aliud regnum de quo nihil scribo nec de hiis quæ ibi nascuntur; *Boll.* Resengo; *Ram.* Botterigo; *Hak.* omits this kingdom of Rotemgo, etc., altogether; *Marc.* Botemgo.

21. *De optima insula Jauâ.*

Penes[1] hoc regnum est una magna insula nomine Jaua[2], quæ bene tribus millibus miliarium[3] circumdatur. Rex hujus Jauæ habet bene sub se septem reges coronæ. Hæc insula multum bene habitatur. Et est melior insula que habeatur[4]. In ipsa enim nascuntur[5] cubebæ, melegetæ[6], nucesque muscatæ, multæque aliæ species pretiosæ. In eâ est copia magna victualium preterquàm vini. Rex istius insulæ unum habet palatium valde mirabile[7]. Nam ipsum est valde magnum[8], cujus scalæ multum sunt magnæ altæ latæque: horum graduum unus est aureus alter vero argenteus. Pavimentum autem ejus unum laterem habet de auro, alterum vero de argento. Murus vero istius palatii totus est lamatus interius lamis aureis[9], in quibus lamis sculpti sunt equites solum de auro habentes circa caput unum magnum circulum aureum sicut hic habent nostri sancti; hic autem circulus totus est plenus lapidibus preciosis. Insuper tectum ejus totum est de auro puro; ut autem breviter et finaliter nos loquamur, hoc palatium ditius et pulchrius est quod hodie sit in mundo. Canis[10] tamen grandis Cathaii multociens fuit in bello in campo cum isto, quem iste semper vicit et superavit. Sic etiam multa alia sunt quæ non scribo.

22. *De contratâ Talamasin et arboribus ejus farinam dantibus, etc.*

Penes hanc contratam est una alia contrata quæ vocatur Patem[11] quam alii vocant Talamasim[12]. Rex hujus contratæ

[1] *Ven.* Juxta.

[2] *Ven.* Java; *Hak.* and *Boll.* Jaua; *Far.* and *Mus.* have Jana; *Marc.* Java.

[3] *Ven.* Secunda melior insularum; *Far.* tertia melior; *Hak.* melior secunda; *Mus.* secunda melior...ut dicitur; *Bol.* est de melioribus Indiæ una.

[4] *Far.* tribus milliariis; *Hak.* cujus ambitus per mare bene trium millium, etc.

[5] *Ven. has* also camphora; *Far.* ganfora; *Hak. has* garyophylli, cubibæ et nuces muscatæ.

[6] *Mus.* et breviter omnes fere preciosæ species ibi sunt.

[7] *Boll.* quod multis impossibile videretur.

[8] *Hak.* and *Mus.* et altissime stat.

[9] *Hak.* parietes...laminati laminis aureis; *Boll.* muri quoque ejus intrinsecus laminis aureis sunt vestiti.

[10] *Ven.* Chaam; *Hak.* Canis de Katay.

[11] *Ven.* and *Hak.* Panten; *Far.* Panthen; *Ut.* Paten; *Boll.* Pacen; *Marc.* Paten; *Ram.* Paten.

[12] *Ven.* Malamasin; *Far.* Thamalsi; *Ut.* Malamasmi; *Hak.* Tathala masim; *Boll.* Thalamasym; *Mus.* Thalamasin; *Marc.* Talamaxim; *Ram.* Malamasmi.

multas insulas habet sub se. In hac contrata inveniuntur arbores farinam producentes; aliquæ etiam quæ mel producunt[1] aliquodque venenum, quod est periculosius venenum quod sit in mundo. Nam circa ipsum non invenitur aliquod remedium nisi unum. Nam si aliquis de illo veneno sumpsisset accipiat de stercore hominis et ipsum distemperet aqua, quem et[2] bibat, propter quod ab illo veneno totaliter liberabitur[3]. Arbores autem isto modo farinam producunt. Nam ipsæ sunt magnæ, non tamen multum altæ[4], etiam eas una securi incidunt circa pedem[5], propter quod quidam liquor ab ipsis exhauritur ad modum collæ[6] quem liquorem ipsi ponunt in saccis factis ex foliis, quos dimittunt per xv dies in sole et in fine xv dierum ex ipso liquore farina facta est, quam postea ponunt per duos in aqua maris; deinde lavant eam aqua dulci et sic faciunt pastam bonam[7] de mundo. Et tunc de ipsa faciunt quid volunt, seu cibos seu panem multum bonum, de quo ego frater Odoricus[8] jam comedi; hæc autem omnia propriis oculis ego vidi. Hujus modi autem panis exterius pulcher est, interius autem[9] niger est. In ripa[10] hujus contratæ versus meridiem est mare mortuum, aqua cujus semper currit versus meridiem. Et si aliquis per juxta ipsius ripam vadit, et cadit in aquam, nunquam ille qui talis invenitur. In hac etiam contrata sunt canaveriæ[11] seu arundines longæ bene pluribus lx passibus, magnæ ut arbores. Aliæ etiam cannæ reperiuntur que vocantur Casan[12]. Hæc per terram semper diriguntur ut quædam herba quæ apud nos appellatur gramegna. Et in quolibet nodo ipsarum radices producunt quæ[13] bene efficiuntur longæ uno miliari. In

[1] *Ven.* Sunt etiam producentes mel, et aliquæ producentes vinum, etc.

[2] *Hak.* in bona quantitate.

[3] *Hak.* statim fugat venenum faciens exire per inferiores partes; *Mus. to same effect, adding* et sic erit salvatus et a veneno totaliter liberatus.

[4] *Far. has a large hiatus from* quem et bibat *to this.*

[5] *Hak.* magnæ et bassæ: *Mus.* magnæ et multum altæ.

[6] *Hak.* sicut gummæ; *Mus.* sicut gumma collæ.

[7] *Hak.* et *Mus.* et odorifera(m).

[8] *Boll.* non solum pro necessitate sed etiam pro delectatione pluries manducavi.

[9] *Ven., Far., Hak., Mus., Boll.* aliquantulum niger.

[10] *Far.* riveriâ.

[11] *Ven.* Cannæ variæ (*no* seu arundines). *Far. has* Canaveriæ.

[12] *Far.* Cassam; *Mus.* Cassati, *with the absurd addition* ex quibus in apotecariis inveniuntur cassia fistulæ. *Ram. has* casar.

[13] *Ven. has* et *instead of* quæ, *which is better. Far.* ramos producunt qui bene, etc. *Hak.* et *Mus. nearly to the same effect*—per unum miliare fere.

hiis autem cannis inveniuntur lapides de quibus aliquis super se· hiis nunquam potest incidi a ferro aliquo nec offendi. Et ut plurimum homines istius contratæ de istis lapidibus sunt super se portantes. Ideoque propter virtutem horum lapidum veniunt homines et accipiunt puerulos suos quos in brachio per quod modicum ipsi incidunt, ubi unum de istis lapidibus isti ponunt ne ipse ferro aliquo cadat. Et ut illum parvum vulnus factum in brachio alicujus pueri cito solidetur, de quodam pulvere unius piscis ipsi[1] ponunt, propter quod vulnus illud parvum statim solidatur. Et quia hujus lapidis magnæ sunt virtutes et de istis illi homines sunt portantes[2], ex hoc in bello efficiuntur fortes[3] et magni cursores[4] in mari.- Verum quia navigantes permare ab istis talibus offenduntur unum remedium invenerunt. Nam ipsi portant propugnacula seu palos acutissimos de uno fortissimo ligno, portant[que] sagittas cum[5] ferro[6]: Et quia homines illi male sunt armati, per mare navigantes eos vulnerant et penetrant istis pilis acutissimis et sagittis. Sic isto modo[7] isti tales ab illis se viriliter defendunt. De cannis istis Casan faciunt vela suis navibus, sestoria[8], domunculas[9], multaque alia quæ sibi sunt utilitatis magnæ. Multa etiam alia sunt in contrata ista quæ scribere et audire quasi stupor esset. Quapropter ea scribere ad presens non multum curo[10].

23. *De rege Campa, habente multos elephantes et multos filios filiasque.*

Ab isto regno per multas dietas est distans aliud regnum nomine Campa[11], cujus contrata multum pulchra est. Nam in ipsa est copia magna omnium victualium, et bonorum. Rex

[1] *Hak.* et *Mus.* cujus nomen ignoro.

[2] *Ven.* omits this superfluous sentence.

[3] *Ven.* feroces. *Hak.* et *Mus.* communiter triumphant in bellis et in mari, nec possunt isti homines lædi per aliqua arma ferrea.

[4] *Ven.* maximi pirati.- [5] *Ven.* absque, *which is required.*

[6] *Far.* sine ferro.

[7] *Hak. has* Quod adversarii illius gentis scientes virtutem lapidum provident sibi propugnacula ferrea contra spicula illorum, et arma venenata de veneno, et in manu portant palos ligneos, etc...et sic confundunt aliquos et perforant inermes ex lapidum securitate. *Mus. is to the same effect and more diffusely expressed.*

[8] *Far. omits* sestoria. [9] *Ven.* tali ergo i genio. [10] *Mar.* Case di stuoie.

[11] *This was probably written* Çampa; *Ven.* Zampa; *Far.* Canpa or Carpa; *Hak.* Campa; *Marc.* Campa.

contratæ illius ut dicebatur quando ibi fui inter filios et filias ducentos[1] bene habebat; cum multas habeat uxores aliasque mulieres quas ipse tenet[2]. Hic rex xiiii milia[3] elephantum domesticorum habet. Quos ita teneri facit et observari, ab illis hominibus de villis suis[4] qui sibi sunt subjecti sicut hic boves. Aliaque multa animalia tenentur ad socedam. In ista eadem contrata unum mirabile quid reperitur. Nam unaquæque generatio piscium qui sunt in mari, ad hanc contratam in tanta venit quantitate quod dum sic veniunt nichil aliud videtur in mari nisi pisces[5]. Hii autem cum prope ripam sint se projiciunt super illam[6]. Cum sic autem sunt in ripa veniunt homines et tot de ipsis habent et accipiunt et quod ipsi volunt. Hii autem pisces duobus vel tribus diebus manent super ripam. Deinde venit alia generatio piscis faciens hoc idem sicut prima. Sic etiam de aliis singulisque usque ad ultimam ordinate procedunt, quod tantum semel faciunt in anno. Cum de isto quæritur ab illis de ista contrata quare sic fiat, ipsi respondent et dicunt: Quod hoc faciunt isti pisces qui isto modo veniunt suum imperatorem revereri. In eadem etiam contrata vidi unam testitudinem majorem quam esset revolutio trulli ecclesiæ sancti Antonii de Padua[7]. Sic etiam de multis aliis quæ forte aliquibus incredibilia viderentur nisi illa viderent, quare ea scribere non curo. Cum etiam in contrata aliquis moritur habens uxorem, ipse mortuus comburitur, uxor ejus [vero] viva[8]. Nam dicunt quod ipsa cum suo marito vadit ad alium mundum ut illic moretur cum eo[9].

24. *De Insula ubi Cynocephali.*

De ista contrata recedens et navigans per mare Occeanum versus meridiem reperi multas insulas et contratas. Quarum una

[1] *Hak.* 300.

[2] *Bol. has in this place* nec mirabar de hoc cum plures habuerit uxores.

[3] *Hak.* decies millesies et quatuor; *Mus.* xiii millia.

[4] *Bol.* qui nutriuntur a villanis sibi subjectis sicut apud nos boves et alia animalia conservantur.

[5] *Hak.* et *Mus.* per magnum spatium maris nihil videtur nisi dorsa piscium.

[6] *Hak.* et *Mus.* super aridam.

[7] *Hak.* et *Mus.* Ibi etiam sunt testudines ita magni sicut est unus furnus.

[8] *Hak.* et *Mus.* sicut superius de alia contrata dictum est.

[9] *Ven.* ut in alio mundo similiter conversetur cum eo; *Hak.* et *Mus. add* ne ibi aliam uxorem accipiat.

est quæ vocatur Sacimeram[1]. Hæc insula magna est, circuiens bene per duo milia miliarium; in qua homines et mulieres facies caninas habent. Hii unum bovem adorant pro deo suo, propter quod unusquisque unum bovem de auro vel argento semper portat in fronte, in signum quod ille bos est deus eorum. Omnes istius contratæ tam homines quam mulieres nudi vadunt, nihil de mundo portantes nisi unam toaleam[2] qua suam verecundiam ipsi tegunt. Hii sunt magni corpore et valde fortes in bello, ad quod dum sic nudi pergunt solum unum scutum[3] portant quod eos cooperit à capite usque ad pedes. Dum sic autem vadunt ad bellum et eos contingat capere aliquem in bello qui pecunia exigi[4] non possit, statim comedunt ipsum. Si vero pecunia exigi possit eum habita pecunia abire permittunt. Rex istius contratæ bene tres centas[5] perlas portat ad collum multum magnas, propter[6] quod pro diis suis quotidie trecentas orationes ipse facit. Habet etiam unum lapidem preciosum bene[7] longum et magnum unâ spensâ, in manu sua[8] portat, quem lapidem sic portans una flamma ignis ipse videtur esse[9]. Et ut dicitur iste est nobilior et preciosior lapis qui hodie sit in mundo. Verumptamen magnus imperator Tartarorum Cathaii illum lapidem preciosum nec vi, nec pecunia nec etiam ingenio unquam habere potuit. In hac etiam contratâ ipse rex bene justitiam tenet et observat, unde per totum suum regnum quilibet potest ire securus[10]. Multa etiam in hac contrata sunt quæ etiam ego scribere non curo.

25. *De Insula Sillan et ejus mirabilibus.*

Alia est insula Sillan[11], circuiens bene plura quam duo milia miliarium in qua sunt serpentes infiniti, multaque alia animalia

[1] *Ven.* Nicuueran; *Far.* Nichovera; *Hak.* Moumoran; *Mus.* Mochimoran; *Bol.* Insimezan, *probably misread*; *Marc.* Nicuveran.

[2] *Hak.* et *Mus.* unum pannum lineum.

[3] *Hak. has* unum scutum de ferro; *Mus. to same effect.*

[4] *Ven.* redimi. [5] *Mus.* cc.

[6] *Ven.* propterea.

[7] *Ven. instead of* bene *has* rubinum; *Far. as in text.*

[8] *Hak.* in digito suo; *Boll.* ita magnam quam sicut unâ manu gestare possem.

[9] *Ven. instead of* quem.....esse, *has* qui recte flamma ignis esse videtur; *Hak.* dum habet illum videtur ab aliis quasi una flamma ignis et ideo nullus audet sibi appropinquare; *Mus. nearly the same.*

[10] *Hak. omits this sentence about the king's justice, etc.*

[11] *Ven.* Sillam; *Far.* Silam; *Hak.* Ceilan (the MS. in B. M. has Sylan, almost the only difference from Hakluyt's printed copy); *Mus. has* Salam.

silvestria in magna quantitate[1] ut potissime elephantes. In hac contrata est unus maximus mons de quo dicunt gentes quod super illo Adam planxit filium suum centum[2] annis. In medio montis hujus[3] est quædam pulcherrima planicies in qua est unus lacus non multum magnus[4]. Sed tamen est bene in eo aqua magna quam dicunt gentes esse lacrimas quas Adam et Eva effuderunt, quod tamen non creditur esse verum[5], cum tamen intus nascatur aqua illa. Profunditas[6] hujus aquæ plena est lapidibus preciosis. Quæ aqua multum est yrundinibus[7] et sanguisugis plena. Hos lapides non accipit ille rex, sed pro anima sua semel vel bis in anno sub aquas ipsos pauperes ire permittit, et quotquot ex lapidibus istis capere possunt omnes dimittit eis[8]. Et ut ipsi pauperes ire sub aquam possint accipiunt limonem et quemdam fructum quem bene pistant[9], et illo bene se ungunt et tunc in aquam se mergunt. Et cum sic sint uncti yrundines[10] et sanguisugæ illos offendere non valent. Sic isto modo pauperes subintrant aquam, et exeunt accipientes si possunt de lapidibus istis preciosis. Aqua quæ descendit per montem exit ab isto lacu. Et[11] ibi fodiuntur boni robini et boni dyamantes reperiuntur et multi, sic et multi lapides alii boni; ibi etiam reperiuntur bonæ perlæ, quo aqua ista descendit ad mare. Unde dicitur quod rex iste habet plures lapides preciosos quam aliquis alius rex qui hodie sit in mundo. In hac insulâ sunt diversa genera animalium sicut avium et multorum animalium quæ morantur ibi. Unde dicunt illi de contrata quod hæc animalia multum forensem lædunt non illos qui ibi sunt nati[12].

[1] *Hak.* et *Mus.* et max. multit. leonum ursorum et omnium animalium rapacium.

[2] *Hak.* 500 annis; *Mus. as in text.*

[3] *Ven.* In montis cujus cacumine.

[4] *Far. has omitted the* non; *Hak.* et *Mus. have* parvus.

[5] *Hak.* et *Mus.* sed probavi hoc falsum esse quia vidi aquam in lacu scaturire; *Boll.* gentes errore delusæ.....cum tamen videatur ipsa aqua e visceribus terræ scaturire.

[6] *Ven.* Fundus; *Far. as in text.* [7] Yrundinibus *for* hirundinibus.

[8] *Hak.* et *Mus.* ut orent pro anima sua, *omitting these last three words above.*

[9] *Ven.* limonibus optime frictis optime corpus totum linunt; *Ut.* accipiunt havoyrem, id est quemdam fructum quem bene pistant; *Far.* acc. limones quos bene pistant.

[10] as above.

[11] *Mus.* et in transitu quando retrahit se fodiuntur, etc.

[12] *Ven. better* nullum forensem lædunt, et solummodo illos qui nati sunt in ipsa; *Far.* to the same effect, also *Hak.*

In hac insula etiam sunt aves multum magnæ sicut sunt anseres, qui duo capita in se habent[1]. Hæc etiam insula maximam copiam habet victualium et multorum aliorum bonorum quæ non scribo.

26. *De Insula Dondin et ejus consuetudinibus turpissimis.*

De ista insula recedens et pergens versus meridiem ad quamdam magnam insulam me applicui quæ vocatur Dondin[2], quæ idem est quod immundum[3]. In insula ista mali homines commorantur. Nam ipsi carnes aridas[4] comedunt omnemque aliam immundiciam quæ jam dici posset[5]. Turpem inter se consuetudinem habent. Nam pater comedit filium et filius comedit patrem, uxor maritum et maritus uxorem; et hoc per istum modum. Ponatur quod pater alicujus illorum infirmetur; filius tunc ipse ibit ad astrologum et ad[6] sacerdotem cui sic dicet: Domine, ite vos ad sciendum a Deo nostro, si pater meus possit ab ista infirmitate liberari vel ex ipsâ mori debet. Tunc ipse sacerdos et alius homo cujus pater infirmatur accedunt ad ipsum ydolum quod est de auro vel de argento eique faciunt orationem et dicunt: Domine, tu es Deus noster, quem pro Deo nos adoramus, nobis respondeas ad ea quæ tibi nos dicemus. Taliter homo multum infirmatur; ideo te petimus si mori debeat ex hoc languore vel liberari. Tunc demon per os ydoli respondet et dicit: Pater tuus non morietur, sed de ista liberabitur infirmitate; verum tale quid sibi facere debes et sic liberabitur ipse. Ita quod ille demon totum ipsum illum modum [dicit] quem circa patrem suum tenere debet[7]. Deinde filius ad patrem accedit, et sibi diligenter servit donec ipse totaliter liberatur[8]. Si autem demon

[1] *Far. absurdly has* mille capita. *Probably* II *taken for* M.

[2] *Ut.* Dandin; *Hak. alone has* Bodin, *but probably a misprint, as it is* Dodin *in the MS., which I take for Hakluyt's original*; *Mus.* Dodyn; *Boll.* Dodyn; *Marc.* Dondin.

[3] *Mus.* idem est quod mundus.

[4] *For* crudas *as in Ven.*

[5] *Hak.* quæ quasi excogitare non poterit, *to which Mus. adds* sive dici.

[6] *Ven. has* id est.

[7] *Boll.* Tunc dæmon quandoque ex Idolo de convalescentia respondit, jubens procuratione illius in fine aliquas fieri ceremonias et oblationes et docens filium quomodo nutriat patrem.

[8] *Mus.* Usque ad plenam convalescentiam juxta documentum diaboli patri ministrat.

ille dicat ipsum debere mori, sacerdos ad eum accedet et unum pannum[1] super os suum ipse ponet, et sic eum statim suffocabit et morietur. Cum autem sic interfecit eum ipsum incidet in frusta et ad ipsum comedendum invitabuntur amici, parentes, omnesque hystriones[2] de contrata, et ipsum comedent cum cantibus et gaudio magno; ejus tamen ossa accipient, illa ponentes sub terra cum magna sollempnitate. Parentes autem illi qui ad has nuptias non fuerunt sibi ad verecundiam maximam reputabant. Hos tales[3] multum reprehendebam, dicens: Quare sic facitis vos cum hoc quod facitis sit contra omnem rationem. Nam si canis aliquis occideretur et ante alium canem poneretur ipse de illo nullatenus manducaret; nedum vos qui homines videmini rationales. Ad hoc mihi respondebant dicentes, hoc facimus ne vermes comedant ejus carnes. Nam si ejus carnes vermes comederent ipsius anima magnas pateretur pœnas; ideoque carnem ejus comedimus, ut ejus anima aliquas non patiatur pœnas. Et sic eis tantum dicere poteram quantum ego volebam quia nunquam aliud credere ipsi volebant nec ab isto ritu discedere quem tenebant.

27. *De Indiâ et* xxiv *millibus Insularum quas habet.*

Multæ aliæ novitates hic habentur quæ non scribo, nam nisi homo eas videret, eas credere non posset, cum in toto non sint mundo tot et tanta mirabilia quæ sunt in isto regno. Hæc autem scribi feci quæ certus sum, et in nullo dubito quia sicut refero ita est[4]. De[5] hac insula[6] diligenter inquisivi multos qui hoc sciunt et omnes uno ore locuntur et dicunt, quod hæc India bene xxiiii[7] milia insularum continet sub se, in qua etiam sunt bene lxiiii reges coronæ. Major pars hujus insulæ[8] bene ab hominibus habitatur. Hic ipsius Indiæ facio finem et nichil de ea dicere volo aliud, sed solum intendo aliquid dicere de India superiori.

[1] *Ven.* pannum linum. [2] *Ut.* jaculatores. [3] Ego frater Odoricus.

[4] *Hak.* Ego autem coram Deo nihil hic refero nisi illud de quo certus sum sicut homo certificare poterit.

[5] *Ven. has* in *instead of* de.

[6] *Far.* De hac India Inferiori (*no doubt* Insula *is wrong*) sunt aliæ hæc insulæ quæ nominavi et inquisivi multos qui hoc sciunt, etc.; *Boll.* De magnitudine hujus inferioris Indiæ a multis, etc.

[7] *Hak.* 4400; *Boll.* Viginti quatuor millia.

[8] *Mus.* istius Indiæ; *so also Boll. Marc. has* queste isole, *which indicates the right reading.*

28. *Venit Fr. Odoricus ad Indiam Superiorem et Provinciam Manzi.*

Ubi sciendum est quod dum navigarem per mare Occeanum versus Orientem per multas dietas ad illam nobilem provinciam Mansi[1] ego veni quam Indiam vocamus superiorem[2]. De ista India quæsivi diligenter Christianos, Sarracenos, ydolatros, omnes officiales magni Canis[3] qui omnes uno ore loquuntur et dicunt quod provincia Manzi[4] habet bene duo millia magnarum civitatum, quæ in tantum sunt magnæ illæ civitates quod Trevisium[5] neque Vincentia in ipsarum numerum ponerentur; unde tanta multitudo est in ista contrata quod apud nos esset incredibile quoddam[6]. In ipsa est maxima copia panis, vini, risi, carnium, piscium, omniumque victualium, quibus homines utuntur in mundo. Omnes homines hujus provinciæ sunt artifices[7] et mercatores qui paupertatem quam habeant[8] dummodo se suis manibus valeant adjuvare nunquam aliquam peterent elemosinam. Hii homines satis sunt corpore pulchri[9], pallidi tamen, habentes barbam ita raram et longam sicut[10] murilegæ, id est cattæ; mulieres vero pulcherrimæ de mundo[11].

29. *De Civitate Cens-Kalan.*

Prima civitas hujus provinciæ quam inveni vocatur Censscolan[12]; hæc civitas bene ita magna est pro tribus Venetiis[13], distans a mari per unam dietam, posita super unum flumen, cujus aqua propter[14] ipsum mare ascendit ultra terram bene xii dietis.

[1] *Mus.* Mansiæ; *Ven.* et *Far.* Manzi; *Hak.* Manci; *Boll.* Manzy.

[2] *Hak.* quæ India vocatur a Latinis.

[3] *Ven.* Chaam. [4] *Mus.* Mancy. [5] *Far.* Tarvisium.

[6] *Boll.* intra muros ipsarum cujuslibet possent stare.

[7] *Ven.* artistæ.

[8] *Mus.* nullam paupertatem habent; *Boll.* qui numquam depauperantur.

[9] *Hak.* Satis formosi.

[10] *Hak* rasas et parvas barbas habentes; *Mus.* raras et parvas sed tamen longas sicut murilegi.

[11] *Mus.* Pulcherrimæ et formosæ; *Boll.* nimium sunt formosæ.

[12] *Ven.* Conscala; *Ut.* Censcula; *Far.* Censcalam; *Hak.* Censkalon, *also Mus. Boll.* Soustalay (*probably misread*); *Marc.* Censscalan.

[13] *Ven.* quæ est in triplo major Vincencia; *Ut. as in text*: so also *Far.*; and *Mus.*, though in another place.

[14] *Far. has* prope; *Hak.* prope mare cui contiguatur (?); *Mus.* cujus aqua propter mare ita contiguum bene per XII dietas super ipsam terram ascendit. *Boll. as in text.*

Totus populus hujus civitatis totiusque provinciæ Manzi Indiæque superioris ydolatrat[1] Hæc civitas tantum navigium habet et ita magnum quod quasi aliquibus incredibile videretur, unde tota Ytalia non habet navigium ita magnum sicut hæc civitas sola habet[2]. In hâc civitate haberi possunt bene trecentæ[3] libræ zinziberis recentis minori uno grosso. In hac etiam sunt majores et pulchriores anseres ac melius forum[4] quam hoc sit in mundo, unde unus illorum anserum est bene magnus pro duobus de nostris, totus albus ut lac, habens unum os super caput unius ovi quantitate, qui talis coloris est qualis sanguis est. Et hii anseres habent sub gulâ unam pellem per unum semissem[5] pendentem; hii etiam sunt pinguissimi; unus quorum bene coctus et conditus minor uno grosso haberetur. Et sicut est de anseribus sic etiam de anatibus et gallinis, quæ illic sunt ita magnæ quod magnum mirum est. Hic etiam majores sunt serpentes qui sunt in mundo; hii multum capiuntur ab istis a quibus postea dulciter comeduntur. Unde in tam sollempne ferculum habentur ii serpentes, quod faciens fieri convivium unum[6] de istis non habens serpentibus nil facere diceretur. Hæc etiam civitas magnam habet habundantiam omnium victualium quæ sunt in mundo.

30. *De nobili civitate Zayton et de pastu ydolorum.*

De ista contrata recedens et inde transiens per multas terras et civitates, veni ad quamdam nobilem terram nomine Zayton[7]. In qua nos fratres minores habemus duo loca; ad quæ portavi ossa illorum nostrorum fratrum minorum qui passi fuerunt martirium pro fide Jhesu Christi. In hac civitate est copia omnium illorum quæ sunt necessaria humanæ vitæ[8]. Nam tres libræ et octo uncziæ zuchari minori dimidio grosso[9] habentur ibi. Hæc civitas magna est sicut bis esset[10] Bononia. In hac multa sunt monasteria religiosorum qui ydola universaliter adorant. In

[1] *Ven.* Ydola colit.
[2] This last comparison is omitted by *Hak.*
[3] *Boll.* ceritum libræ.....uno minori grosso Veneto.
[4] *Ven.* in meliori foro; *Hak.* maius forum (*probably misread*).
[5] *Hak.* et *Mus.* semipedalem.
[6] *Mus. has* unum ad minus (*au moins*).
[7] *Far.* Caicham: *Mus.* Kaycon; *Hak.* Kaitam; *Boll.* Saiton; *Marc.* Zaitan.
[8] *Hak.* pro lenissimo foro. [9] *Ut.* minori pretio uno grosso.
[10] *Mus.* ut fideliter assero.

uno autem istorum monasteriorum ego fui in quo bene erant tria milia religiosorum habentium[1] xi millia ydola[2]; et unum illorum ydolorum quod minus aliis esse videbatur erat bene ita magnum esset sicut Sanctus Christophorus. Illâ autem horâ quâ istis diis suis dant ad manducandum ivi ad videndum. Et hii isto modo comedere sibi dant. Omnia quæ illis offerunt comedenda eis calidissima[3] porrigunt, ita quod fumus illorum ascendit ad ydola quem ipsi pro comestione istorum ydolorum esse dicunt, aliud autem totum pro se habent et manducant[4]; et sic isto modo dicunt se bene pascere deos suos[5]. Verumptamen hæc terra de melioribus est quæ hodie sint in mundo: et hoc in iis que posset habere corpus humanum[6]. Multa alia de hac terra dici possent quæ non ulterius modo scribo.

31. *De civitate Fuzo et de mirabilibus modis piscandi.*

De hac contrata veni versus orientem ad unam civitatem quæ vocatur Fucho[7], quæ bene circuit per xxx miliaria, in qua sunt majores galli qui sunt in mundo. Gallinæ vero[8] sunt albæ ut nix, non habentes pennas sed solum lanam ut pecus sunt portantes. Hæc civitas multum pulchra et sita super mare de quâ recedens ivi : viii dietis transiens per multas terras et civitates, aliaque diversa multa. Dum autem sic irem veni ad unum magnum montem, in unius cujus latere montis, omnia animalia illic habitancia nigra sunt[9], et homines et mulieres valde estraneum modum vivendi habent. Ab alio autem latere montis omnia animalia alba sunt[10], hominesque et mulieres ab aliis diversum modum vivendi habent. Omnes mulieres innuptæ unum magnum barile de cornu in capite portant ut cognoscantur quia nuptæ sunt. Hinc transiens per xviii alias dietas et per multas terras et civitates

[1] *Boll.* sub curâ suâ.

[2] *Far.* omits the millia.

[3] *Hak.* et *Mus.* et fumigantia.

[4] *Boll. has* sumunt et pro suis usibus reservant.

[5] *Mus.* Et sic de fumo tantum deos suos pascunt.

[6] *Ven.* Et hoc in necessariis corpori (*sic*) humani.

[7] *Ven.* Fuzo; *Far.* Fuc; *Hak.* Fuko; *Mus.* Fuco; *Boll.* Suctio (*misread probably*); *Marc.* Fuzo.

[8] *Boll.* ita magnæ non sunt, sed.

[9] *Hak.* ut carbo; *Bol. has simply* in cujus latere nigra animalia morabantur, ex alio autem latere ejusdem montis animalia sunt alba.

[10] *Hak.* ut nix.

et veniens ad unum magnum flumen, applicui ad unam civitatem quæ per transversum istud flumen habet unum pontem, in capite cujus in domo cujusdam hospitis fui, qui michi volens complacere dixit: Si tu vis videre bene piscari veni mecum; et sic me duxit super pontem istum. In quo dum sic essem aspexi atque vidi in illis suis barchis[1] mergos[2] super perticas alligatos, quos postea ille homo uno filo ligavit ad gulam ne illi se in aquam submergentes et pisces capientes illos comedere possent[3]. Unde in barcha una posuit tres magnas cistas unam ab uno capite navis, secundam ab alio, tertiam vero posuit in medio. Dum autem sic fecisset illos dissolvit mergos, qui se postea in aquam submergebant, et sic pisces quam plurimos capiebant, quos ipsimet postea in illis cistis ponebant, unde in parvâ horâ omnes illæ cistæ fuerunt plenæ. Ipse autem dum sic plenæ essent a collo eorum filum accipiebat et eos in aqua submergere permittebat, ut inde piscibus pasce rentur; cum autem pasti essent ad sua loca revertuntur, et eos ibi ligat sicut prius erant; ego autem de piscibus illis manducavi[4]. Transiens inde per multas dietas alium modum piscandi ego vidi. Nam sunt homines habentes unam tinam calidâ aquâ plenam in unâ barchâ, qui nudi erant habentes singuli post collum unum saccum, et se submergentes in aquam, pisces manibus capiebant ponentes eos in saccis suis, et cum ascendebant eos in barcha sua ponebant; postea in aquam illam calidam se ponentes[5]; tunc alius ibat faciens sicut primus, et sic isto modo multos pisces capiebant[6].

32. *De civitate Cansaiâ quæ maxima est de mundo.*

Hinc ego recedens veni ad aliam civitatem nomine Cansaiæ[7] quod idem est quod civitas cœli. Hæc civitas major aliquâ quæ sit in mundo[8], et bene circuit c miliaria. In ipsa non est spansa[9]

[1] *Hak.* has brachiis (*clearly an error*) *and so translated.*

[2] *Far.* has smergos.

[3] *Ven.* ne cum pisces cepissent ipsos deglutire possent.

[4] *Hak.* et optimi mihi videbantur.

[5] *Ven.* ponebant; *Mus.* balnearunt.

[6] *Hak.* quite omits this second fishing story.

[7] *Ven.* Campsay; *Far.* Chansanæ; *Hak.* et *Mus.* Kanasia; *Bol.* Chamsana; *Marc.* Camsaye.

[8] *Boll.* omni aliâ quam conspexi.

[9] *Ven.* Particula; *For.* non est terra; *Mus.* nec in ea vidi spatium sive placeam vacuam quin bene inhabitaretur.

terræ que non habitetur bene; et multociens erit domus aliqua quæ bene x vel xii supellectiles[1] habebit[2]. Hæc civitas etiam habet burgia[3] magna habentia majorem gentem quam ipsa civitas tenet. Hæc xii portas [habet] principales, et prope quamlibet illarum portarum ferme ad viii miliaria sunt civitates majores quam essent civitas Venetiarum[4] et Padua, unde bene ibitur sex vel septem dietis per unum illorum burgorum, et tamen videbitur modicum permeasse. Hæc civitas posita est in aquis lacunarum quæ manet et stat, sicut civitas Venetiarum[4]. Ipsa etiam habet plures quam xii millia pontium[5], in quolibet quorum morantur custodiæ custodientes ipsam civitatem pro magno Cane. A latere hujus civitatis labitur unum flumen juxta quod sita est civitas ista, sicut Ferraria ipsa manet[6], unde longior est quam lata[7]. De ipsa autem diligenter scivi et quæsivi a Christianis Sarracenis ydolatris cunctisque aliis, qui omnes loquuntur uno ore quod bene centum miliaria circuit. Per dominum etiam unum mandatum habetur; nam quilibet ignis solvit unum balis[8] annuatim ipsi Cani magno id est quinque cartas ad instar bombicis[9], quæ unum cum dimidio florenum valent. Hunc etiam habent modum; nam bene x vel xii supellectiles[10] faciunt unum ignem, et sic solum pro uno igne solvent; hii autem ignes sunt lxxxv[11] Thuman, cum aliis quatuor Sarracenorum qui constituunt lxxxviii[12]. Unum autem Thuman bene x milia ignium facit. Reliquorum vero alii sunt Christiani, alii mercatores, aliique transeuntes per contratam, unde multum fui miratus quod tot corpora humana poterant habitare simul. In

[1] *Hak. has* imo vidi multos domos habentes x vel xii solaria unum supra aliud, *which is enough to condemn the authority of that version; Mus. has the same.*

[2] *Hak.* et *Mus.* suburbia.

[3] *Bol.* id est familias.

[4] *Hak.* Sita est in aquis quæ semper stant et nec fluunt nec refluunt: vallum tamen habent propter ventum sicut civitas Venetiarum; *Mus. to same effect.*

[5] *Hak.* decem millia et 2... quorum multos numeravi et transivi; *Mus.* xii millia.

[6] *Ven.* et *Far.* Sicut Ferraria juxta Padum; *so Boll. also.*

[7] *Mus.* Hæc sicut Ferraria ipsa manet nam longior est quam lata.

[8] *Mus.* balistorium.

[9] *Far.* unum balis 15 cartas bombicis; *but this should probably be* balis *i.* 5 cartas, etc. (*i. for* id est), *as Hak. has it actually.*

[10] *Mus. adds gratuitously* id est solaria sive domus.

[11] *Far.* lxxv; *Hak. as in text.*

[12] *Far.* lxxvi ii; *Hak. as in text*; *Mus. has* viii^{c}v et ix^{c}ix, but evidently means 85 and 89.

ea est copia magna panis, carnium de porco[1], et vini, ac risi; quod vinum vigim[2] aliter nominatur, quod etiam potacio nobilis reputatur: omnium etiam aliorum victualium illic copia maxima reperitur.

33. *De quodam mirabili quod vidit Fr. Odoricus in quodam monasterio ydololatrarum.*

Hæc est civitas regalis in quâ rex Manzi olim morabatur. Et in ea quatuor nostri fratres minores[3] unum potentem hominem converterunt, in domo cujus[4] hospitabar, unde mihi aliquando dicebat *Atha*[5], id est, Pater, vis venire videre terram? Et sibi semel dixi me velle ire, unde ascendimus unam barcham et sic ivimus ad unum magnum illorum monasteriorum quæ ibi erant, ad quod cum ivissemus unum illorum religiosorum vocavit dicens: Vides hunc Raban[6] Franchi (scilicet istum virum religiosum Franch), iste venit inde ubi occidit sol, et nunc vadit Cambaleth[7], ut roget[8] vitam pro magno Cane. Ideo sibi ostendas aliquid quod ipse videre possit, si hic est mirabile[9], ut si reverteretur ad suas contratas, dicere possit tale quod novum vidi in Cansai[10]. Tunc iste dixit se libenter velle ostendere sibi aliquid novum. Et tunc iste duos magnos mastellos[11] accepit plenos hiis quæ superfuerunt a mensâ[12]. Et ipse tunc statim[13] apperuit cujusdam viridarii portam per quam intravimus in viridarium illud, nunc autem in eo est quidam monticulus[14] plenus arboribus amœnis; et dum in eo sic essemus, ipse Cimbalum[15] unum accepit, et illud incepit

[1] *Hak.* et carnium de porco præcipue. *He omits the* bigini.

[2] *This should run as in Ven.* risi et vini, quod vinum bigini aliter nominatur; *Far. also has it in an unintelligible shape; Mus. has* carnium porcinorum vini et risi quod bignii aliter nominatur, de quo nobilis fit potatio inter eos.

[3] *Boll. has erroneously* prædicti.

[4] *Far.* Continue; *also Mus.*; *Hak.* in cujus hospitio continue habitabam dum fui ibi.

[5] *Ven.* Archa; *Far.* Arra; *Hak.* Ara; *Boll.* Ara.

[6] *Ven.* Franchum; *Boll. has* Rabi.

[7] *Ven.* Cambalech. [8] *Hak.* deprecetur.

[9] *Ven. omits these four words, as do Ut. and the others.*

[10] *Mus.* Kanasià; *Hak.* Canasiâ. [11] *Boll.* sportas.

[12] *Hak.* et duxit me ad unam perclusam parvam quam aperuit cum clave, et apparuit viridarium gratiosum, etc.

[13] *Mus.* cum clave

[14] *Hak.* sicut unum campanile.

[15] *Ven.* Timpanum; *Far.* timbalum; *Boll.* Tintinnabulo.

pulsare[1], ad cujus sonitum multa animalia varia et diversa de illo monticulo descenderunt, sicut nunc essent symiæ, catti, maymones, similiter et multa alia animalia[2] circa ipsum se aptaverunt ad se invicem ordinata. Et cum circa ipsum sic essent posita et ordinata, ipse paropsides[3] posuit ante illa et sicut competebat comedere sic dabat[4]; hæc autem cum sic comedissent cymbalum pulsare cœpit, et ad sua loca revertebantur cuncta. Dum autem sic viderem ista, multum cœpi ridere[5], dicens: Qualia sunt ista animalia[6]. Qui respondit: Hæc animalia animæ sunt nobilium virorum quæ nos hic pascimus amore dei[7]. Ei autem sic respondenti, dicens[8], Hæc animæ non sunt sed solum bestiæ et animalia ipsa sunt. Michi autem respondebat dicens, Verum non est quod hæc animalia sint, sed solum animæ nobilium sunt istæ, unde unus illorum sicut fuit nobilis homo, sic ejus anima in aliquid istorum animalium nobilium ipsa intrat; animæ vero rusticorum in animalia vilia intrant et habitant. Sic autem isto modo dicere poteram sibi multa quæ tamen aliud nunquam credere volebat[9]. Si quis autem dicere et enarrare hujus civitatis magnitudinem vellet, illiusque magna mirabilia quæ sunt in eâ, unus bonus quaternus stationis hæc talia tenere non posset. Verum ista est nobilior et major civitas pro mercimoniis quam habeat totus mundus[10].

[1] *Hak.* sicut percutitur quando monachi intrant refectorium.

[2] *Ven. has here* quæ faciem habebant humanam quæ erant circa tria millia quæ circa, etc.; *Far.* animalia habentia faciem hominis; *Mus. absurdly has* cciii millia, *probably miscopied for* circa iii milia; *Hak.* 4000.

[3] *Ven.* parassides.

[4] *Boll.* Secundum naturæ suæ.....distribuit illis cibum.

[5] *Boll.* illi seni.

[6] *Ven. has instead* Quid hoc indicare vellit; *Mus.* Tunc admiratus quæ essent animalia ista quasi ridendo multum inquisivi; *Boll.* dixi Edissere mihi quid iste significat?

[7] *Hak.* et *Mus.* Dei qui regit orbem. [8] *For* dixi.

[9] *Hak.* Incepi istam abusionem improbare, sed nihil valuit sibi. Non enim poterat credere quod aliqua anima posset sine corpore manere; *Boll. has* Et licet multa sibi dicerem et prædicarem numquam tamen ipsum ab hâc perfidia potui revocare.

[10] *Hak. omits this sentence about the city altogether; Mus.* Si quis ergo mirabilia et mercimonia quæ in eâ sunt dicere et enarrare vellet nemo occidentalis partis mundi credere sibi posset.

34. *De civitate Chilenfu, de maximo flumine Talay, et pygmæis.*

De istâ recedens civitate per sex dietas veni ad unam aliam civitatem magnam quæ vocatur Chilenfo[1]; hujus muri civitatis bene per xl miliaria circueunt ipsi. In ista etiam civitate sunt bene tres centi et xl[2] pontes lapidei pulchriores quam totus habeat mundus. In hac civitate fuit prima sedes Regis Manzi in qua ipse morari solebat. Hæc bene habitatur a gente et in ea est ita magnum navigium quod est mirabile valde. Ipsa bene sita est omniumque bonorum copiam habet magnam. Ab hac civitate recedens veni ad quoddam flumen magnum quod vocatur Talay[3], et est majus flumen quod sit in mundo, nam ubi strictius est bene est latum septem miliaribus. Hoc flumen per mediam terram pigmeorum scilicet vidinnorum[4] transit, quorum civitas vocatur Chathan[5], quæ de melioribus et pulchrioribus civitas est quæ sint in mundo; hii pigmei sunt magni tribus spansis, qui faciunt magna opera Goton, id est bombicis[6], quam aliqui homines qui sunt in mundo. Homines autem magni qui ibi sint filios generant qui plus quam pro dimidietate similes illis pigmeis sunt qui sunt ita parvi. Ideoque tot istorum parvorum ibi generantur et nascuntur quod sine numero quasi sunt[7].

[1] *So also in Ven.*; *Ut. has* Chilemphe; *Far.* Chilopho *or* Chilepho; *Hak.* Chilenzo, *but the greater museum MS. has* Chilemfo; *Mus.* Chilefu *or* Chilenfu; *Boll.* Chyleso, bene muratam; *Marc.* Chilenfo.

[2] *Ven.* trecenti et sexaginta; *Far.* iiiclx: *Boll. only* quadraginta.

[3] *Ven. also has* Talay; *Mus.* et *Hak.* Thalay; *Marc.* Talay; *Ut.* Dotalay; *Far.* Thanai; *with the following interpolation to justify the blunder*, de quo scripsit Isidorus 12° libro etymologiarum, a Thano primo rege Sitharum denominatus qui ex nivosis (?) fluviis descendens determinavit Europam ab Asia et est inter ii partes mundi medias currens, atque in Pontum fluens; *Boll. has* Thannay.

[4] *Ven. omits these two words; Ut. has* id est biduinorum; *Far.* per medium terram biduinorum; *Mus.* pigmeorum, i.e., vidimiorum; *Marc.* Bidoyni *and* Biduini.

[5] *Ven.* Cacham; *Ut.* Tachara; *Far.* Cathan; *Hak.* Kakam; *Mus.* Kaycon.

[6] *Hak.* Goton et Bombycinam. *Omits all that follows about pigmies.*

[7] *Ven. adds* hi pigmæi formosi sunt tam mares quam feminæ per magnitudinem suam, et feminæ nubunt in quinto anno; habent autem animam rationalem sicut nos; *Ut. has the same, with* famosi *instead of* formosi.

35 *De civitatibus Iamzai et Menzu.*

Dum per istud flumen del Talai sic irem transivi per multas civitates et veni ad unam que vocatur Jamzai[1], in qua est unus locus nostrorum fratrum minorum. In hac etiam sunt tres ecclesiæ Nestorinorum, scilicet virorum religiosorum[2]: hæc civitas nobilis est et magna, habens bene xlviii[3] vel lviii tuman ignium, quorum unumquisque tuman bene est x milia. In hac civitate sunt omnia illa quibus vivunt Christiani et sunt in copiâ magnâ[4]. Unde Dominus istius civitatis solum de sale bene habet de redditu quinquaginta milia[5] Tuman balisi. Balisus autem valet unum florenum et dimidium, et ita unum tuman balisi bene constituit quindecim milia florenorum. Verumptamen unam gratiam huic populo fecit Dominus iste. Nam sibi dimittebat cc tuman ne[6] caritudinem[7] haberent. Hanc autem consuetudinem habet civitas ista; nam quando unus homo vult facere unum magnum pastum vel convivium suis amicis, ad hoc sunt hospicia deputata; nam illis hominibus qui hoc hospicium tenent dicet ille homo: Tu hospes facias mihi convivium istud pro quibusdam[8] amicis meis, et pro illo volo expendere tantum; sic autem convivium mihi fiet bene et ordinate, et michi melius servietur ibi quam in domo mea propria[9]. Hæc etiam civitas maximum navigium habet, per x miliaria ab ista civitate. In capite istius fluminis magni del Talai una alia civitas est quæ vocatur Menzu[10]: hæc civitas majus navigium et pulchrius habet quam alia civitas quæ forte sit in mundo. Omnes illæ naves albæ sunt ut nix.

[1] *Ven.* Iamzay; *Ut.* Jamzai; *Far.* Iantu; *Hak.* Ianzu; *Mus.* Jancus; *Boll.* Ianzi; *Marc.* Jamzai.

[2] *Far.* omits this explanation, which appears to be officious and inaccurate.

[3] *Hak.* 48 Thuman *simply*; *Mus.* xlviii vel l thuman.

[4] *Hak.* omnia victualia et animalia in magna copia, etc.

[5] Both *Ven.* and *Far. have* manus, *which seems a mistake*; *Hak. has* 50 Thuman, *but* 200 *below*; *Marc.* mani di Thuman balis.

[6] *Ven.* Balissius; *Far. has* balis autem 4 valet, etc.

[7] *Ven.* carestiam.

[8] *Ven. has* pro tot amicis meis.

[9] *This is wrong. It should be as in Ven.*; et melius servitur eis quam in domo propriâ factum esset. *Far. has to this effect also. Hak. has it stupidly:* Et per illum modum melius convivant amici in pluribus hospitiis quam facerent in unâ. *Mus. to effect of Ven.*

[10] *Far.* Menchu; *Hak.* Montu; *Mus.* Mencu; *Boll.* Mensy; *Marc.* Menzu.

zesso[1] depictæ. In ipsis etiam sale[2] hospicia multa quæ alia ita pulchra habent et ordinata, sicut unquam in mundo possent, unde est quasi quoddam incredibile audire et videre hujus navigii magnitudinem.

30. *De Flumine Caramoran, et de quibusdam civitatibus.*

Ab ista civitate recedens et transiens per iiii[3] dietas per multas terras et civitates per aquam dulcem, veni ad quamdam civitatem quæ vocatur Lenzin[4]: hæc civitas super posita est unum flumen quod vocatur Caramoram[5]; hoc flumen per medium Cathaii transit, cui magnum dampnum infert quando rumpit, sicut est Padus transiens per Ferrariam[6]. Dum sic irem per flumen istud versus orientem, multis dietis transiens per terras multas et civitates veni ad civitatem unam quæ vocatur Suzumato[7]. Hæc civitas habet majorem habundantiam serici quam forte aliqua terra de mundo, nam quando ibi major caritudo serici possit esse, bene tamen xl libræ habentur minori viii solidorum grossorum[8]. In ea etiam est magna copia omnium mercimoniorum, similiter etiam panis[9], omniumque aliorum bonorum.

37. *De civitatibus magnis Cambalec atque Taydo, et de Palatio Canis.*

Tunc de ista civitate recedens, transiens per multas civitates et terras versus orientem, veni ad illam[10] nobilem civitatem Cambalec: hæc civitas multum est vetus et antiqua, quæ est [in] illa provincia Cathaii. Hanc ceperunt Tartari, juxta quam ad dimidium miliare unam aliam civitatem fecerunt nomine Caydo[11]; hæc xii portas

[1] *Ven.* gippso.

[2] *Both Ven.* et *Far. have this* sale, *which I do not understand. If* salæ *for Halls, it should apparently have been* salas. *Marc. has* in quelle vi sono le sale, alberghi e molte altre cose, etc.

[3] *Ven.* viii; *Far.* octo, *and so the others.*

[4] *Far.* Lencim; *Hak.* et *Mus.* Lencyn; *Boll.* Lensium; *Marc.* Lenzin.

[5] *Ven., Hak.* Caramoran; *Far.* Tharamoram; *Boll.* Tharamorim; *Marc.* Caramoram.

[6] *Ven.* Dum rumpitur sicut facit Padus Ferrariæ.

[7] *Far.* et *Boll.* Sucumat; *Hak.* Sumacoto; *Mus.* Sumakoto; *Marc.* Suzumato.

[8] *Ven.* viii grossorum *simply.* *So Far. Boll.* octo solidis grossorum minorum.

[9] *Far.* vini; *Hak.* panis vini carnium piscium et omnium specierum electarum. *Nearly so also in Mus.*

[10] *Mus.* nominatam et nobilem.

[11] *Ven.* Taydo; *Far.* et *Hak.* Caido; *Mus.* Taydo; *Boll.* Thayde; *Marc.* Taydo.

habet, intra quamlibet quarum sunt duo miliaria magna, unde in[1] utramque civitatem bene habitatur[2,3] et circuitus istarum duarum civitatum plura ambit quam xl miliaria. In hâc civitate, Canis[4] ille magnus suam sedem habet, ubi etiam unum palatium suum magnum habet, cujus muri[5] bene per quatuor miliaria circueunt. Intra quod spatium multa alia pulchra palatia[6] sunt. In curtivo hujus palatii magni factus est mons unus, in quo edificatum est unum palatium aliud quod est pulcherrimum de mundo. Hic etiam mons arboribus est plantatus, propter quod Mons Viridis nominatur. A latere montis hujus factus est unus magnus lacus, per transversum cujus unus pons pulcherrimus factus est. In isto lacu tot sunt anseres silvestres, anathes, et Cesenæ[7] quod valde mirabile est, unde quando vult venari non oportet eum domum exire pro venatione, cum illa sit in domo. In hoc etiam palatio sunt viridaria plena diversis generibus bestiarum, quas quantumque vult ipse venari potest absque hoc quod extra domum vadat. Palatium autem ipsum in quo sedes sua est multum magnum et pulchrum est, cujus terra duobus passibus elevata est. Ipsum interius habet xxiiii[8] columpnas de auro. Omnes muri ejus cooperti sunt pellibus rubeis, de quibus dicitur quod nobiliores pelles sunt quæ sint in mundo. In medio autem palatio est una magna pingua[9] alta passibus pluribus quam duobus, quæ tota est de uno lapide precioso, nomine merdatas[10]. Ipsa etiam tota est auro ligata et in quolibet angulo ipsius est unus serpens qui verberat os fortissime, hæc etiam pinona retia habet de perlis magnis quæ pendent ab eâ, que retia forte sunt lata una spansa. Per pignam hanc defertur potus per conductus qui in curiâ regis habetur[11]. Juxta hanc etiam pignam manent multa vasa aurea, cum quibus omnes volentes bibere bibunt. In ipso autem palatio sunt multi pavones de auro. Cum aliquis Tartarus aliquod festum vult facere domino suo, tunc sic sunt percutientes ad invicem

[1] *Ven.* et inter, *instead of* unde in, *and Mus.*

[2] *Hak.* ita quod faciunt quasi unam civitatem.

[3] *Boll. incorrectly* et numquam civitas bene per homines habitatur.

[4] *Ven.* Chaam. [5] *Boll.* cujus muri per quadrum se extendunt.

[6] *Hak.* et *Mus.* dominorum de familiâ suâ.

[7] *Ven.* Cesani; *Far.* Cesenæ; *Hak. has only* anserum silvestrium; *Mus.* anserum, anatum et omnium aliarum avium aquaticarum; *Marc. has* Cesani.

[8] *Hak.* 14. [9] *Ven.* pigna.

[10] *Ven.* Merdacas; *Far.* Merdatas; *Hak.* Merdochas; *Marc.* Merdacas.

[11] *Ven., Far.* habentur.

manus suas; tunc hii pavones suas alas emittunt et ipsi tripudiare videntur. Hoc autem fit vel arte dyabolica vel ingenio quodam sub terra fit[1].

38. *De curiâ Domini Canis.*

Quum ipsé dominus super suam sedem sedet imperialem a sinistro latere manet regina, et uno gradu inferius duæ aliæ morantur mulieres quas ipse tenet[2]; in infimo autem cunctæ dominæ parentelæ. Omnes illæ quæ nuptæ sunt unum pedem hominis super caput habent, longum bene brachium cum dimidio; subter illo pede sunt pennæ gruis in summitate, et totus ille pes est ornatus perlis magnis, unde şi perlæ magnæ in mundo sunt et pulchræ hæc ita sunt in ornamentum istarum dominarum[3]. A latere autem dextro ipsius regis moratur ejus filius primogenitus, qui post ipsum regnare debet; inferius autem ab istis morantur omnes illi qui sunt de sanguine regio. Illic etiam quatuor sunt scriptores scribentes omnia verba quæ dicit ipse rex. Ante cujus conspectum stant barones sui multique alii innumerabiles, nullus quorum loqui auderet ullo modo nisi a magno domino peteretur, istis etiam hystrionibus exceptis[4], qui suum dominum vellent lætificare. Hii tamen hystriones nil aliud facere audent nisi secundum quod rex ipse legem imposuit eis. Ante portas ipsius palatii stant barones custodientes et videntes ne aliquid limen[5] hostii tangat, quod si aliquis faciens reperiretur ipsi eum acriter verberarent[6]. Cum autem dominus iste magnus aliquid convivium facere fieri vult, secum habet xiiii milia barones[7] cum coronis in capite sibi in convivio servientes, et quilibet vestem talem[8] habet in dorso, quod solum perlæ quæ ibi sunt super qualibet veste valent plus quam xv milia florenorum. Curia ipsius optime ordinata est videlicet per denarium[9] centenarium[10] et millenarium, unde omnes inter se taliter sunt ordinati et sibi invicem respondentes, quod de officiis suis, nec de aliquo alio nunquam defectus

[1] *Hak.* arte magicâ vel aliquâ cautelâ subterraneâ; *Mus. nearly so.*

[2] *Hak.* et *Mus.* pro se quando non potest ad reginam accedere.

[3] *Hak. omits this sentence.*

[4] *Ven. better* tamen: *Hak.* et *Mus.* exceptis fatuis et histrionibus.

[5] *Far.* limitem. [6] *Hak. omits* quod.....verberarent.

[7] *Hak.* portantes circulos et coronulas.

[8] *Mus.* talari veste. [9] *Ven.* decenarium.

[10] *Far. has only* videlicet per C. *This MS. (or the transcript furnished) would be unintelligible in many places without collation.*

aliquis invenitur. Ego frater Odoricus ibi fui bene tribus annis in hac sua civitate et multotiens in istis suis festis presens fui, nam nos fratres minores in hâc curiâ suâ habemus locum deputatum, et nos semper sic oportet ire[1] et dare sibi benedictionem nostram, unde diligenter petii et inquisivi a Christianis, Sarracenis cunctisque ydolatris a nostris etiam conversis ad fidem[2], qui in illa curia magni sunt barones aspicientes solum ad personam regis, et hii omnes uno ore loquuntur dicentes quod solum hystriones sui sunt bene tredecim tuman[3], unum quorum bene x milia constituit hystrionum; alii autem custodientes canes, bestias silvestres, et aves bene sunt [.....] tuman[4]. Medici vero qui custodiunt personam regis sunt ydolatræ numero quadringenti[5], Christiani autem viii, et unus Saracenus: hii omnes totum illud habent quod est sibi necessarium a curiâ regis. Ejus autem reliqua sua familia ibi sine numero possidetur.

39. *De itinere Domini Canis.*

Dominus vero ille in estate moratur in quadam terra quæ vocatur Zandu[6], posita sub tramontana et frigidior habitabilis quę hodie sit in mundo, in hyeme vero in Cambalec ipse manet[7]. Et cum vult ab unâ terrâ ad aliam equitare, hunc modum ipse tenet. Nam quatuor exercitus equitum ipse habet, quorum unus dietâ unâ ipsum antecedit, secundus aliâ dietâ, tertius similiter, et quartus; ita quod semper in medio vadit in modum crucis[8]. Cum autem sic vadunt omnes habent suas dietas ordinatas, unde omnia illa ibi inveniunt quæ sibi sunt necessaria ad comedendum. Gens vero quæ vadit cum eo ambulat isto modo; nam rex ille super uno curru a duabus rotis vadit, in quo facta est una pulcherrima sala[9], tota de lignis aloe et auro ornata, insuper perlis[10] magnis et pulchris et multis lapidibus preciosis; quatuorque elephantes bene ordinati et parati ducunt istum currum, quem

[1] *Boll.* primos procedere.

[2] *Boll. has* idololatris non modo ab illis qui *per me* ad fidem Christi conversi sunt, etc., *which looks as if it had been tampered with.*

[3] *Far.* 12 tuman; *Hak.* 18 thuman; *Mus.* xiii; *Marc.* xiv.

[4] *Ven.*, *Far.* xv tuman; *Marc.* xv. [5] *Mus.* cccti.

[6] *Ven.* Sanday; *Ut.* Sanay; *Far.* Sandu; *Mus.* Sandu; *Marc.* Sandu.

[7] *From* Dominus vero *is omitted by Hak.*

[8] *Far.* in modum gradus (in *échelon*). [9] *Hak.* Sella.

[10] *Ut.* pellibus.

etiam et quatuor equi pulcherrimi[1] bene cooperti insuper sunt ducentes. Et juxta quem et quatuor barones qui vocantur Zuche[2] vadunt custodientes et tenentes currum ne aliquis offenderet currum ne aliquid offenderet istum regem. Insuper et secum super currum portat xii[3] zirifalcos, quos dum sic sedet in curru super cathedra sua vel sede et videt aliquas volante[4] ves post eas abire permittit. Et ad unius lapidis jactum nullus currui audet appropinquare nisi illi qui ad hoc sunt specialiter deputati. Unde sicut iste re[5] magnus vadit, sic et in gradu suo suæ vadunt mulieres isto modo; quod et suus primogenitus tenet et observat, unde quasi incredibile esset illam gentem ymaginari quam dominus iste habet. Exercitus autem illi qui ipsum dominum attendunt[6] quingenti[7] thuman habentes illa a domino quæ sibi sunt necessaria integraliter et complete. Et si aliquem istorum mori contingerit qui de numero computatur alius statim ponitur loco sui unde numerus semper manet.

40. *De imperio Magni Canis et de hospitiis in eo, et de modo expediendi nova ad Dominum.*

Hoc imperium ipse in xii partes condivisit (?)[8] quælibet quarum Syno[9] xii nominatæ Una autem istarum partium est illud Manzi, quod sub se habet duo millia magnarum civitatum. Unde tam magnum est illud suum imperium quod [si] unus pedes per quamcumque partem ipsius vellet ire in sex[10] mensibus haberet satis, sine tamen insulis quæ sunt bene v milia quæ etiam in numerum non ponuntur[11]. Et ut transeuntes suis possint necessitatibus subvenire per totum regnum suum facit hospicia preparari sicut domos et curtiva quæ domus *Yam*[12] vocantur. In istis autem domibus sic paratis sunt omnia illa quæ sunt necessaria humanæ vitæ. Cum autem novitas aliqua in suo habetur imperio statim ambaxiatores sui ad ipsum super equos velociter currunt. Si autem negotium arduum nimis esset et periculosum, super dromedarios ipsi ascendunt. Et cum ad ista Yam, scilicet

[1] *Hak.* has altissimi (albissimi ?). [2] *Far.* Cuthe.
[3] *Hak.* duo et albissimi. *The latter also in Mus.*
[4] *Ven* antecedunt. [5] *Ut.* l; *Far.* v[c]; *Hak.* xv Thuman.
[6] *Ven.* Dominus divisit.
[7] *Ven.* Singo; *not in the other copies collated. except Ut., which has* Signo.
[8] *Mus.* v.
[9] *All this is much abridged in Hak.* [10] *Ven.* Iam.

hospicia sive domos, incipiunt appropinquare, pulsant unum cornu, ad cujus sonitum hospes illius hospitii unum hominem facit velociter preparari, cui ille qui ita velociter venit ad domum illam illam litteram representat quam portavit; et sic iste qui nuper venit ut reficiatur in illa domo manet. Tunc ille qui litteram jam recepit usque ad aliam Yam, scilicet usque ad aliam domum, properat festinanter. Et iste secundus eodem modo facit quo fecit ille primus. Sic per istum modum in una naturali die unum novum xxx dietarum ille recipit imperator[1]. Illic etiam alius modus mittendi pedites observatur. Nam aliqui ordinati cursores in domibus quæ Chidebo[2] nominantur assidue commorantur, habentes cingulum unum circum circa nolarum seu sonaglorum[3]. Harum domorum una distat ab alia miliaribus forte tribus. Cum autem ad illam domum appropinquat istas . as[4] nolas seu sonaglos incipit pulsare fortiter ac valenter; tunc autem ille alius qui est in domo se velociter parat et ad domum vadit quam citius ipse potest. Sic et isto modo, hoc idem et alii cursores tenent et observant donec deventum est ad ipsum Magnum Canem unde in imperio suo [nihil] breviter fieri potest, quin statim vel cito multa penitus ipse sciat[5].

41. *De Venatione Magni Canis.*

Cum ille Canis Magnus ad venandum vadit hunc modum in se habet. Nam extra Cambalec ad xx dietas est unum pulcherrimum nemus[6], viii[7] dietarum per circuitum, in quo tot animalium genera sunt diversa quod valde mirabile est. Circa ipsum nemus positi sunt aliqui pro Magno Cane, qui ipsum custodiunt diligenter. In fine autem trium vel quatuor annorum ad nemus cum gente sua vadit. Cum autem pervenit illic ipse circumdat totum sua gente et in ipsum permittunt canes intrare et aves assuetas post illos emittunt. Et ipsi ad invicem pressi vadunt reducendo illa silvestria ad unam pulcherrimam quæ in medio nemoris habetur planiciem, et sic in ea congregatur bestiarum silvestrium maxima multitudo, sicut sunt[8] leones, cervi,

[1] *Ven. has* nova dietarum trium *only*; *Far. has* xxx; and *Hak. Mus.* xx; *Marc.* xxx.
[2] *Ut.* Chidebeo.
[3] *Ven.* nolis, i.e., sonalis plenum; *Mus.* cum multis pendentibus sonaliis sive nolis.
[4] *Should be* suas.
[5] *Hak. greatly abridges all this again.*
[6] *Hak.* una foresta.
[7] *Far.* vi, *also Hak. and Mus.*
[8] *Far.* boves silvestres; *Ven.* ursi.

multaque alia tam varia quam diversa, quod ibi videtur maximus esse stupor. Unde tantus est rumor atque clamor avium et canum quos in illud nemus emiserunt quod unus non intelligit alterum; et cuncta illa silvestria tremunt clamore illo magno. Dum autem hæc silvestria sic sunt in illa planicie congregata, tunc Magnus Canis ascendit[1] super tres elephantes, et in illa silvestria quinque sagittas jacit, quas cum ejecerit tota societas sua hoc idem similiter facit. Et cum omnes suas jecerunt sagittas, quarum quælibet suum signum habet per quod una ab alia cognoscatur, tunc ille imperator magnus vocari facit *Syo*, id est immani (?) bestiis illis[2] quas de nemore pepulerunt[3]. Et statim bestiæ illæ silvestres quæ ibi vivæ sunt demissæ intrant nemus. Ad alias autem interfectas cuncti barones accedunt accipientes sagittas, quas post illas emiserunt, nam eas bene cognoscunt cum illi inposuerunt sibi signum, unde unusquisque aliud silvestre habet quod sua percussit sagitta. Sic isto modo fit venacio sua[4].

42. *De quatuor festis quæ tenet Canis Magnus.*

Quatuor magna festa in anno iste facit imperator; scilicet, festum Circumcisionis, ejusque Nativitatis diem[5], et sic de reliquis. Ad hæc festa convocat omnes barones hystriones omnesque de suâ parentelâ qui omnes ordinate ponuntur in festo. Maxime autem convocat omnes istos ad duo festa de istis, scilicet, ad festum Circumcisionis et ad festum diei Nativitatis suæ Cum ad aliquod festum istorum sunt isti convocati, tunc accedunt barones cum coronis in capite ipso, imperatore in sua sede residente, sicut superius dictum est; et omnes barones in locis suis deputatis ordinate morantur. Diversimode autem isti sunt barones vestiti. Nam aliqui sunt vestiti de viridi[6], scilicet primi; secundi de sanguineo sunt induti; tercii vero de glauco seu zamno[7] sunt vestiti. Omnes isti sunt in capite coronati, habentes in manu unam tabulam de dentibus elephantum albam, et singulos circulos aureos, bene uno semisse altos[8], stantesque in pedibus et silencium

[1] *Ven. has better* accedit.
[2] *Ven. Scio*, id est misericordiam bestiis illis, &c. *So in Far. Marc.* Syon.
[3] *Far.* repulerunt. [4] *All much more concise in Hak. and Mus.*
[5] *Hak.* et *Mus.* coronationis et desponsationis.
[6] *Ven.* de serico; *Ut.* de serico viridi.
[7] *Ven.* zauno; *Far. has* tertii de croco; *Hak.* et *Mus.* de croceo.
[8] *Ven.* latos.

observantes. Circa istos morantur hystriones cum suis insignis et banderiis. In uno autem angulo cujusdam palacii magni manent philosophi omnes aspicientes et accedentes ad certas horas et puncta. Et cum occurrerit punctum vel hora quam ipsi philosophi petunt, unus clamat valenter et dicit, Debeatis inclinare nostro imperatori domino magno. Tunc omnes barones ter de capite dant in terra. Deinde ille idem exclamabit dicens, Vos surgite cuncti. Et statim ipsi surgunt. Ad alia etiam puncta iterum ipsi attendunt. Cum venit punctum, iterum ille clamabit dicens, Ponite vobis in auriculam digitum. Et faciunt. Et tunc statim dicet, Extrahite. Et obediunt iterum. Sicque modicum stabunt et dicent, *Buratate farinam*[1]: sic et multa alia signa faciunt isti quæ magnam significationem dicunt importare[2]. Deinde sunt officiales multi inquirentes et videntes cunctos barones et hystriones, ne aliquis illorum deficiat. Nam si aliquis ibi deficeret, magnam incurreret pœnam cum autem occurrit punctum et hora istorum hystrionum. Tunc philosophi dicunt facite festum domino. Tunc statim omnes incipiunt pulsare omnia instrumenta sua, et tantus est ille cantus et clamor quod est quasi stupor unus. Deinde vox una clamat dicens, Taceant omnes et sileant! Sic statim omnes tacebunt[3]. Post hæc statim illi de parentela sunt parati cum equis albis. Exinde vox una clamabit dicens, talis de tali parentela, tot centenaria paret equorum domino suo! Ibique statim aliqui sunt parati, ducentes illos equos per ante domum suum[4], ita quod quoddam incredibile est de tot equis albis qui illi domino exenniantur. Deinde sunt barones exennia[5] portantes ex parte aliorum baronum, omnes etiam de monasteriis principales ad ipsum accedunt cum exenniis et suam benedictionem sibi tenentur dare; hoc idem facere nos omnes[6]. Hoc facto et ordinato, tunc aliqui hystriones ad ipsum accedunt, et etiam aliquæ hystrionatrices ante ipsum tam dulciter cantant quod quædam magna jocunditas est audire. Deinde hystriones faciunt venire leones qui

[1] *Far.* omits this.

[2] *Hak.* et *Mus.* quæ scribere nolui quia vana sunt et risu digna.

[3] *Ven. omits this last sentence; and Hak. alone adds:* Tunc accedunt histrionices ante dominum dulciter modulantes quod mihi plus placuit.

[4] *So in Ven. with* dicentes *for* ducentes; *Ut. has* dicentes illos equos parasse domino suo.

[5] Exennia = Xenia.

[6] *Ven., Mus.* nos fratres mirores facere oportet. *The* omnes *in the text is probably miscopied for* oportet.

reverentiam faciunt ipsi imperatori. Deinde hystriones vehi faciunt ciphos aureos per aerem plenos bono vino et ad ora omnium volentium bibere de isto vino porrigunt istos cyphos. Sic hæc et multa alia coram isto domino fiunt. Dicere autem et referre magnitudinem istius domini et illa quæ in curia sua fiunt esset incredibile quoddam nisi ista oculis viderentur. De hoc tamen quod multas expensas facit nemo mirari debet, cum nichil aliud pro moneta expendatur in toto suo regno quam quædam cartæ[1] quæ pro monetâ reputantur ibi, et infinitus thezaurus ad suas recurrit manus[2].

43. *De pepone in quo invenitur bestiola ad modum agni.*

Aliud insuper mirabile valde dici potest, quod tamen non vidi sed illud a personis fide dignis audivi. Nam dicitur quod Caoli[3] est unum regnum magnum in quo sunt montes qui montes Caspei vocantur[4, 5]. Unde in eis ut dicitur nascuntur pepones[6] valde magni qui quando sunt maturi ipsi aperiuntur et invenitur una bestiola ad modum unius agni parvi unde ipsi illos pepones habent et illas carniculas quæ sunt ibi[7]. Et quamquam illud forte aliquibus incredibile videatur tamen ita potest esse verum, sicut dicitur quod in hibernia sunt arbores aves facientes[8].

44. *De regionibus diversis.*

De isto Cataio recedens[9] et veniens versus occidentem, l.[10] dietis transeundo per multas civitates et terras, veni versus terram

[1] *Far.* cartæ confectæ corticibus morariorum, quæ, etc.

[2] *Far.* unde sicut dixi v^{c} (for v) cartæ quæ constituunt unum balis, ballis unum florenum cum dimidio.

[3] *Far. adds*: Cum autem moritur iste Canis omnes Tartari adorant ipsum pro deo.

[4] *Ven.* Cadeli; *Ut.* Cadellis; *Far.* et *Marc.* Caoli; *Mus.* Kaloy.

[5] *Hak.* in uno regno istius Canis in quo sunt montes Kapsei et dicitur illud regnum Kalor.

[6] *Ven.* melones.

[7] *Far. has* et illac caruncutæ pro nobilissimo ferculo reputantur.

[8] *Far. adds* Nam in Imbernia sunt arbores super aquam quarum folia statim ut cadunt in ipsam aquam mutantur in aves. *Hak.* Sicut audivi quod in mari Hibernico stant arbores supra ripam maris et portant fructum sicut essent cucurbitæ, quæ certo tempore cadunt in aquam et fiunt aves vocatæ Bernakles et illud est verum. *To which adds Mus.*: Hoc cuilibet Hibernicam legenti historiam satis patet.

[9] *Hak.* post tres annos.

[10] *Mus.* dietis pluribus.

Pretozoan[1], de quo non est centesima pars ejus quod quasi pro certo de ipso dicitur. Ejus civitas principalis Chosan[2] vocatur [.....] sua civitas principalis[3] multas tamen alias civitates sub se habet. Sed semper pro pacto accipit in uxorem filiam magni Canis. Deinde veni per multas dietas et deveni in unam provinciam quæ vocatur Casan[4]. Ista est secunda melior provincia et melius habitata quam aliqua quæ sit in mundo[5], ubi autem est minus stricta[6], bene tamen est lata I. dietis, et longa pluribus lx, unde ista provincia taliter habitatur quod quando ab una porta alicujus civitatis exitur portæ alterius civitatis videntur[7]. In hâc est magna copia victualium, maxime autem castaneorum. In hâc autem contratâ vel provinciâ nascitur malus barbarus[8], cujus tanta copia habetur illic quod unus asinus minori sex grossis ponderaretur. Hæc autem provincia est una de xii partibus imperii magni Canis.

45. *De regno Tybot, ubi est Papa ydolotatrorum.*

De hâc provinciâ recedens veni ad unum magnum regnum nomine Tybot[9] quod ipsi Indiæ est confine[10]. Totum hoc regnum est subjectum magno Cani[11], et in ipso est major copia panis et vini quam sit in mundo. Gens istius contratæ moratur in tentoriis quæ ex[12] feltris sunt facta nigris. Tota civitas sua regalis et principalis est facta ex muris[13] albis et nigris, omnesque suæ viæ sunt optime scelatæ[14]. In hâc civitate non audet aliquis

[1] *Ven.*, *Far.* Pretezoan; *Mus.* et *Hak.* Pretegoani; *Marc.* Pretegianni.

[2] *Boll.* Tozan, quæ sola de melioribus est in terrâ; *Far.* Cosan; *Hak.* et *Mus.* Kosan; *Marc.* Chosan.

[3] *Read as in Ven.* quâ tamen Vicencia melior diceretur licet ipsa sit sua civitas principalis.

[4] *Ven.* Chasan; *Ut.* Cassan; *Far.* Consan; *Mus.* Chosan; *Hak.* Kasan; *Boll.* Kansan; *Marc.* Casan.

[5] *Mus.* et spissius ut dicitur civitatibus ornata.

[6] *So most MSS. But Marc. which has* dov' ella è più stretta *seems best.* So also *Ram. It should be* magis stricta.

[7] *Hak.* Sicut egomet vidi de multis.

[8] *Ven.* reubarbarum; *Far.* as in text; also *Mus. Marc.* reobarbaro.

[9] *Ven.* Tibot; *Mus.* Tybek; *Hak.* Tibek; *Boll.* Tibet; *Marc.* Tibot.

[10] *Boll.* contiguum est.

[11] *Ven.* Cahaam.

[12] *Mus.* et *Boll.* magnis, *the latter has not* nigris.

[13] *Mus.* ex lapidibus albis et nigris ut scaccarium dispositis et curiose compositis pulcherrime est murata. *Hak.* to like effect.

[14] *Ven.* Sillexatæ; *Far.* Salizate; *Mus.* et *Hak.* pavati; *Marc. has* mattonate *in Italian.*

effundere sanguinem alicujus hominis vel animalis; Et hoc ob reverentiam unius ydoli quod ibi colitur et adoratur. In istâ civitate moratur Lo Abassi[1], id est Papa in linguâ suâ. Iste est caput omnium ydolatrorum[2], quibus dat et distribuit secundum morem suum omnia illa beneficia quæ ipsi habent. Hoc regnum hanc consuetudinem habet. Nam mulieres portant plus quam centum tricas seu dresas, habentes duos dentes ita longos[3] sicut habent apri sive porci silvestres. Hæc etiam alia consuetudo habetur in hâc contratâ. Nam ponatur quod pater alicujus moriatur, et tunc filius ipse sic dicet, Volo honorare patrem meum. Unde faciet convocari omnes sacerdotes, religiosos, omnesque hystriones de contratâ vicinos, similiter et parentes, qui ad campaneam[4] ipsum portant cum gaudio magno, ubi habent paratum unum discum magnum super quo ipsi sacerdotes sibi caput amputabunt, quod postea filio suo ipsi dabunt. Deinde ejus filius cum sua tota societate cantat et pro eo multas orationes facit. Exinde sacerdotes totum corpus ejus incidunt in frusta quod cum sic fecerunt tunc sursum se reducunt cum societate pro eo orationes facientes. Post hæc veniunt aquilæ et vultures de montibus et sic unusquisque suum frustum accipit et asportat. Deinde omnes altâ voce clamant dicentes: Audias[5] qualis homo iste fuit quia ipse sanctus est; nam veniunt angeli Dei et ipsum portant ad paradisum! Sic isto modo faciendo filius ejus multum reputat se honoratum. Cum pater ejus ab angelis Dei, scilicet, ab avibus illis ita honorifice sit portatus, tunc statim filius caput patris accipit, quod coquit et comedit. De testâ autem[6] seu osse capitis sibi fieri facit unum ciphum cum quo ipse et omnes de domo sua semper cum devotione bibunt, et in memoriam patris sui defuncti[7]. Nam sic faciendo, ut dicunt, reverentiam magnam exhibent patri suo; unde multa alia inconsueta et dissoluta fiunt ab istis[8].

[1] *Ven. the same*; *Ut.* lo albafi; *Far.*, *Mus.* et *Hak.* abassi; *Bull.* abbassi; *Marc.* lo abiss.

[2] *Mus.* et *Hak.* sicut noster papa est caput omnium Christianorum.

[3] *Ven. Far.*, et *Mus.* in ore; *Far.* sicut habent porci.

[4] *Mus.* et *Hak.* campum.

[5] Videatis.

[6] *Mus.* id est de crepâ (?).

[7] *Hak. with a touch of humour has* comesti.

[8] *Hak.* Et multa vilia et abhominabilia facit gens illa quæ non scribo, quia non valent, nec homines crederent nisi viderent.

46. *De Divite qui pascitur a* L *Virginibus.*

Dum autem essem in provincia Manzi veni per juxta pedem palacii cujusdam hominis popularis cujus vita per hunc habetur modum. Ipse enim habet L[1] domicellas virgines sibi continue servientes. Et cum vadit ad comedendum et in mensa jam sedet omnia fercula quaterna et quinterna[2] sibi portantur ab ipsis cum diversis cantibus et multis generibus musicorum, et sibi cibum in os ponunt sicut si esset unus passerinus[3] et insuper ante ejus conspectum continue cantatur, donec omnia fercula sunt comesta. Deinde alia quinque fercula ab aliis portantur et recedentibus istis primis cum aliis multis cantibus et diversis generibus musicorum. Sic isto modo ducit vitam suam dum est in mundo[4], hic xxx *tuman tagaris* risi de redditu habet, quorum quodlibet tuman x milia facit; unum autem *tagar* pondus est unius asini magni. Curtivum palatii sui per duo miliaria tenet; palatium autem illud in quo ipse moratur est factum per istum modum; nam pavimentum[5] ipsius unum laterem habet de auro alterum de argento. In curtivo istius palatii factus est unus monticulus de auro et argento, super quo facta sunt etiam monasteria et campanilia, ut homines fieri faciunt pro delectacionibus suis. Unde dicitur quod quatuor tales homines qualis iste est sunt in regno ipsius[6] Manzi. Nobilitas vero ipsius est habere ungues longas, et in tantum aliqui crescere permittunt ungues pollicis, quod cum ipsis circumdant sibi manus. Pulchritudo autem mulierum est parvos habere pedes. Unde hanc consuetudinem habent matres illarum mulierum, nam quando eis nascuntur aliquæ puellæ sibi ligant pedes quos nunquam crescere vel modicum dimittunt illis.

47. *De morte Senis de Monte.*

Dum autem recederem de terris Pretezoan[7], veniens versus occidentem applicui ad quamdam contratam quæ Millestorte[8]

[1] *Far.* 40. [2] *Far.* quinterna et quinterna.

[3] *Ven.* avicula quædam; *Hak.* pascentes cum sicut avis aviculas, et habet semper 5 fercula triplicata, etc.

[4] *Ven.* donec vixerit vitam suam; *Mus.* et sic hoc modo ducit in hoc seculo vitam suam.

[5] *Mus.* aulæ in qua ipse infra illud palatium moratur.

[6] *Ven.* ipso. [7] *Ven.* Preteian.

[8] *Ven.* Ministorte; *Ut.* Millistorte; *Mus.* Melescorte; *Hak.* Milestorite; *Marc.* Milestorte.

nominatur. Hæc contrata pulchra est et multum fertilis[1]. In hac contrata unus erat qui vocabatur Senex a Monte, qui inter duos montes contratæ hujus unum fecerat murum, qui istum circumdabat montem. Infra istum murum pulchriores erant fontes qui unquam possent reperiri. Apud istos fontes positæ erant pulchriores domicellæ virgines quæ unquam possent reperiri, equi pulcherrimi, omneque illud quod pro aliâ delectatione alicui humano corpori poterat inveniri; unde hunc locum vocabant paradisum. Cum autem juvenem valoris aliquem ipse videbat in istâ suâ paradiso ipsum poni faciebat[2] per quosdam autem conductus vinum et lac illuc descendere faciebat[3]. Et cum volebat facere sicari, id est assaxinari, aliquem regem vel baronem, illum qui preerat illi paradiso petere faciebat, ut aliquem inveniret qui magis esset aptus delectari in ista sua paradiso, et morari. Iste autem talis dum sic esset inventus et ibi positus esset, ei potacionem unam dari faciebat quæ ipsum statim sopiebat. Tunc ipsum taliter dormientem de paradiso extrahi faciebat. Qui cum excitabatur et extra paradisum se videbat in tantâ erat positus agonia quod quid ageret penitus nesciebat. Quare illum Senem a monte rogabat constanter ut eum in illam reduceret paradisum in qua prius positus erat. Tunc senex ille dicebat. Tu illic ire non potes ni talem regem interficias vel baronem. Unde seu moriaris sive non, te in ista ponam paradiso. Et quia iste sic delectabatur morari paradiso, per eum sicari id est assaxinare faciebat omnes illos quos volebat. Ideoque omnes reges orientis timebant istum senem sibique tributum magnum exhibebant. Cum autem Tartari quasi totum cepissent mundum[4], venerunt ad istum senem; cui finaliter dominium acceperunt. Quod cum

[1] *Mus.* atque fortis.

[2] *This should come before* cum autem juvenem, *as in Ven.*

[3] *Far. here has a considerable diversity from the rest*:—Per hunc modum; nam nullus erat in curiâ suâ præter paucos secretarios suos qui veritatem delusionis sciret de hoc suo paradiso. Unde accipi faciebat juvenes fortes corpore et ipsos poni faciebat in stallis ubi morantur eques (equi) et ibidem vivere miserrime faciebat. Et faciebat eos de spreto habitu indui et nunquam de illis stallis exibant. Itaque quasi nesciebant quod essent mundi blanditiæ, et quasi desperabantur. Cum autem sic erant afflicti faciebat eis unam potationem dari quæ eos fortissime soporabat (*sic*), et tunc ponebat illos in hoc paradiso inter illas puellas; per quosdam autem conductas, etc. *Hak. has* Iste senex cum voluerit sibi vindicare vel interfecere regem aliquem vel Baronem, dicit illi qui præerat illi Paradiso ut aliquam de notis illius regis vel Baronis introduceret in Paradisum illum, et illum deliciis frui permitteret, et tunc daret sibi potionem, etc. *Mus. has the same a little more diffusely.*

[4] *Ven.* Oriens.

ei sic fuisset acceptum multos de istis hiis sicariis emissit de paradiso per quos sicari et interfici faciebat multos Tartarorum. Hoc videntes ipsi Tartari ad illam civitatem in quâ senex iste erat, venerunt et eam obsederunt; cum ab eâ non discesserint donec illam et ipsum senem finaliter habuerunt. Et cum eum ceperunt vinculis eum vinxerunt et malam mortem illum sustinere fecerunt.

48. *De demonibus a fratribus Minoribus expulsis.*

In hâc autem contratâ Omnipotens Deus fratribus minoribus hanc dedit gratiam magnam[1]. Nam in magnâ Tartariâ ita pro nichilo habent expellere demones ab obsessis, sicut de domo expellerent unum canem. Unde multi homines et mulieres a demone sunt obsessi, quos ligatos bene de x dietis ipsi ad fratres nostros conducunt. Isti autem demoniaci cum adducti sunt ad fratres, ipsi ex parte et nomine Jhesu Christi precipiunt demonibus illis ut exire debeant de illis corporibus obsessorum quam citius ipsi possunt. Tunc statim mandato facto exeunt ab illis. Deinde qui sunt à demone liberati se statim faciunt baptizari[2]. Tunc fratres illa sua ydola de feltro accipientes quæ ipsi habent cum cruce et aquâ benedictâ illa portant ad ignem. Deinde omnes de contrata veniunt videre comburi deos suorum vicinorum. Tunc fratres ista ydola accipientes illa ponunt in ignem et tunc illa de igne exeunt[3]; propter quod fratres postea de aqua accipiunt benedicta quam in ignem projiciunt et statim demon fugit ab igne[4], et sic fratres in ignem ydolum projiciunt ibique conburitur, et tunc demon clamat in aere, dicens[5]; Videas! videas! quod de meâ habitatione sum expulsus! Et sic statim per istum modum nostri fratres multos in illâ contratâ baptizant[6].

[1] *Boll.* contra immundos spiritus magnam contulit potestatem.

[2] *Hak.* et idola sua et pecorum suorum statim dant fratribus, quæ sunt communiter de feltro et de crinibus mulierum.

[3] *Boll.* frequenter agente diabolo prosiliunt extra ignem.

[4] *Hak.* demones in effigie fumi nigerrimi fugerunt et idola remanserunt et combusta sunt.

[5] *Boll.* Indignatus ergo Sathanas cum suis, quia vasa diu possessa amisit, in aere vociferat dicens, Videre qualiter de meo habitaculo cum injuria sum expulsus, etc.

[6] *Instead of this, Hak. has an unintelligible sentence meant for the following as found in Mus.* ...baptizant, qui cito ad ydola et errores suos multotiens recederent nisi fratres semper cum illis stent ad illos in fide Christi continue confirmandos.

49. *De valle quâdam in quâ terribilia vidit Fr. Odoricus.*

Aliud terribile magnum ego vidi. Nam cum irem per unam vallem quæ [est] posita super flumen deliciarum, in ea multa et innumerabilia corpora mortuorum ego vidi, in quâ etiam audivi diversa genera musicorum, maxime autem Achara[1], quæ ibi mirabiliter pulsabantur. Unde tantus erat ibi clamor, quod timor michi maximus incumbebat. Hæc autem vallis forte longa est vii vel viii miliaribus terræ, in quâ, si aliquis infidelium intrat nunquam de illa exit, sed statim moritur sine mora[2]. Et quamquam in illa sic omnes moriantur, tamen volui intrare ut viderem finaliter quid hoc esset. Dum sic autem vallem ego intrassem, ut jam dixi, tot corpora mortua ibi vidi quod nisi aliquis illa vidisset quasi sibi incredibile videretur. In hac etiam valle ab uno latere ejus in ipso saxo unam faciem hominis valde[3] terribilem ego vidi, quæ in tantum terribilis erat quod præ nimio timore spiritum me perdere penitus credebam[4]. Qua propter[5] VERBUM CARO FACTUM EST continue meo ore proferebam. Ad ipsam faciem nunquam fui ausus totaliter appropinquare sed ab ipsa vii vel viii passibus distans ego fui. Cum autem illic accedere non auderem, ad aliud caput vallis ego ivi[6] et tunc ascendi super unum montem arenosum, in quo undique circumspiciens nichil videbam preter illa achara[7] quæ pulsari mirabiliter audiebam. Cum autem in capite montis ego fui illic, argentum reperi in maxima quantitate, ibi, quasi squamæ piscium, congregatum de quo posui in gremio meo[8]. Et quia de ipso non curabam[9] illud totaliter in terram projeci. Et sic dante Deo inde illæsus exivi. Deinde omnes Sarraceni cum hoc sciverunt reverebantur me multum, dicentes

[1] *Ven. Far.*, Nachara; *Hak. has* Maxime de cytharis unde multum timui; *Mus. the like.*

[2] *Hak.* Et ideo omnes de contrata declinant a latere. Et tentatus eram intrare et videre quid hoc esset, *and so on, telling the same story, but in words generally quite different; Mus.* agrees as usual with *Hak.*, but expresses things a little more wordily.

[3] *Ven.* Maximum et terribilem.

[4] Videbam.

[5] *Ven.* Cum signo crucis.

[6] *Ven. simply* Ivi tandem ad aliud caput vallis.

[7] *Ven.* nihil videbam nisi quod audiebam Nachera illa pulsare; *Hak.* nihil vidi nisi cytharas illas, etc.; *Mus. has the like.*

[8] *Hak. adds* pro mirabili ostendendo, sed ductus conscientiâ in terram projeci nihil mecum reservans, etc.

[9] *Ven.* et timens etiam ne tali illusione forte mihi denegare exitus.

me esse baptizatum et sanctum; illos autem qui erant mortui in illa valle dicebant esse homines demonis infernalis[1].

50. *Unum refert de magno Cane Fr. Odoricus*[2].

Unum referam de magno Cane quod vidi. Consuetudo est in illis partibus quod quando prædictus dominus per aliquam contratam transit, omnes homines ante hospicia[3] suorum domorum igne accendunt et aromata apponunt ac faciunt fumum, ut domino

[1] *Hak.* demonum infernalium qui pulsant cytharas ut homines allciant intrare et interficiant. Hæc de visis certitudinaliter ego Fr. Odoricus hic inscripsi: et multa mirabilia omisi ponere quia homines non crediderint nisi vidissent.

[2] *Here occurs one of the marked differences in the copies. For at this place the copies* Far. *and* Boll. *conclude Odoric's narrative and introduce his attestation of veracity,* Ego Frater Odoricus, etc., *as below. After this they add an appendix, as it were:* Notandum quod ego frater Marchesinus de Bassano de ordine Minorum ista audivi a fratre Odorico predicto, ipso adhuc vivente, nam plura audivi quæ ipse non scripsit. Inter alia quæ ipse locutus est hoc quoque dixit. Nam dixit quod semel dum Canis Magnus iret in Cambalec [de] Sandu ipse frater Odoricus erat cum iiij^{or} fratribus minoribus sub una arbore quæ plantata erat juxta viam per quam ipsum Canem transitum facere oportebat. Unus autem istorum fratrum erat episcopus. Cum autem iste Canis cœpit appropinquare iste episcopus induit se habitu episcopali, et accepit crucem et posuit eam in fusto, et tunc isti iiij^{or} fratres inceperunt altâ voce cantare ymnum VENI CREATOR SPIRITUS. Et tunc Canis Magnus hoc audito rumore interrogavit quid hoc esset. Tum illj iiij^{or} barones qui erant juxta eum dixerunt quod erant iiij^{or} Rabani Franchi. Tunc ipse Canis fecit eos ad se accedere. Ille autem episcopus acceptâ cruce de fusto tradidit eam osculandam ipso Magno Cani. Ipse vero jacebat, et statim visâ cruce erexit se in sedendo, et deposito galerio de capite crucem fuit devote et humillime osculatus. Iste autem Dominus unam consuetudinem habet. Nam nullus audet in conspectu suo vacuus apparere, unde ipse Fr. Odoricus habens unum parvum calathum plenum pomis ipsi magno Cani fecit exenium. Ipse autem Canis accepit duo poma unum quorum medietatem comedit, aliud vero in manibus ipse gestabat et sic inde recessit. Ex quo satis apparet quod ipse Canis aliquid habuit in fide nostrâ, propter Fratres Minores qui continue in sua curiâ commorantur, cum deposuerit galerium et fecerit tam devote hanc reverentiam ipsi cruci; quod galerium secundum quod audivi a fratre Odorico plus valet quam tota Marchia Trevisana, propter perlas quæ sunt ibi et lapides preciosas. *The preceding is given by the Bollandists after H. de Glatz in the same manner with slightly different language. The following is omitted by* BOLL., *but is added to the above in the Farsetti MS., and as far as I have seen, appears in no other:* Præterea unum aliud audivi ab eo. Nam dixit quod semel in anno Magnus Canis mittit unum de Tartaris suis ad Soldanum Babilloniæ, quem recepit cum magno timore. Et die constitutâ Soldanus stat super unius parvi rivuli ripam et Tartarus stat in alia ripâ cum arcu in manu tenso et cum sagittâ fortissime venenatâ. Stat Soldanus genibus flexis et manibus cancellatis, nihil breviter habens in capite nec in dorso præter interulam. Quem iste Tartarus crudeliter multum alloquens, ter interrogat, dicens: Confiteris tu quod habeas vitam pro Magno Cane, et quod sis servus ejus. Soldanus autem respondet cum magno timore quod sic. Alioquin statim illum interficeret. Hoc autem Canis in signum suæ potentiæ fieri facit: præterea nec arbitror oblivioni mandandum.

[3] *Ven.* hostia (i.e., ostia).

suo transeunti odorem emittant. Et multi homines obviam sibi vadunt. Dum autem semel[1] veniret in Cambalec et de adventu suo certitudinaliter diceretur, unus noster episcopus et aliqui nostri fratres minores et ego ivimus sibi obviam bene per duas dietas. Et dum appropinquavimus ad eum posui[2] crucem super lignum, ita quod publice videri poterat. Ego vero habebam in manu thuribulum quod mecum detuleram. Et incepimus cantare alta voce, dicentes VENI CREATOR SPIRITUS, etc. Et dum sic cantaremus audivit voces nostras nosque vocari fecit et ad eum accedere nos jussit. Cum superius alias dictum sit, nullus audet currui suo appropinquare ad jactum lapidis nisi vocatus exceptis custodientibus eum. Et dum ivissemus ad eum cruce elevatâ, deposuit statim galerium suum sive capellum inestimabilis quasi valoris, et fecit reverentiam ipsi cruci. Statimque in thuribulum quod habebam incensum reposui, et episcopus noster de manu meâ accepit, eumque thurificavit. Accedentes ad predictum dominum semper aliquid ad offerendum secum deferunt, observantes illam legem antiquam, NON APPAREBIS IN CONSPECTU MEO VACUUS. Idcirco portavimus nobiscum aliqua poma [et ea] sibi super unum incisorium reverenter obtulimus. Et ipse duo accepit de ipsis pomis, et de uno aliquantulum comedit. Et deinde predictus episcopus noster ei benedictionem suam impendit. Et hoc facto nobis innuit ut recederemus ne equi post ipsum venientes et multitudo in aliquo nos offenderent. Statim vero ab eo discessimus et divertimus, et ad aliquos barones suos per fratres nostri ordinis ad fidem conversos ivimus, qui in exercitu ejus erant. Et obtulimus eis de predictis pomis. Qui cum maximo gaudio ipsa recipientes, ita videbantur lætari, ac si illis prebuissemus familiariter magnum munus.

51. *Testimonium perhibet Fr. Odoricus.*

Ego frater Odoricus Boemus[3] de foro Julii provinciæ sancti Antonii de quâdam terrâ quæ dicitur Portus Maonis[4], de ordine fratrum minorum, testificor et testimonium perhibeo Reverendo

[1] *Ven.* quâdam vice. [2] *Ven.* posuimus.

[3] This addition to Odoric's description of himself occurs in no other copy that I have seen, Latin or Italian.

[4] *Ven. correctly* Naonis; *Hak.* Vahonis; *Mus.* Nahomonis.

Patri fratri Guidotto ministro antedictæ provinciæ sancti Antonii in Marchia Trevissina, cum ab eo fuerim per obedientiam requisitus quod hæc omnia quæ superius scripta sunt, aut propriis oculis vidi aut ab hominibus fide dignis audivi; communis etiam locutio illarum contratarum illa quæ non vidi testatur esse vera[1]. Multa etiam alia ego dimisi quæ scribi non feci, cum ipsa quasi incredibilia apud aliquos viderentur nisi illa propriis oculis conspexissent[2]. Ego autem de die in diem me preparo ad illas contratas accedere, in quibus dispono me mori ut illi placebit a quo cuncta bona procedunt[3]. Prædicta autem fideliter frater Guillelmus de Solagna in scriptis redegit sicut prædictus frater Odoricus Boemus ore proprio exprimebat, anno Domini M.CCC.XXX[4] mense Maii Paduæ in loco Sancti Antonii. Nec curavit de latino difficili et curioso ac ornato, sed sicut ille narrabat sic iste scribebat, ad hoc ut omnes facilius intelligerent quæ dicuntur, etc[5].

[*This is the end of the Parisian MS., No.* 2584. *The following conclusion is from* MS. FAR.]

52. *De morte fratris Odorici.*

Ipse Beatus Frater Odoricus cum de ultramarinis partibus ad suam provinciam remeasset, marchiam scilicet Trevisanam, presentiam summi Pontificis adire volebat, ut ab eo licentiam peteret

[1] *Ven.* Quæ etiam omnes illarum partium communiter testabantur.

[2] *Hak. incorrectly* Multa etiam alia ego dimisissem nisi illa propriis oculis conspexissem.

[3] These last words are not in *Venni*, nor in *Ut.*

[4] *In* UT. *this runs as written by William in the first person*—Ego Fr. Gulielmus...redegi...nec curavi de Latino difficili et ornato stilo, sed sicut ille narrabat ego scribebam cum domestico eloquio et communi ad hoc ut omnes facilius intelligerent quæ hic scribuntur, vel in isto libro dicuntur.

[5] HAK. *and* MUS. *relate the same at greater length, with addition of visions etc., and end by quoting the attestation of the notary Guetellus to the detail of Odoric's miracles, which has been mentioned in the biographical notice prefixed to his Itinerary.* BOLL. *has substantially the conclusion that is in the text, adding to the mention of the miracles:* Hoc testatus est litteris suis in curiâ Papæ Patriarcha Aquileiensis in cujus diœcesi hæc fiunt. Et protestatur Styria et Carinthia et multi de Italia et regiones quam plurimæ circumquaque. *And then:* Ego Fr. Henricus dictus de Glatz, qui prædicta omnia transcripsi existens Avenione in curiâ D'ni. Papæ anno D'ni. supradicto, si non intellexissem ibidem de felice Fr. Odorico et sociis qui secum fuerant, tot perfectiones et sanctitatis ejus opera, vix aliquibus h. per eum descriptis credere potuissem: Sed coegit me vitæ suæ veritas dictis ejus fidem credulam adhibere. Scripsi autem hæc anno D'ni. trecentisimo quadragesimo in Pragâ circa festum omnium Sanctorum, et copiosius ea audieram in Avenione.

per [ut] L fratres, de quâcumque provinciâ essent dummodo ire vellent, secum ducere posset, recessit de Foro Julii unde ipse natus est. Dum esset Pisis gravi infirmitate correptus, quamobrem compulsus est ad propriam [provinciam] remeare. Quapropter in utino de Foro Julii civitate, anno ab incarnatione Domini MCCCXXXI, pridie idus Januarii de hoc mundo triumphans pervenit ad gloriam beatorum. Ubi virtutibus et miraculis quam plurimis coruscat. Nam per eum cæci, claudi, muti, surdi sunt saluti, permittente Domino, restituti. Deo gratias. Amen.

APPENDIX II.

OLD ITALIAN TEXT OF ODORIC, FROM A MS. IN THE BIBLIOTECA PALATINA AT FLORENCE.

INCOMINCIA LA STORIA DI FRATE ODORIGO.

1. Viaggio di Trebisonda e dell Erminia Maggiore.

[*In questo anno corrente del* MCCCXVIII *divotamente prego il mio Signore Iddio che porga tal lume al mio intelletto, ch' io possa o in tutto, o in parte rammemorare le maravigliose cose da me viste con questi occhi: alle quali perche maravigliose siano, non perciò se gli deve haver minor fede: Poscia che appresso Iddio niuna cosa è impossibile. Voglio dunque a coloro, che queste cose, che io dirò, vedute non hanno, quanto meglio potrò, brevemente scrivendo, dimostrarle. E giuro per quell' Iddio, che in mio aiuto ho chiamato, in questa narratione non dovere io dire, ne meno, ne più di quel che in varie parti del mondo camminando ho visto*[1].]

Anno Domini MCCCXVIII io frate Odorigo[2] da Friolli de l'ordine de' frati minori della provincia di Padova [*nel mese d'Aprile, con buona licenza del mio superiore*], partimi de la detta provincia e [*navigando con l'ajuto di Dio, e buon vento*] veni in Gostantinopoli con altri miei compagni, e di quindi passai il mare Maggiore e veni in Trebisonda nella contrada detta metropolli di Ponto nella qual terra giace il corpo del beato Atanasio[3] che fece il simbolo. E [in] questa terra vidi una mirabil cosa[4] ch' uno[5] che menava più di dumilia pernici[6] le quali il seguitavano per

[1] *From* MIN. RAM. [2] MIN. RAM. di Porto Maggiore.

[3] MIN. RAM. quale tanto più oserò di dirla, quanto che molti, con quali ho parlato in Venetia, m' hanno riferito d' haver visto simil cosa.

[4] MIN. RAM. un' huomo barbuto e di feroce aspetto.

[5] MIN. RAM. a quella guisa che menano i Pastori loro armenti.

[6] MIN. RAM. Quali perdici volando, & andando via le menò a donare all' imperatore di Costantinopoli.

mirabile modo; perchè sempre andavano e volavano e stavan con lui per più dì, e ubidielo, e parean quasi che parlassono con lui nella lingua sua. E quando andavano lo 'mperadore prendea delle pernici quante volea, e l' altre se ne venieno co lui infino al castello che si chiama Zavengha[1].

[*Delche maravigliandomi fortemente, udì da coloro, che sarebbe egli per far altre prove più maravigliosr di queste: fra le quali fu questa, che un giorno essendo stato ammazzato un caro, & fidelissimo fameglio dello imperatore*[2] *e non trovandosi il mal fattore, ne fu questo barbuto dallo imperatore con istanza pregato, che non qualche via lo scoprisse. Il quale, fatto portare il giovane morto nel mezzo della piazza tutto insanguinato, in presenza di molta gente, sconginrando con li suoi incantesmi, gli messe in bocca una crescia piccola di fior di farina. Il quale non si presto hebbe in bocca la crescia, ché si rizzò in piedi, e disse chi l' haveva ammazzato, e perche cagione: E ciò detto ricadde subito morto*[3].]

Di Trebisonda andai a Zangha, ch' è castello de lo 'mperadore, e quivi si cava l' argento[4] e 'l cristallo, secondo che si dice. Quindi andai in Erminia Maggiore, e pervenni ad Arzelone, ch' è presso d' una giornata al fiume del Paradiso detto d'Eufrates. In questa terra una gran donna lasciò in testamento che de' beni suoi si facessoro un munistero di meretrici al servigio degli uomini in ogni carnalità, per l' anima sua maladeta[5]. Di quindi veni al monte ov' è l' Arca Noè, e volentieri sarei salito alla cima del monte avegnache mai non si trovava chi vi potesse salire, ma perchè non volle aspettare la carovanna non volli provarmene. Il monte è altissimo e bellissimo, e quasi va la neve insino a la terza parte del monte[6].

2. *Delle cittade di Taurisio e di Soldania.*

Poi veni[7] in Persia nella citade ch' è detta Taurisio, e 'n quella via passai il fiume Rosso, ove Alessandro isconfisse il Re d'Asia Dario, e in quella cittade noi abbiamo due luoghi: è nella

[1] MIN. RAM. Zanicco.

[2] MIN. RAM. *has* di Costantinopoli, which is probably an interpolation.

[3] MIN. RAM. [4] MIN. RAM. l' oricalco.

[5] This extraordinary story is given more diffusely in MIN. RAM. It is in no Latin MS. that I know of.

[6] MIN. RAM. *has*—perche il monte è santissimo, & oltre ciò inaccessibile per l' altissima, neve che vi sta tutto l' anno, e piglia almeno le due parti del monte.

[7] MIN. RAM. *has absurdly* navigammo e venimmo

cittade (?) mirabile moltitudine, e di mercatanti molti, ove è uno monte di sale, del quale può prendere chi ve ne vuole[1]. Di quindi veni in Soldania ov' è la sedia dello Re di Persia, nella quale è un luogo de' Frati Predicatori, e uno de' Frati Minori.

3. *Della cittade de' tre Magi, e del Mare Sabuloso.*

Di quindi venni in Saba cittade e terra della quale furono i tre Magi. E tutti i Saracini che dimorano ivi dicono che i Magi furono di quella terra ch' è cittade grande e ben sicura; ma ora è molta diserta. Ed è di lunge da Gerusaleme ben sessanta giornate. Di quindi pervenimo al mare Sabuloso[2], cioè il mare della rena, ov' io isteti quatro dì nel porto[3]. E la carrovana non fu ardita d' entrare nel Sabulo, ch' è una rena secca, che si muove al modo del mare della tempesta del vento; che se alcuno allora v' entrasse incontinente sarebbe ricoperto e affogato. Ov' io vidi monti altissimi di rena i quali in poco tempo si disfanno e altri in poco tempo si rifanno. Di quindi pervenni a una cittade grande ch' è chiamata Geste, la quale è ultima terra di Persia verso l' India; nella quale terra è grande abondanza di grano e di fichi, e uve paserine[5] molto buone, e sono verdi come erba e saporitissime. E di quindi entrai in Caldea, nella quale contrada vanno gli uomini ornati al modo delle donne della nostra contrada, e portano in capo cufie ornate di pietre e d' oro e di preziose cose; ma le femine per contrario vanno mal vestite con camice corte insino a ginocchio, e scalze, e le maniche si larghe che toccano infino in terra[6], e portano eziandio le brache lunghe

[1] MIN. RAM. *has another ignorant interpolation*, e già se n' erano carche navi, e mandato dove ne era carestia.

[2] MIN. RAM. Sabbionoso. *It is* Sabuoso in the *Palatine*; *I have inserted the* l, *as it occurs below.*

[3] ID. E ci convenne star colla caravana in porto ben quatro giorni. E non fu niuno di noi, che ardisse d' intrar in questo loco.

[4] MIN. RAM. E si muta, a quella guisa che fa il mare, quando è in tempesta, hor qui, hor li, e fa nel muoversi l' istesso ondegiar che fa il mare, in guisa tale, che un infinità di persone s' è trovata, caminando per viaggio, oppressa, & sommersa, e coverta da queste arene, le quali dal vento dibattute, & trasportate, hor fanno come monte in un loco, & hor in un, altro, secondo la forza del vento, da cui sono elle agitate.

[5] *For* passoline. MIN. RAM. *has* d' uva passa grossissima, *which last word is another interpolation, as the Persian raisins are very small, a fact noted in the best Latin MSS.*

[6] MIN. RAM. *after* ginocchio *has* con braghesse, e legazze, che pendono insino al collo del piede.

insino in terra, e 'n capo un poco di panno corto quasi un mezo braccio; e capelli non sono legati. Quivi vidi uno giovane che dovea prender moglie. Quando venne il tempo de lo sposare, tutte le fanciulle vergini della contrada istavan con lei e piangeano, ma lo isposo istava ornato con vestimenti preziosi[1], il quale cavalcoe sopra un asino, e la moglie gli andò dietro a piede, mal vestita e scalza[2]. Il padre della fanciulla gli diede la benedizione, e in quel modo si maritano quivi le fanciulle[3] Di quindi dopo molte terre veni a la terra di Giobo. E ottimamente sicura e fertile, e gli uomini de la contrada mi narraro la storia di Giobo. Quivi gli uomini filano e non le femmine.

4. *Della Torre di Babel; et della cittade Ormes.*

Di quindi veni a la tore di Babel presso a quattro giornate per selve di datteri ove non avemo che mangiare niente altro che datteri; e l'aque di quindi son salse e poche ven' avea. E per questa selva andai ben quatordici giornate e volentieri sarei ito a la torre, ma nonne avea compagnia e però lasciai di non irvi. Poi venimmo a Ormes ch' è cominciamento de l' India ed è in capo del mare la quale terra è in un isola ed è dilunge a terra ferma ben cinque miglia: in su la quale non nasce albore e non v'ha aqua dolce ed e citta molto bella, e ben murata. Quivi ae si grande abondanza di datteri che per tre soldi n' arebe altri quantunque e ne potesse portare. Ed eziandio v' è grande abondanza di pane e di pesce e di carne ma non è terra sana. [E] pericolosa, e incredibile di calura. E gli uomini e le femmine son tutti grandi. E passando io quivi fu morto uno, e venirvi tutti i giulari della contrada, e puosollo nel mezzo della casa nel' letto; e due femmine saltavano intorno al morto, e giulari sonavano cemboli ed altri istormenti. Poi due femmine abbracciavano il morto, e lodavallo, e l' altre femmine si levavano ritte, e ciascuna tenea un canello in boca e zufolavo; e quando avea zufolato, ed ella si ponea a sedere, e cosi fecero per tutta la notte. E l matina il portaro al sepolcro.

[1] MIN. RAM. stando il giovane sposo con la testa bassa, e leggiadrissimamente vestito.

[2] ID. toccando l' asino.

[3] *Here the* MIN. RAM. *and the* PALAT. *cease to run parallel. The former passes at once to the traveller's arrival at Tana.*

5. *Passa il Fr. Odorico alla Tana d' India.*

Di quindi navicammo per lo mare oceano venti otto dì; poi pervenimmo in Tana, la quale fu cittade del Re Porro; la quale terra è posta in buon luogo, ed a grande abondanza di vittuaglia, e spezialmente di burro, di *susuan* [sisamo ?], e riso. Quivi sono molti diversi animali, leoni neri, e pipistrelli grandi come anitre, topi grandi come cani communi, ne non sono presi da gatti ma da cani per la loro grandeza[1]. In questa terra sono idolatrici, ma 'l signore adorano i saracini il bue[2] e dicono ch' egli è il grande Idio, e non mangiano carne di bue, e lavorano col bue sei anni, il settimo anno i lasciano libero. Prendono anche dello sterco del bue, e pongolosi a la faccia, e dicono da indi inanzi che sono santificati. Alcuno altri adorano gli albori ed alcuno altri adorano il fuoco ed altri i pesci ed altri il sole ed altri la luna. In questa terra non prendono moglie altro che del mese di febraio, e questo è appo loro il primo mese de l' anno. Gli uomini e le femmine vanno tutti ignudi, e 'n cotal modo menano le mogli. Il marito e la moglie salgono insu uno cavallo insieme; è 'l marito di dietro, e tiene la moglie in braccio, e non hanno indosso altro ch' una camicia e 'n capo una mitera grande piena di fiori[3]. E 'l marito tiene un coltello[4] grande ingnudo sopra le spalle della moglie, e tutte le vergini vanno innanzi cantando ordinatamente, e ora restano un poco e poi vanno oltre[5]. In questa terra sono albori che fanno vino che 'l chiamano *loahc*[6] e inebria molto gli uomini. Quivi eziandio non si sopeliscono i morti ma portansi con gran festa a campi alle bestie e gli ucelli che gli divorano. E sono qui i buoi bellissimi, che hanno le corna bene uno mezzo passo, e sono iscrignuti a modo d'un camello. In questa terra vidi il

[1] MIN. RAM. Qui viddi uno Leon grande, e negrissimo, alla guisa di un bufalo: e viddi le nottole, o vogliam dire vespertiglioni, come sono le anatre di qui da noi. E topi, chiamati Sorici di Faraone, che sono grandi come volpi, etc.

[2] *The scribe has made a hash of this. It is intended to be the equivalent of* MIN. RAM.—Il paese è di Saracini; la gente è idololatra e adora il bue. *It probably ran,* In questa terra sono Signori i Saracini, ma la gente, etc.

[3] MIN. RAM. una cuffia alta alla guisa d' una mitra, e lavorata di fiorietti bianchi.

[4] MIN. RAM. appontato alla gola.

[5] ID. fino a casa, dove lo sposo, e la sposa si restano soli, e la mattina levati, vanno pur nudi come prima.

[6] See note on translation *in loco.*

luogo e gli uomini qua sono i quatro frati minori[1] come si narra nella storia loro. Da questa terra insino a Panche[2] sono xiiii giornate, e qui è la sedia del Re Poro che fu isconfito dal grande Alessandro.

16[3]. *Del Pepe e come si lo vendemiano; e del regno di Minabar.*

Poi veni per lo mare Oceano quaranta giornate, e pervenni a lo 'mperio di Pirabar[4] dove nasce il pepe. E nasce in cotal modo. L' albore che fa il pepe è fatto come l' elera che nasce su per gli muri. Questo pepe sale su per gli albori che gli uomini piantano a modo de l'elera, e sale sopra tutti li albori più alti[5]. Questo pepe fa i rami a modo dell' uve; e in peruno inproducono tanta quantità di frutto ch' è incredibile; e maturo si lo vendemiano a modo de l'uve e poi pongono il pepe al sole a seccare come uve passe, e nulla altra cosa si fa del pepe. E del pepe ricente fanno composto e io ne mangiai, ed ebbine assai. E ivi cosi grande abondanza di pepe come qui in nostra terra di grano. E la selva dura per diciotto giornate, en tutto il mondo non nasce pepe altro che qui. Quivi sono due citadi, una che si chiama Filandria e l'altra Sigli. Quivi sono molte calcatrici o vero cocolgrilli, e leoni in grande moltitudine, e diverse bestie che non sono in Franchia. Qui si arde il verzino per legne, e tutti i boschi son pieni di paoni salvatichi. Poi venni a Colonbio, ch' è la migliore terra d'India per mercatanti. Quivi è il gengiovo in grande copia e del buono del mondo. Quivi vanno tutti ignudi, salvo che portano un panno innanzi a la vergogna istremo (?) e legalosi di dietro.

17. *Delle consuetudini strane della gente di Minabar.*

Quivi adorano il bue e l' idolo loro è mezzo buoe e mezzo uomo, e favella alcun' ora e vuole sangue di xxx uomini e più, e sangue di femmina, e vuole che sieno uccisi dinanzi da lui. E

[1] *Sic. Probably should be to this effect:* Vidi il luogo, e gli uomini che uccisero i quattro frati, etc.

[2] *Sic. Perhaps it should be* Paroche (Broach) *mentioned by Jordanus in a letter in this collection.*

[3] The Nos. 6-15 are omitted in order to maintain correspondence with the Latin text.

[4] *Or Pinibar* (for Minibar).

[5] *The original here is a tangle, which I have tried to reduce to sense.*

come noi faciamo voti di dare a Dio nostri figliuoli o figliuole, cosi costoro a loro idolo e 'ncontinente che egli il vuole e egli il recano e soenalo dinanzi a lui per reverenza. E spesse volte lo 'mperadore per maggior reverenza o 'l re fa torre a damigelli una vacca, e tolgono un bacino d' oro, e ricevono entrovi l' orina di questa vacca, e lo re se ne lava le mani e 'l volto: poi toglie de lo sterco di questa vacca, e ponselo a la faccia e unguesene le mascelle e'l petto, e poi dice ch' è santificato. E facendo egli questo, tutti fanno il semigliante. In questa terra sono albori che conducono [producono ?] mele, ed è del buono del mondo. Sonvi altri albori che producono vino ed albori che producono lana di che si fa tutto cordè e funi, e sonvi albori che producono frutti che di due sarebbe carico un forte uomo, e quando si vengono a manicare conviene che altri s' unga le mani e la boca, e sono odorifili e molto saporiti e chiamansi frutto *chabassi*. Quivi udi dire che sono albori che producono uomini e femmine a modo di frutti, e sono di grandezza un gomito, e sono fitti nell' albore insino al bellico, e cosi istanno; e quando trae vento e sono freschi, e quando non, pare che si seccano. Questo non vidi io, ma udiló dire a persone che l' aveano veduto. Sono anche qui più diverse cose che sarebbe lungo a dire e 'ncredibile e però lascio.

18. *Del reame de Mobar dove giace il corpo di San Tomaso Apostolo.*

Poi pervenni a uno imperio che si dice Mabare, ove fu morto San Tomaso apostolo. Quivi è il massimo imperio. Questa Mabor è provincia. Qui si truova le perle, le maggiori e le migliori del mondo. Qui è uno idolo d'oro puro e massiccio della grandezza che si dipingue Santo Cristofano, ed a intorno al collo una corda piena di priete preziose, e di perle grandi. Tutta la chiesa di questo idolo è d'oro puro. Tutti gl' idolatri del paese vanno in peligrinnaggio a questo idolo come i cristiani a Roma, e adorano in questo modo: che prima fanno tre passi, poi si stende in terra boccone; e qui gli fa incenso col turibolo, e poi fa altri tre passi e fa il simigliante, e questo fanno da certo luogo insino a l' idolo, andando e reggendo (?). In cotale peligrinagio molti portano una tavola in collo, ovvero mensa forata, e mettono il capo per lo foro, e cosi la tiene infino che perviene a l' idolo, e quivi la gettano dinanzi da lui. Altri sono che si forano il braccio

con uno coltello, nè non se nel' tragono da la casa insino a l' idolo. E io vidi questo e tuto il braccio era gia fracido. E molte altre diverse penitenzie quivi fanno.

19. *Delle feste che fanno del loro Idolo.*

E quando è la festa di questo idolo, una volta l' anno, pongono l' idolo in su un carro e menalo in certo luogo. Allora in prima [viene] lo 'mperadore, e poi il papa e altri sacerdoti che si chiamano *tuin*, e altri che si sono botati[1] si vanno sotto il carro, alcuno col capo, alcuno col corpo, secondo il voto che fa, si che le ruote pasando sopra loro muoiono e ogni anno impromettono cosi d' esserne uccisi da cc infino cccc, e cosi è cosa oribilissima a vedere. Altri si offeriscono ispontaneamente a l' idolo, e fannosi un fornimento di fiori e gittano a l' idolo della carne sua, la quale tagliano col coltello d' ogni membro. Poi si percuotono col coltello insino al cuore, dicendo ecco che io muoio per lo Iddio mio. E cosi molti uccidono lor medesimi; e cosi si santificano tra loro, come i martiri tra noi. Molti altri fanno voto de' figliuoli loro e menagli dinanzi da questo idolo e scannagli. Et al lato di questo idolo è un luogo nel quale per la divozione gettano oro e argento, e in questo modo quella chiesa è mirabilmente richissima e chiamasi questo luogo *celai* in lor lingua.

20. *De reami di Java e di Lamori.*

Di Mabara ci partimmo ed entrai nel mare Oceano, e navicai per più dì; e pervenni a una nobile isola appellata de Iava; la quale è molto grande ed è qui abondanza quasi di tutti i beni. Nella quale isola sono dodici reami ed in ciascuno reame a uno imperadore. Quivi nascono le noci moscade e gherofani, e 'l cubebe, e molte altre ispezie in grande quantità. E qui massimamenta abonda i legno aloe e oro ottissimo. Poi navicai per xl. giornate e arivai ad uno regno che si chiama Lamori, e 'n questa contrada cominciai a perdere la tramontana però che la terra me la togliea. Nella quale terra gli uomini e le femmine senza nulla distinzione vanno ignudi, non abendo niente in alcuna parte, se non che alcuna femmina certo tempo quando partoriscono portano dinanzi a la vergogna una foglia d' arbore e legansela con una

[1] Botati *for* votati.

coreggia d' albore. E faceansi beffe di me, dicendo Iddio fece Adamo ignudo, ed io mi vesti a mal suo grado. E tutte le femmine sono in commune in tal modo che nulla n' è appropiata a niuno omo, ma ciascuno si può pigliare qual più gli piace, pur che non facia impedimento a l' altro. E quando ingravida puote la femmina appropiare il figliuolo a cui ella vuole. Eziandio tutta la terra è a commune, si che or nullo può dire questa casa è mia ma ci seno hanno in ispeziale[1]. Quivi eziandio mangiano le carni umani, e Saracini vi recàno de l' altre provincie gli uomini e vendogli loro in mercatanzia; e sono mangiati da coloro e sono uomini bianchi, che de' fieri come sono eglino non mangiano. E sono uomini fieri in battaglia e vanno a la battaglia ignudi, salvo che portano in braccio uno iscudo che gli quoprono insino a piedi. E se prendono alcuno nella battaglia si lo mangiano.

21. *Del Reame ch' e chiamata Sumetra.*

Di quindi ci partimmo e venimmo ad un altro regno di questa Isola ch' è chiamata Sumetra, e qui portano alcun cosa per vestimento, cio è un panno istretto sopra la vergogna. E sono eziandio fieri uomini e pigliano bataglia co' sopra detti. E tutti questi uomini e femine sono segnati in della fronte, cioè nella faccia, d' un ferro di cavallo a nostro modo. In questa contrada è grande mercato di porci e di galline e di burro e di riso, e qui è frutto ottimo cioè *Mussi*. E trovasi quivi oro e stagno a grande quantità. Quivi si pigliano le tartugi, cioè testugini, mirabili, e sono di molti colori e paiono quasi dipinte. Poi veni a l' altro regno di questa Isola ch' è chiamata Bucifali e 'l mare di turci (?), questo regno si chiama il mar morto. Ed egli è tutto il contrario, che 'l mare pende e corre si forte ch' è incredibile, e se marinai si partono punto dallito vanno discendendo, e non tornano mai. E non è alcuno che sapiano dove si vadono, e molti sono cosi iti e non seppono mai che se ne fossono. E la nave nostra fuè in grande pericolo, andando quindi, se non se che Idio ci aiutoe miracolosamente.

[1] *Not intelligible. It runs in the M.S.*—Ma ciseno (*or*) cifeno ano in ispeziale. *It is probably meant for*, "except that they have houses to themselves," *as in the Latin MSS. If that be so, perhaps* casa *should read* cosa.

22. *Dell' albori che danno farina; e de' aghi velenati che soffiano i corsali da certe canne.*

In questa isola sono albori che producono farina e 'l pane che se ne fa è asai bianco di fuori, ma dentro è alquanto nero ma in cucina questa farina è molto buono. E non ti maravigliare che gli albori facciano farina, imperciò che 'l modo è questo. Prendono una iscure, e perquotono l' albore in quella l' albore fa schimma e fa gromma molto grossa. Poi prendo[no] vasi ovvero ceste, e tolgono quella gromma e mettolavi dentro poi per xxx dì per se medesimo sanza tocarla. Divien farina in quello modo. Poi per tre dì prendono aqua marina e colano quella farina in quella aqua, poi gettano quella aqua marina, poi per tre dì prendono aqua dolce e 'ntridola con quella; poi ne fanno la . la massa, e pare il più bello pane che sia al mondo nel sapo Onde nel regno ove noi savamo (?) ci vene meno tutti gli altri alimenti fuori che questa farina en grande quantità e a buono mercato. E questa contrada tiene insieme bene quatordici migliaia d' isole e altri dicono di meno. Alcuno chiama questa contrada da Talamosa e alcuni altri Panthe. En queste isole sono molte cose maravigliose e strane. Onde alcuni albori ci sono che fanno farina come detto, e alcuni fanno mele, alcuni seta, alcuni lana e alcuni che fanno veleno pessimo. Contro al quale nullo v' è rimedio se non se lo sterco de l' uomo. E quelli uomini sono quasi tutti corsali, e quando vanno a battaglia portano ciascuno una canna in mano, di lunghezza d' un braccio e pongono in capo de la canna una ago di ferro atossiato in quel veleno, e sofiano nella canna e l' ago vola e percuotolo dove vogliono, e 'ncontinente quelli ch' è percosso muore. M' a egli hanno le tina piene di sterco d' uomo e una iscodella di sterco guarisce l' uomo da queste cotali ponture. In questa contrada a canne alte più di lx passi, si grosse che sarebbe impossibile a credere. Anche v' ae un' altra generazione di canne che si istendono per terra e chiamassi *canualle*. E 'n ogni nodo di quelle canne fanno barbe a modo di gramigna, e queste cane crescono e prolungansi per diritto tramito per tera più d' un miglio ma non sono molto grosse, ma a modo delle canne di Franchia. In queste canne vi nascono entro priete[1] che chiunque tiene di queste priete sopra se, dicono che nullo ferro lo può tagliare. Or quando vogliono

[1] *As once before for* pietre.

trovare la prieta, si percuotono la canna col ferro e se 'l ferro nola taglia ede cercano per la prietra, e tolgono legni agutisimi, e taglienti e cepi e tagliono e 'ncidono tanto che pervengono a la pietra, el padre ch' à figliuoli tolgono questa pietra e fanno una fenditura nel dosso al figliuolo e mettonvi entro questa pietra; poi la fa saldare il del corpo del fanciullo poi nullo ferro può mai tagliare della carne di questo uomo. Quegli che vogliono combattere con questi cotali ch' ano questa pietra portano pali di legno apuntatissimi, e con quelli gli fierono e uccidono. Li uomini di questa contrada sono tutti grandisimi ladroni. Quivi nasce un pesce ch' à cotale natura che quando altri pigliase questo pesce e ricideselo in più parti e una di queste parti si racozi e tochi l' altra incontinente si rapica insieme e saldasi come se mai non v' avesse; avuto niente. Di questo pesce fanno seccare e fannone polvere, e portala con loro duunche vanno in battaglia, e pongosela i loro ferite e 'ncontinente salda. En questa contrada a due vie, l' una va in Zapa, e l' altra in Silania[1].

23. *Dell' Isola di Suan.*

(Silan) è una grande isola nel la quale sono diverse bestie e massimamente serpenti i magiori del mondo. Ed è incredibile ed è ancora mirabile cosa, che nè bestia nè serpenti noc impediscono nessuno uomo forestiere, e [offendono ?] massimamente que' dell' isola. E sono quivi molti leofanti salvatichi. Ed avi una generazione di serpenti ch' anno collo di cavallo e capo di serpente e corpo di cane e coda di serpente ed anno quatro piedi e sono grandi come buoi e piccoli com' asini. Il rè di questa isola è molto ricco in oro e 'n pietre preziose. Quivi si truovano i buoni diamanti e rubini e perle in grande copia. Quivi è 'l monte grande come dicono quelli della contrada ch' Adamo e Adeba piansono Abello per Caino. In sulla cima del monte à alcuna pianura bella ed avi un lago, e dicono che l' aqua di quello lago sono le lagrime d' Adamo ed *Adeba*. Nel fondo di questo lago sono pietre preziose. Il Re di quindi no vi lascia pescare se nc se gente povera è bisongnosa. Quando alcuno a licenza di pescare si va ed ugnesi tutto quanto del sugo *lunhors*[2] e poi vae al

[1] *Here is a very manifest interpolation by way of accounting for the double narrative, noticed in the introduction.*

[2] *Sic. Probably for* limbone.

fondo e quante può prendere di queste pietre vae e recale suso. E sonvi tante di queste mignatte che se non fosse il sugo di questo albore uciderebbe gli uomini. E ciascuno vi puote entrare una volta e quello che prende è suo. Questo fa il Re per cagione umile.

Di questo lago escè un rivo e 'n questo rivo si truovano i buoni cherubini[1] in grande quantita, e quando questo rivo entra in mare quivi si truovano le buone perle. E questa isola è delle maggiori ch' abbia l' India ed a grande abondanza di formento e d' olio e d' ogni bene. Molti mercatanti vanno a questa isola per la grande abondanza delle pietre che vi sono. Avi assai altre cose delle quali narrare non curo.

24. *Dell' Imperadore di Zapa, che a gran copia de' leofanti.*

Poi andai per molte giornate navicando e pervenni a lo 'mpèrio di Zapa[2]; ch' è bella terra ed è molto abondante, quasi in ogni cosa. Quello imperadore al ne torno di xiiii[m] di leofanti, e gli altri uomini anno i leofanti come noi abbiamo nella nostra contrada i buoi. E quello imperadore secondo che si dice ae da dugento figliuoli e figliuole, tutte propie e propii.

Un' altra maravigliosa cosa a 'n questa contrada che ciascune generazioni di pesci che sono in mare vengono in questa contrada in si grande quantità che nulla altra cosa si vede in mare se non se pesci; e medesimamente si gettano sopra la riva e catuna persona ne prende quanti ne vole; e stanno cosi in sulla riva per due dì o tre e poi viene un' altra generazione de pesci, e fanno il simile, e cosi tutte l' altre generazioni di pesci, una volta l' anno. Ed essendo domandati gli uomini della contrada perchè cosi facciano, rispondono che vengono a fare reverenza a lo 'mperadorè. In questa contrada vidi una testugine maggiore per tre volte che non è la chiesa di santo Antonio di Padova, ed altre maraviglie v' à assai. Quando alcuno muore in questa contrada, il marito morto ardollo e con esso lui la moglie, e dicono che la moglie va a stare col marito nell' altro mondo, e cotali modi tengonb.

[1] *Sic.* [2] *Doubtless for* Zâpa, *i.e.*, Zampa.

25. *Dell' Isola di Nichoverra dove anno gli uomini la testa a modo d' un cane.*

Partendomi di questa contrada navicai per lo mare Oceano per lo merizzo[1], e trovai molte isole e contrada, tra le quali n' a una che si chiama Nichovera[2]. E gira bene dumila miglia; nella quale tutti gli uomini anno il capo a modo d' un cane, e adorano il bue. E ciascuno porta in della fronte un bue d' oro o d' argento, e tutti vanno ignudi, le femmine e gli uomini, salvo che la vergogna si cuoprono con una tovagliuola. Sono queste genti grandi del corpo, e forti in battaglia, e vanno ignudi nella battaglia, salvo che portano uno iscudo che 'l cuopre tutto, e se pigliano alcuno in battaglia che no si possa ricomperare pecunia, si lo mangiano[3]. E lo Re loro[4] porta ccc. gran pietre a collo, e conviene che faccia ogni dì ccc. orazioni agli Iddi suoi. E porta in della mano ritta un grande cherubino, e[5] lungo bene una ispana, pare una fiamma di fuoco[6]: la quale il Gran Cane s' è molto ingegnato d' averla, e no l' à potuta avere. Questo Re[7] tiene giustizia, si che ogni uomo può ire liberamente per lo suo reame.

Evvi un' altra isola che si chiama Sillia[8] che gira anche bene *m m* miglia, ne la quale son serpenti e molti altri animali salvatichi e leofanti e diversi uccelli.

Sonci uccelli grandi come oche ed anno due capi, e grande quantità di vettuaglia.

26. *Della gente dell' Isola domandata Dodin, e delle sue consuetudini orribili.*

Partendomi quinci verso oriente perveni a una grande isola chiamata Dodin[9], nella quale sono pessimi uomini e mangiano la carne cruda [ed] immondizia. Questi anno sozza consuetudine:

[1] MIN. RAM. *has* verso il Nirisi, whatever that may mean.

[2] MIN. RAM. Nicoverra.

[3] MIN. RAM. Se gli mangiano arrostiti. E 'l simile vien fatto a loro da inemici.

[4] MIN. RAM. di queste bestie.

[5] MIN. RAM. che per lo vero Iddio, *the occasional introduction of which oath is peculiar to that copy.*

[6] ID. che parea d' haver in mano un carbone infocato.

[7] ID. benche sia idololatra, e col viso rassembri un cane, tien ragione e giustitia, & ha gran quantità di figliuoli, & e di gran possanza: e per tutto, etc.

[8] Here we have Ceylon again, showing that the work has been tampered with.

[9] MIN. RAM. Diddi.

il padre mangia il figliuolo, e 'l figliuolo il padre, il marito la moglie, e la moglie il marito; in questo modo, che vanno al sacerdoto e dicono cosi (quand' anno alcuna malatia), domanda lo Dio s' io debbo guarire di questa malatia. Se lo idolo risponde (ch' è 'l diavolo che favella) e dice che debbia guarire, si dice loro andate e fate cosi, e guarà, e cosi fanno. E se lo idolo risponde che debbia morire; e 'l sacerdote viene con uno panna in mano e pogliele in sulla bocca e afogallo. Poi il tagliano per pezzi, e invitano tutto il parentado, e mangiollo con canti e con festa. Poi mettono l' ossa di per se, tutte quante, e prendole e metonle soterra con solennitade. E quelli parenti che non vi fossono invitati se 'l riputano a disonore. Io ripresi costoro[2]; rispuosonmi che 'l mangiavano, perchè se gli inverminasse l' anima patirebbe pena[3].

27. *Delle* xxiv *mila isole d' India.*

Molte novità sono in questa India le quali se l' uomo no le vedese no le crederebbe, però no le iscrivo qui ma in altro luogo ne farò memoria; che in tutto il mondo no ae tante novità quanto sono in questa. E dimandando diligentemente del tenore di questa India tutti mi dissono che questa India tiene xxiiii^mo^ d' isole in se, e sono più di sessantaquatrò Re, e la maggiore parte è bene abitata.

28. *Come pervene Frate Odorico all' India Superiore ed alla nobile provincia di Manzi.*

Navicando per più giornate verso l' oriente pervenì a l' India superiore, e pervenimmo a la nobile provincia di Manzi, la quale è chiamata l' India di Sopra. Nella quale provincia ae duemila grandi città di tra le quali città Trevigi nè Vicenza no sarebono nominate per cittadi[4]. Ed è si grande moltitudine di genti in

[1] MIN. RAM. E quali sono lieti quando alcuno s' interma, per posserlo mangiare, e farne festa.

[2] MIN. RAM. e dettogli che farebbono meglio a lasciarli morire naturalmente, e sotterrarli.

[3] MIN. RAM. di modo che Iddio offeso dalla puzza non gli riceverebbe nella gloria sua.

[4] MIN. RAM. Più di due mila grosse cittadi, & altre tante tenute, e grosse castella, che soño come Vicenza o Trivigi, che non han nome di città. In questo paese è tanta moltitudine di gente, che è una cosa incredibile, di tal sorte, che in molte parti di detta provincia viddi più stretta la gente, che non è a Vinetia al tempo dell' Ascensione.

quella India che tra noi non sarebbe (in)credibile. Nella quale a grande quantità di pane, di vino, di carne, di pesci e d' ogni vettuaglia, come in nulla terra di mondo. E gli uomini [sono] artifici e mercatanti, nè per nulla povertà ch' abbia nullo di loro no adomandano limosina, insino che possono atarsi con le loro mani. Gli uomini di questo paese sono assai belli di corpo, ma nel viso sono alquanto pallidi, avendo barba a modo di gatto[1]. Le femmine sono le più belle del mondo.

29. *Della gran cittade di Tescalan.*

In questa provincia la prima citade che io trovai si chiama Teschalan[2], la quale è maggiore che tre volte Vinegia, di lunge dal mare una giornata, posta in su un fiume. Questa cittade a tanto naviglio ched è incredibile, che tra tutta Italia non a tanto. In questa terra ae le maggiori oche del mondo che sono ben per due delle nostre[3] e sono bianche come latte. Ed ano sopra del capo un osso grande come un novo vermiglio come una grana, e sotto la gola pende una pelle bene per uno semisso ed assi l' uno di questi cotali per un grosso, e cosi l' oche come l' anitre, e cosi le galline sono si grandi ch' è maravigliosa cosa a vedere. In questa cittade s' à per meno d' un Viniziano[4] ben trecento lib. di gengiovo fresco. In questa contrada sono maggiori serpenti ch' abbia il mondo, e pigliogni e mangialli in ogni convito da bene, e no è tenuto bello convito se di questo nu a[5]. Qui è abondanza d'ogni vittuaglia.

30. *Della nobile città di Zaiton; e de' munasteri degli idolatri.*

Di quindi mi parti di questa contrada e veni per xxxvi[6] giornate e trovai dimolte cittadi e castella, poi veni a una nobile cittade che si chiama *Zaiaiton*[7]; nella quale nostri frati minori anno due [luoghi]. E 'n questa terra portammo l' ossa de' frati che furo martirizati per Gesò Cristo. In questa terra ae abondanza di tutte le cose necessarie al corpo de l' uomo, più che 'n terà che

[1] Min. Ram. con i peli della barba irti, e male composti alla guisa delle capre.
[2] Min. Ram. Tescol. [3] Min. Ram. maggiori tre volte delle nostre.
[4] Id. per un ducato viddi dar 700 libre, etc.
[5] Id. Anzi quando vogliono far convito più famoso, tanto più serpenti apparecchiano, e danno in tavola a convitati.
[6] Id. 27. [7] Id. Zanton.

sia al mondo. Averebbonsi bon tre libre de zuchero per un grosso. Ed è citade grande per due volte Bologna[1]. Sonci molti munasteri di religiosi di l' idolatri, ne' quali sono ben dumilia riligiosi, ed anno bene xi^m d' idoli. E 'l minore[2] è a modo d' un grande san Christofano, ed anno loro dimolte vivande calde che vanno insino al naso. Gli altri vivande si mangiano eglino[3].

31. *Della città di Fozzo; e del modo che pescano i pescatori.*

Partendomi di questa terra e venendo verso oriente ad una citade che si chiama Fozzo[4] che gira ben trenta miglia. Qui sono i maggiori galli del mondo; e le galline bianche come latte, e non anno penne ma lana a modo di pecore. Quindi partendoci andai per xviii giornate passando per molte cittadi e castella, veni a un grande monte. E da un lato di questo monte tutti gli animali son neri e gli uomini e le femmine a nostro modo di vivere; da quali de l' altro lato del monte verso oriente per contrario tutti gli animali vi sono bianchi[5]. Inte (?) quelle che sono maritate in questo luogo per segno di matrimonio portano un grande barile di corno[6].

Partendomi per altre xviii giornate passando cittadi e castella arrivai a[7] un grande fiume ch' ae un grande ponte a traverso sopra il fiume; e albergai in capo del ponte. E l' oste, volendomi fare a piacere, mi disse, "Vo tu venire a vedere pescare, vieni qui." E menomi in sul ponte; quivi di sotto erano barche. E vidi maragoni[8] in su pertiche; e l' uomo gli legò la bocca, ovvero la gola con filo, che non potessono mangiare de pesci. Poi puose tre gran ceste nella barca; poi isciolse i maragoni in quali si gitavano nell' aqua, e prendeano de' pesci, e metevagni nella barca, e tosto l' ebbero piene. Poi isciolsono i maragoni il filo ch' aveano legato a collo. e mandavano nel fiume a pascergli. E

[1] Id. Huomini e donne sono piacevoli, e belli, e cortesi, massime a forastieri.

[2] Id. è due volte più grande d' un huomo.

[3] Id. e loro si mangiano le bevande refreddate che sono. [4] Id. Foggia.

[5] Id. Ma l' una parte, e l' altra mi pareva che vivessino, e vestisseno come bestie.

[6] Id. portano in testa un corno di legno coverto di pelle, lungo più di due spanne, a mezzo la fronte.

[7] Id. ad una città chiamata Belsa, che ha un fiume, etc.

[8] Marangone *is a diver* (*sea bird so called*). *In this story the* Min. Ram. *has the extraordinary variation which has been noticed in a note on the translation.* Marigione, *apparently intended for the same word, is there applied to a seal.*

pasciuti tornavano a loro luoghi, e passando per molte giornate vidi pescare in altro modo. Gli uomini della barca erano ignudi, e aveano sacco a collo e gittandosi nell' aqua pigliavano i pesci con mano e metteano nel sacco[1]. Tornando gelati nella barca si entravano in uno tinello d' aqua calda, e poi faceano il semigliante.

32. *Della maravigliosa citta de Chansai.*

Di questo luogo e cittade partendomi perveni ad una grande e maravigliosa citade chiamata Chansai, ch' è a dire in nostra lingua "Cittade del Cielo." Questa è la magiore cittade del mondo[2]. Nella quale non ae ispana di terreno che non s' abiti. E sonvi case di dieci e dodici famiglie e masserizie[3] La detta cittade a borghi grandissimi, ne' quali abitano assai più gente che nella cittade. La cittade ae dodici porte principali e a ciascuna porta preso a otto miglia sono cittadi, ciascuna maggiore che Padova o Vinegia; nelle quali andammo sei e sette dì per uno di que' borghi[4]. Questa cittade è in aqua di lagune a modo di Vinegia, nella quale à più di xii^{m}[5] ponti e 'n ciascuna istanno guardie che guardano la cittade per lo gran Cane. A lato a questa cittade corre un fiume cheposcha[6], lo quale è più largo che lungo. Della quale diligentemente domandai i Cristiani e Saracini e idolatri, e tutti mi rispuosono per una lingua, Caturo papa per lo signore una bastise[7], ciò cinque carte bambagine, che sono bene uno fiorino e mezzo. E per questa cagione sono ben dodici famiglie ad un fuoco. Questi focolari sono lxxxv tumani ed anche iv tumani di Saracini, si che in tutto sono lxxxix tumani. ' Ed è il tumano x^{m} fuochi[8]. Gli altri sono mercatanti e gente che va e viene. Maravigliomi molto come tanta gente possono insieme abitare, ed avi si grande dovizia di pane e di vino e di porci, e

[1] MIN. RAM. per un ottavo d' hora.

[2] MIN. RAM. E si grande che a pena ardisco di dirlo: Ma ho ben trovate in Vinetia assai persone che vi sono state.

[3] MIN. RAM. Casa vi ne sono assaissime di otto e di dieci solari, che in ogni solaro habita una fameglia con le sue massarie per la gran carestia di terreno (*the interpolation of some self-sufficient scribe*).

[4] ID. Noi eravamo 7 che andassimo per quei borghi.

[5] ID. *again has* per Dio vero e sono di certo di più di dieci miglia.

[6] *Sic.*

[7] *For* Balisi; *still further corrupted in* MIN. RAM. *to* Bastagne.

[8] The MIN. RAM. has got all wrong here, but it is scarcely worth quoting.

di riso, e bigini, ch' è un nobile beveraggio, e di tutte altre vittuaglie, ch' è maraviglia a vedere. Questa è cittade reale nella quale dimora il Rè di Manzi.

33. *Della maraviglia che vede il Fr. Odorico in un munistero degli idolatri.*

In questa cittade nostri frati minori[1] convertirono a la fede un potentissimo ne la cui casa io albergai, e diceami, "Atta," (cioè a dire Padre) "vieni e mostreroti la terra." E saliti in una barca, e menoci al munistero[2] di Rabani, cioè religiosi, e dissemi [*should be* disse ad] uno di questi religiosi[3]; vedi un Rabani che viene di quelle parti dove si pone il sole, e vae a Chanbalu[4], a ciò che qui prieghi per lo gran signore, e però mostragli alcuna cosa che possa racontare nel suo paese. E quegli prese due grandi mascelle di quelle ch' erano soperchiate alla mensa, e menoci in uno giardino a un monticello ch' era pieno d' albori. E sonando un cembalo venero molti animali salvatichi socio sal[5] gattimaimoni, iscimie e molte altre bestie salvatiche, tra quali venoro ben tre milia ch' aveano forma d' uomo, i quali s' acconciaro l' uno alato a l' altro, ed a catuno puose una iscodella in mano, e dava loro mangiare. Poi sonando un tamburo, tutti questi animali si tornavano a luogo loro ed io veggendo questo dimandai, che ciò voleva dire. Ed e mi rispuosono ch' erano anime di certi nobili uomini che si veniano a pascere quivi per l' amore dì Dio. Ed io istogliendogli di questo, e dicendo loro che non erano anime ma bestiuoli, nulla ne volono credere, e dicono che come l' uomo e nobile i questo mondo, cosi quando muoiono entrano in nobili animali. E del vilano dicono ch' entra in brutti animali. Questa è la maggiore città del mondo e la migliore per mercatanti, d è molto doviziosa d' ogni bene come detto è.

[1] LIR. RAM. *says*, dove è un luogo di Frati minori.

[2] MIN. RAM. In un monastero chiamato Thebe.

[3] MIN. RAM. *has* Et uno di quei religiosi mi disse, O Rabin...va con questo che è del tuo ordine: che vi mostrera qual cosa di nuovo, etc. *It is very much corrupted and interpolated by one who misunderstood things.*

[4] *It is in the MS.* Ghabatau; *but as it is right elsewhere I have corrected it here.*

[5] *Not intelligible in MS.*

34. *Della cittade Chilensi; e del gran fiume Talay.*

Partendomi quindi andai per sei giornate e perveni a una grande cittade che si chiamo Chilensi[1]. I muri di questa cittade girano bene xl miglia, ne' quale sono cccl x ponti[2] di pietra de' belli ch' abbia nel mondo. Questa cittade fue la prima sedia del Re de Manzi ed è cittade molto bene abitata, e di grande naviglio maravigliosa, e [di] copia di tutti i beni del mondo. Di quindi partendomi per tre giornate veni a uno grande fiume de maggiori del mondo che là dove gli è più istretto è largo ben vii miglia[3]. Questo fiume passa per mezzo la città Piomàrio[4] la cui contrada si chiama Chaicho, ch' è delle più belle cittadi del mondo, e delle maggiori. I quali uomini ch' abitano in questa terra son grandi tre spanne, e fanno il maggiore lavoro di bambagia (cioè di cotone) che si vedesse mai. E grandi uomini che sono tra loro ingenerano figliuoli e figliuole che sono più che la metà di que' piccoli e 'ngenerano sanza novero.

35. *Delle città di Jamsai e di Menzu.*

Andando per questo fiume del Talaigi[5], passando per più cittadi venni ad una cittade che si chiama.....[6] nella quale a un luogo di frati minori. In questa cittade sono chiese di cristiani Nestorii. Questa cittade e nobile e grande ch' ane lviii tomani di focolari ch' evve il tomano x^{m} focolari[7]. In questa cittade sono tute quelle cose di che debbiono vivere gli christiani.

Il senore a solamente di rendita di questa di sale L tomani di balissi che vale il balisso un fiorino e mezzo, che monta il tumano xv^{m} fiorini d' oro. Questa terra a questa usanza, che quando alcuno vol fare alcuno convito a suoi grandi amici, sonvi alberghi diputati cione, e dice a l' oste Fami un convito di cotanti danari. E nullo è che faccia nullo convito in casa. Questa terra a grandissimo navigli in gran copia. Presso a questa cittade, a dieci miglia ane un' altra cittade, la quale si chiama Menzu, la

[1] MIN. RAM. Chilense. [2] ID. Porte.

[3] MIN. RAM. Ma perche no vi erano cose degne di meraviglia, poco vi dimorammo, e navigando trovammo un fiume largo più di 20 miglia, di cui un ramo passo per la terra chiamata Piemaronni, etc.

[4] *Or* Piomazio. [5] *Should be* del Talay e.

[6] MIN. RAM. Sai.

[7] MIN. RAM. 18 Tomani *of* focolari, *each of which is* 10,000 fochi, *and each* foco 10 *or* 12 *families!*

quale ane il maggiore naviglio che città del mondo ched è incredibile la quantità, e sono tutte bianche dipinte di gesso, avendo in loro quelle belle sale e difici.

36. *Del gran fiume Caramoran.*

Partendomi di questa cittade per otto giornate passando per molte cittadi e castella e d' aque dolci, veni ad una cittade la quale è chiamata Launcj[1], la quale è fondata sopra un fiume che si chiama Chiaramoran, il quale passa per mezzo del Cataio e fa grande danno quando si corrompe a modo del Pò. E andando per questo fiume passando molte cittadi e castella verso l' oriente per molte giornate, perveni a una grande cittade chiamata Sogomerca[2], la quale cittade a maggiore abondanza di seta ch' altra cittade che sia al mondo, che quando vene la maggiore carestia se n' arebbe ben xl lib. per[3] meno di viii di grossi, ed ane grande copia d' ogni mercatanzia di pane e d' ogni bene.

37. *Delle grandi città di Chambalu e di Taido, e del palagio del Gran Cane.*

Partendomi della cittade di Sozomacho passai per molte cittadi e terre verso oriente, e perveni[4] à la nobile cittade di Chanbalu[5]. Questa cittade è molto antica ed è nella provincia del Catai. Questa cittade presoro i Tartari, e presso a questa città à un mezzo miglio ne fecero un' altra, che la chiamano Taido. Ed ane xii porti e da l' una a l' altra sono due grandi miglia, e tra l' una cittade a l' altra ben s' abita. E 'l circuvito di queste due cittadi che sono insieme gira bene lx miglia. In questa cittade il gran Cane ane la sua sedia, e dentro ene il suo palagio che gira quatro miglia, e contiene in se molti palagi e belli. Egli è quadro, ed a tre cerchi di mura, e in catuno canto d' ogni muro è un grande palagio, si che pur questi son dodici, e catuno è diputato

[1] MIN. RAM. Laurenza.

[2] MIN. RAM. Sunzomaco, *and below* Sozomacho.

[3] MIN. RAM. per un soldo.....E perche vi era in questo loco più gente che in niun altro che havessi visto domandando donde ciò avenisse mi fu risposto per conto che l' aria e il luogo sono alla generazione molto salutiferi, di modo tale che poco sono che muoiono se non di vecchiezza.

[4] ID. Navigando da quattro giornate. *It is* Chanbanau *in the MS. But, as it is right elsewhere, I have corrected it.*

[5] MIN. RAM. *has* Cambalù.

a diverse cose. E nel miluogo è quello dove ista il Signore[1]. E 'l primo cercuito delle mura ane tre porti in ogni faccia, e dentro a questo circuito ene il Monte Verde nel qual' è edificato un molto bello palagio de' più belli del mondo. Questo monte gira bene un miglio, nel quale son piantati albori che d' ogni tempo tengono la verzura. A lato a questo monte è fatto un molto bello lago sopra il quale ane un gran ponte de' più belli del mondo, nel quale lago son oche salvatiche ed anitre e ceceri[e][2] anitrocoli, ch' è maraviglia a vedere. Onde quando lo segnore vole cacciare non gli bisogna d' uscire di casa, però che 'n questo circuito son molti giardini di molte bestiuole e di tutte maniere. Il palagio principale nel quale ista la sedia del Gran Cane è quivi. (Ane) levata la terra più ch' altrove due passi; nel qual palagio a dentro xxiv colonne d' oro, e tutti i muri del palazzo son coperti di pelli rosse le più nobili pelle che sieno in India. E nel mezzo del palagio ane una grande pigna tutta d' una pietra preziosa che si chiama Medachas[3], ed è tutta legata d' oro; e nel canto di questa pigna a un serpente d' oro, e che la batte continuamente; ed una rete d' oro, e di perle grandi, dipende da questa pigna, ed è larga forse una ispana. E questa pigna porta per condotto il beveragio della corte del segnore. A lato a questa pigna istanno molti vaselli d' oro da bere. In questo palagio sono molti paoni d' oro, e quando alcuno Tartero vol far festa allora battono le mani e paoni allora battono l' alie, e pare che giuochino[4]. Questo si fa per arte diavolica, e per altro ingegno che sotterra nascono.

[1] MIN. RAM. Il cui Palazzo gira più di quattro miglia, ed ad ogni cantone è un palazzo dove dimora uno de' quatro sui baroni principali. E dentro al palazzo grande è un altro circuito di muro, che da un muro all' altro e forse mezza tirata d' arco, e tra questi muri vi stanno i suoi provisionati con tutte le sue famiglie. E nell' altro circuito abita il Gran Cane con tutte i suoi congionti, che sono assaissimi, con tanti figlinoli, figliuole, generi, de nepoti: con tante moglie, consiglieri, secretarii, e famegli, che tutto il palazzo che gira ¼ miglia, viene ad esser habitato.

[2] *This is probably meant for the* cesanæ *of the Latin MSS.*, whether that be a genuine word or a mistake for *cycne*. MIN. RAM. *has* Eran nell' acqua le centinaia dell' anatre, e de assaissimi uccelli, che vivono di pesce, d' ogni sorte, che quel lago producè.

[3] MIN. RAM. Medecas.

[4] ID. A torno la mensa sua son molti pavoni smaltati, che paiono che sian vivi; e tal volta si mettono a cantare fino che 'l Signore mangia.

38. *Della corte e della gloria del Gran Signore Cane.*

Quando il Gran Cane siede in sulla sedia imperiale da lato sinistro ista la reina, e un grado più giù istanno due altre sue mogli; e poi di sotto tutte le donne del parentado ordinatamente. E le maritate portano un pie d' uomo in sul capo, lungo un mezzo braccio, e sotto le piante di questo piede portano penne di grù, e 'l dosso del piede tutto ornato di grandi perle del mondo. Da lato destro poi si pone a sedere il suo figliuolo primogenito che del regnare dopo lui, e di sotta a quelli istanno tutti quelli che sono di sangue reale. Poi di sotto a quelli sono iv scrittori, che scrivono tutto ciò che dice il Signore. Dinanzi da lui istanno suoi baroni assai sanza novero, de' quali nullo è ardito di parlare se non è domandato dal Signore maggiore. Poi vi sono i giuccolari che vogliono fare allegrezza al Signore, ma no fano mai se non se le leggi a loro imposte[1]. Dinanzi alla porta del palagio istanno baroni a guardia che non sia nullo che tocchi la porta del palagio; che se per alcuno si tocasse è duramente battuto[2].

Quando il Signore fane alcuno convito allora i suoi anno xiv^{m}[3] di baroni colle corone in capo, che servono nel convito; catuno de' quali ane tale vestimento in dosso che solo le perle di ciascuno vestimento vale xv^{m} fior d' oro. La sua corte è ordinata per decime, e ventine, e centinaia e migliaia, che tra loro ordinatamente si rispondono, e ne loro ufici non è difetto nullo. Ed io frate Oderigo fui ben tre anni in questa sua cittade, e noi frati minori aviamo nella terra un luogo diputato a darli la nostra benedizione[4]. E domandando io diligentemente da cristiani e saracini e idolatri e da nostri convertiti, che sono grandi baroni guardando solo a la persona del Signore, e tutti mi dissono per una bocca che giucolatori sono xiii tumani (il tumane è x^{m}) e quelli che guardano e nudriscono i cani e bestie e uccelli da cacciagioni sono xv^{m} di tumani, si che tra giucolari e costoro sono

[1] MIN. RAM. E di quei buffoni ciascuno ha l' hora sua deputata, quando dee star in guardia, e trattenimento del Signore.

[2] MIN. RAM. Ma nelle porte sono guardie grandissime: e se alcuno vi s' appressasse senza licenza del capitano sarebbe amaramente battuto; *which is a misunderstanding of the matter* (See note on transl. *in loco*).

[3] MIN. RAM. quindeci milia.

[4] ID. .....Frati minori che vi hanno il monastero; dove dalla corte vi veniva tanta robba, che sarebbe stata bastante per mille frati. E per lo Dio vero è tanta differenza da questi Signore a questi d' Italia, come da un huomo richissimo ad un che sia il più povero del mondo.

xxviii^{m} di tumani[1]. Si che montano in tuto cclxxx migliaia d' uomini. I medici che guardono la persona sono cccc idolatri, ed otto cristiani e i saracino[2]. E tutti costoro anno ciò ch' è loro necessario dalla corte del signore. L' altra sua famiglia è sanza novero.

39. *Del modo nel quale cavalca ogni anno il Gran Cane di Cambalu.*

Lo signore Gran Cane dimora nel tempo della istate in una terra che si chiama Sandau, la quale è sotto tramontana, ed è la più fredda terra ad abitare del mondo e di verno dimora in questa città Chanbalu che detta è. Quando il signore cavalca da una terra à un' altra, cavalca in questo modo. Egli a iv eserciti di cavalieri, l' una gli va innanzi un dì; l' altra un altro dì; e 'l terzo dopo un altro dì; e 'l quarto il quarto dì; ed egli sempre vane in mezzo, a modo di croce e gli aserciti detti sempre gli vano d' intorno, e catuno gli va di lunge una giornata e andando sempre ano la loro giornata ordinata nella quale truovano tutte queste cose che sono loro necesarie a mangiare. La gente che va con questo signore va sempre per lo detto modo, ed egli vane sopra un carro sopra due ruote, sopra il quale è fatta una bella sala tutta di legni d' aloe, ch' è tanto odorifero e prezioso, ed anche d' oro è ornata, e di perle e di pietre preziose. E questo carro menano v leofanti...[3] e sopra il carro porta xii girfalchi. In quello sedendosi si vede alcuni uccelli sigli lascia andare. E nullo è oso d' appressarsi al carro a una gittata di pietra, se non se questi diputati a queste cose. E cosi va questo signore, e cosi vanno le mogli nello grado e 'l suo figliuolo primogenito. Onde è cosa incredibile a immaginare la grande gente ch' ane questo signore. Quelli iv eserciti che vanno con lui sono v tumani, e catuno tumane è x^{m}; e tutta questa gente anno dal signore ciò ch' è loro necessario; e se nullo di costoro [sia] presente[4] è rimesso un altro in luogo di costui; si che rimane intero il numero[5].

[1] The last two figures, etc., are in the MS. xv^{m} and xxviii^{m}.

[2] MIN. RAM. quali non si scemano ne aumentano, ma morto l' uno, in suo loco si mette l' altro.

[3] Defective and unintelligible.

[4] *Meaning, if* any one *is* not *present?* But *below we have* nulla novità *for* any news.

[5] *Here* MIN. RAM. *has a long passage peculiar to it.* Le bestie poi di tante sorti strane sono infinite che lui tiene. Fra quali erano sei cavalli, che haveano

40. *Come è doviso l' imperio del Cane et come son parati ospizii per li trapassanti.*

Questo signore Gran Cane lo suo imperio è doviso in xii parti, e catuna si chiama Siglo[1]. L' una di queste parti è il Manzi, ch' ave sotto di se ii^{m} grandi cittadi. Onde ene a sapere che 'l suo imperio è si grande che ben vi mesi si pena ad andare per lungo e per traverso sanza l' isole che sono v^{m}. che non si pongono nel detto novero[2]. E ave fatto per tutto il suo imperio fare case e cortili per li trapasanti, le quali case si chiamano uman[3]. Nelle quali case sono tutto quelle cose ch' a necessaria alla vita dell' uomo. E quando nulla novità viene nel suo imperio incontinente gli mesaggi corrono in su cameili, e se 'l fatto porta pondo montano in su dromedradi, e 'ncontinente che s' appressano a questa [jam] suonano un corno e 'ncontinente uno s' apparecchia e vane insino a l' altro jam e portale quelli rimane e cosi va l' altro al simigliante modo. E per questo modo in un dì naturale a novelle di x giornate dalla lunga. Anche v' ane un altro modo di quelli che corrono. E le case di questi corrieri si chiamano chidebo, e stanno corrieri per queste case, ed anno una cinghia di campanelle. E l' una casa a l' altra ene dilunge tre miglia, ma quella de corrieri de' gamelli xx miglia. E quando s' appressa a una di queste case incontinente comincia a sonare queste campanelle, e quel altro ch' è nella casa s' apparecchia, e corre insino a l' altra casa, e cosi l' uno a l' altro, insin che giungono

sei piedi e sei gambi per uno: e viddi dui grandissimi struzzi, e dui piccioli dietro di loro con dui colli per ciascuno, e dui teste, dalle quali mangiavano, senza far mentione di altri huomini salvatichi che stanno nello giardino di detto Signore, e donne tutte pelose di un pelo grande e bigio, quali han forma humana, e si pascono di poma, d' altre bevande, che gli ordina il Signore che se gli dia. Fra quali erano huomini non più grandi di dui spanne, e questi si chiamano *Gomiti*. Nella corte ho visto huomini di un, occhio nella fronte, che si chiamavano Minocchi. Et a quel tempo furono appresentati al Signore dui, un maschio, & una femina, quali havevano una spanna di busto, colla testa grossa, e le gambe lunghe, e senza mani, e s' imboccavano con uno dei piedi. E viddi un gigante grande circa 20 piedi, che menava dui leoni, l' un rosso e l' altro nero, e l' altro haveva in guardia leonesse, e leopardi, e con si fatte bestie andava il Signore a far caccia a prender cervi, caprioli, lupi, cingiali, orsi, & altre bestie salvatiche.

[1] *Probably for* Singlo *or* Sing.

[2] MIN. RAM. E vi sono proposti quattro che governano l' imperio di questo gran Signore. E ciascuna persona, che facendo viaggio, passa per quei paesi, di qual condition si sia è ordinato, che per dui pasti che fa, non paghi nulla.

[3] *For* iam *as below*; MIN. RAM. Per tutto il paese vi sono torri altissime, dove sono assaissime guardie; etc.

ov' ene il signore. Onde nulla si può fare nel suo imperio che 'ncontinente nol sapia, come detto è.

41. *Della cacciagione del gran Cane.*

Quando il gran Cane vane a cacciare fuori di Chanbalu, a venti giornate ene un gran bosco, che gira ben vii giornate. E tante bestie salvatiche quivi conversono ch' è maraviglia. Intorno al bosco istanno guardie che 'l guardano per lo signore. E 'n capo di tre o di quattro anni il signore vi va colla sua gente, il quale interniano tutto quanto questo bosco. Poi lasciano andare i cani per terra e gli ucelli in aria. Poi si vengono ristriguendo insieme e conducono tutte queste bestie in un piano ch' è nel mezzo. E leoni e parugiani[1] e cerbi e molte altre bestie ch' ene incredibile. E son tanto le grida di quelli uccelli e cani che l' uno nove intende l' altro, si che tutte le bestie salvatiche che trieman di paura[2]. Allora il Gran Cane viene sopra tre leofanti, e saetta tra queste bestie cinque turcassi di saette e com' egli saetta così fa tutta la sua compagnia il simigliante. E catuno signore ave un suo segnale nella sua saetta. Allora lo signore fane chiamare Sio! cioè Misericordia! a quelle bestie, e 'ncontinente quelle bestie che son vive si dipartono. Allora vengono i baroni e truovano le loro saette e catuno prende quella bestia ch' à morta la sua saetta. Per questo modo si fane la sua cacciagione.

42. *Delle quattro Feste che tiene ogn' anno il Gran Cane.*

Ancora questo imperadore gran Cane fane ogni anno iiii gran feste. La prima è il primo dì di Febraio, la seconda il dì de la sua nativitade[3]. E convita e fa venire tutti i suoi baroni e bufoni e giucolari, e tutto suo parentado, e tutti si pongono ordinati. E spezialmente a quella di Febraio e a quella della natività tutti i baroni vanno con corone in capo, e lo 'mperadore siede in della

[1] (?)

[2] MIN. RAM. Quivi è si forte il gridar delle genti, l' abbaiar de' cani, l' ulular delle fiere, e 'l sonar de' corni, e l' altri stromenti, che le povere fiere assalite da tema grande, & horror di morte, che porta seco, e lo presente stato che versa negli occhi delle infelici bestie, e 'l ricordarsi delle altre volte, che vi sono incappate, che fa tremare, come debole canna, e non ben ferma, percossa di crudelissimi, e violentissimi soffiar di Borea, o d' Aquilone! Le quali vengono uccisi quasi per tema.

[3] MIN. RAM. La prima è per il dì della sua natività: la seconda è dell' incoronatione sua: la terza è del matrimonio, quando meno per moglie la regina: la quarta è della natività del suo primogenito figliuolo.

sua sedia come detto è adietro, e tutti i baroni. Ciascuno ista nel suo lato; e sono tre divisata di baroni. I primi sono vestiti di verde; i secondi di sanguigno; i terzi d' azurro, e tutti sono incoronati e anno in mano una tavola di dente di leofante, e le cinture tutte d' oro e larghe bene un somesso, e tengono silenzio e 'ntorno a loro istanno i giucolari con sue insegne e bandie' E in uno poggicciuolo ov' è un grande palagio dimorano i filosofi guardando certi punti[1]. Quando viene quel punto uno grida altamente saliziati (?) cioè inchinatevi al signore. Allora tutti i baroni danno del capo in terra com' è loro usanza quando inchinano. Allora quel medesimo grida levatevi e allora si levano tutti. Ancora questi filosofi guardono a certi punti, e allora quegli grida, Ponetevi il dito nel' orecchie! e poi dice Cavatene! Allora istanno un poco e dicono, Buratate farina! e molti altri segni stolti, e dicono che tutti sono grandi segni. E poi sono ufficiali che richeggiono i baroni e giucolari e se alcuno vene fallo, cade in grande pena. E filosofi quando viene il punto e l' ora dicono a giucolari, Fate festa al Signore; e quelli incontinente cominciano a sonare gli stormenti; ed è si grande il romore ch' è quasi uno isturbamento. Allora dice una boca, Tutti tacete. Allora tutti taciono. Allora tutti quelli del parentado s' apparecchiano di cavalli bianchi. Allora comincia a gridare una voce, Cotali di cotal parentado s' apparecchia di cotante migliaia o vero centinaia di cavalli! Allora sono certi apparecchiati certi che menano i cavalli apparecchiati al signore, ch' è incredibile di tanti cavalli bianchi quanti gli donono. E allora sono tutti famigliari che portano presenti al signore da parte degli altri baroni. E allora tutti i principi di munistero vengono con doni, e donagli la loro benedizione, e quel medesimo conviene fare a noi altri frati minori. E fatte queste giucolaresche cose vengono alcuno altro giucolare dinanzi al signore e cantano molto maravigliosamente, e alcuno altro menano con seco leoni che fanno reverenza a lo imperadore e questi giucolari fanno venire per aria nappi d' oro pieni di buon vino, e così vanno a le bocche d' ogni uomo che vuol bere. E questo modo fanno, e molte altre cose dinanzi al signore. A dire la grandezza, e le gran cose della corte di costui sarebbe cosa incredibile se no le vedese. Niuno si maravigli se fa grandi ispese però che nel suo regno no si ispende altra moneta

[1] ID. Non so che ponti, o di stelle, o di pianeti.

che di carta, che no gli costa nulla, e a le sue mani viene tutto tesoro.

43. *Una maraviglia del popone che contiene una bestiuola.*

Un' altra maraviglia vi dirò sua la quale io non vidi, ma udiela dire a persona degna di fede. Alcuni dicono che Chadli ene un gran regno, e qui sono monti che si chiamano monti Caspeos, ne' quali dicono che nascono poponi grandissimi, ne' quali poponi quando sono maturi s' aprono per loro istessi, e truovavisi entro una bestiuola grande, e fatta a modo d' uno agnello; si che ano quella carne a ano il popone. Questo può essere altresi bene si com' ene ne reame d' Inghilterra o di Scozia che dicono che sono albori che fanno uccelletti[1].

44. *Del reame del Presto Giovanni ed altre contrate.*

Partendomi dal Chataio e venendo verso il ponente cinquanta giornate, passando cittadi e castella venni nelle terre del Presto Giovanni, e non è delle cento parti l' una quello che si dice di lui. La prencipale cittade di lui si chiama Casan, ch' ene Vincienza maggiore cittade di quella, e molte altre cittadi à sotto di se, e sempre per patto piglia per moglie la figliuola del Gran Cane. Poi andando per molte giornate perveni a una provincia che si chiama Chansi. Questa è la seconda migliore provincia e la meglio abitata ch' abbia il mondo. E ov' ella è più stretta è larga ben l giornate, e lunga più di lx giornate. Ed è si bene abitata che quando s' esce della porta de l' una cittade si vede le mura dell' altra cittade. Nella quale a grande copia di vittuaglia e spezialmente di castagne. In questa provincia nasce il mal barbaro, ed avene tanto che per meno di vi grossi se ne caricherebbe un asino. Ed è questa provincia una delle xii ch' ane il gran Cane.

45. *Del regno di Tibet dove si truova il Papa degli Idolatri.*

Passando questa provincia grande perveni a un altro gran regno che si chiama Tibet, ch' ene ne confini d' India ed è tutta al gran Cane. Quivi è maggior copia di pane e di vino che in nulla parte del mondo. E la gente di questa contrada dimora in

[1] MIN. RAM. *says* Un dì fra gli altri *uiddi* una bestia grande come un' agnello etc. *And here that version stops.*

tende che sono fatte di feltri neri. La prencipale cittade è fatta tutta di pietre bianche e nere, e tutte le vie lastricate. In questa cittade nullo ardisce a spander sangue d' uomo o di femmina, o d' altra bestia. Questo fanno per reverenza d' un loro idolo. In questa cittade dimora il Atassi[1], che viene a dire in nostro modo il Papa. Ed è capo di tutti idolatrici. Questi distribuisce da tutti i benifici e partegli tra loro secondo la loro legge. Ed ane in questo regno questa usanza che le femmine portano in capo più di c paia di trecce avendo ii denti lunghi[2] a modo di porco salvatico. Ed è ancora cotale usanza in questa contrada che quando il padre d' alcuno more, e 'l figliuolo gli vol fare grande onore, convita e rauna tutti i sacerdoti e religiosi e giucolari e vicini e parenti e portano il corpo a la campagna con gran festereccia; e quivi è apparecchiato un gran desco, e quando v' è posto suso e sacerdoti gli mozzano il capo, e danno al figliuolo. E poi il tagliano tutto a pezzi, e 'l figliuolo con tutta la compagnia cantano e cessandosi quindi un pezzo fanno orazioni. Allora vengono aguglie e avoltoi de' monti e ciascuno piglia il suo pezzo. Allora gridano e dicono Vedete che santo uomo questi fu, che vengono gli angeli per lui, e portanelo in paradiso! Poi il figliuolo se ne porta il capo e mangialo cotto poi del teschio fa fare un vaso e mangiano e beono con esso tutti quelli della casa con grande divozione. Piu altre sozze usanze sono tra quelli pagani d' oriente le quali non dico.

46. *D' un ricco popolano di Manzi.*

Nella provincia de Manzi veni ad uno palagio d' un uomo popolano la cui vita ene in questo modo. E tiene cinquanta donzelle vergini, le quali il servono. Quando viene a mangiare ogni vivanda o 'mbandigioni si portano v delle donzelle predette con molti istormenti di diverse maniere, e cantano e del continuo cantano mentre che la vivanda e nanzi. Poi costoro si partono e altre cinque delle dette donzelle si vengono col' altra vivanda, e 'mbastigione e con altri diversi istormenti e con diversi canti e per questo modo mena la sua vita. Questo signore à di rendita xxx tumani tagiai[3] di riso. Il tumano è numero di x^m; e 'l tegiar è soma d' asino. E 'l corti e del suo palagio gira ben ii miglia e 'l palazzo è fatto inquestc modo, che l' uno mattone o

[1] *For* Abassi. [2] *Lunghi*, think. [3] *For* tagar.

vero pietra è d' oro e l' altro d' ariento. Nel cortil dentro ave un monte d' oro e d' argento, sopra il quale son fatti monasteri e campanili per suo diletto. E dicesi che tra questi Manzi sono iiii° uomini per lo modo di costui. Gli uomini di questo paese tengono per nobiltà ad avere lunghe l' unghia, e la bellezza della femmina d' avere piccioli piedi. Però quando nasce la femmina le madri istringono loro i piedi, a ciò che non crescono loro più che vogliono.

47. *Del Vecchio della Montagna.*

Partendomi delle terre del Presto Giovanni, venendo verso ponente, veni a una contrada che si chiama Mileser[1], bella e abondevole d' ogni bene. Nella quale si dicea che sole istare il Vecchio della montagna. Egli avea fatto tra due monti un cercuito di muro, e dentro le più belle fonti del mondo. E dentro eran poste donze' vergini belle le più del mondo, e cavalli bellissimi, e tutte quelle cose che potessono dilettare corpo umano. E facea dire che questo era paradiso; e quando vedea un giovane valoroso si lo metea in questo luogo; nel quale facea andare vino e latte per condotto: e quando volea fare uccidere alcun re o barone, facea dire al soprastante di quel luogo ch' egli facesse venire il più atto e amoroso a diletti e nel dimoro di questo paradiso, e quelli allora dava beveraggi a quel cotale, che 'l facea fortemente adormentare; e così dormendo nel facea trare. E quelli risentendosi e trovandosi fuori di questo luogo era in grande tristizia e dolore, e pregava a quel signore che vel facesse ritornare. E allora gli dicea, Vo' tu ritornare, vane e uccidi il cotale uomo poi ci ritornerai, o campi o muoi. E 'n questo modo facea uccidere chiunque e volea. Per la qual cosa era temuto da tutti i re d' oriente, e mandavagli tributo. E 'n questo modo facea uccidere molti de' Tartari quando venieno pigliando il mondo. Per la qual cosa vi venono a oste e puosonvi l' assedio e mai non se ne partiro infino che non ebbero la cittade e 'l vecchio e feciollo morire di mala morte.

48. *Della grazia ch' anno i Frati Minori nella Taxtaria.*

In questa contrada a Iddio data questa grazia a' frati minori che nella Grande Tartaria così anno per niente di cacciare un

[1] *Probably* Milehet *originally.*

demonio d' un corpo d' uomo, come di cacciare un can di casa. Molti ve' ne sono in demoni. E se sono di lunge ben x giornate si gli menano a' frati e al comandamento loro dalla parte di Jesù incontinente si partono via le demonia. E poi quelli che sono liberati si fanno battezzare, e frati prendono i loro idoli di feltro che quegli anno, e colla croce vanno e portagli al fuoco. E quelli della contrada tutti tragono a vedere. E l' idolo salta del fuoco e frati tolgono aqua benedetta e prizalla nel fuoco e le demonia escono del fuoco, e frati vi rimettono entro l' idolo, e 'ncontinente arde. E 'l demonio grida in aria, Io sono cacciato della mia abitazione! E per questo modo i nostri frati ne battezzano molti.

40. *Della Valle Terribile.*

Un' altra terribil cosa viddi andando per una valle posta sopra il fiume delle delizie. Vidi in questa valle molti corpi morti e vidi di diversi istormenti che quivi parcano che sonasono, onde qui era tanto timore e paura che non si potrebbe dire. Questa valle è lunga da otto miglia, nella quale qui v' entra incontinente muore. Nella quale io volli entrare per vedere quello che questo era, ed entrandovi trovai molti corpi morti, ed è cosa incredibile era ad immaginare quant' egli erano in questa valle. In sul monte trovai una testa d' uomo morto tanta terribile che mi mise si gran paura che parea che lo spirito si volesse partire da me. E [in] questa paura sempre andava dicendo, *Verbo caro factum est etc.* Poi montai sopra un monte renoso e guardando d' ogni parte non vidi niente, se non se che molte nacchere udia; e quando fui in capo del monte trovai tanto argento a modo quasi come uno iscogliame di pesce in grande quantità. Del quale niente presi, e cosi sanza alcun danno mi parti. E per questa cagione tutti i saracini m' aveano in grande reverenza, dicendo ch' io era battezzato e santo, e quelli ch' erano morti in questa valle erano istati uomini del diavolo de lo 'nferno.

Finita la diceria di frate Oderigo. Deo grazias!

50. *Attestazione del Fr. Odorico.*

Io frate Oderigo da Frigolli, d' una terra che si chiama porto maoni, dell' ordine de frati minori testifico, e rispondo al mio monistero[1] per vera ubidizione che tutte queste cose iscritte in questo memoriale o io le vidi o io l' udi dire a uomini degni di fede e dal cummune parlare delle contrade. Onde quelle che non vidi sapiate che vere sono. Altre molte cose lascio, e no le iscrivo che chi non le vedese non le crederebbe. E di dì in dì m' apparecchio di tornare in quelle contrade, e mi dispongo di finire mia vita. Deo grazias, Amen, amen, amen.

[1] *For* Ministro.

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